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VARĀHAMIHIRA AND HIS TIMES

by

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To
My dearest friend
Professor Bratindra Nath Mukherjee
Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture
University of Calcutta, Calcutta
who has been with me in thick and thin

Preface

Varāhamihira is justly regarded as one of the greatest Jyotiṣa writers of ancient India, and his fairly numerous writings on the subject truly reflect the exuberant life, spirit and culture of the Gupta age, justifiably treated as the classical age of early Indian history. And the present work represents an attempt to throw fresh light on certain baffling questions connected with this prolific visionary and some allied issues. We have been engrossed with these problems, intermittently, for nearly last three decades and are happy to place the results of these studies in the hands of discerning connoisseurs.

The opening chapter deals with some introductory questions appertaining Varāhamihira's date, life and works and, in the process, attempts have been made to tackle the question of the genesis of his name which was definitely of Iranian origin and reflects the amalgamation of Indo-Iranian traditions in socio-religious spheres. There has been some unwarranted controversy regarding the meaning and identification of the Śaka-kāla mentioned by our author, and it is sought to be identified with the so-called Cyrus era, the Buddha Nirvāṇa era or the Vikrama era. After a careful examination of these theories, it has been demonstrated in the next chapter that the expression in question refers to nothing but the reckoning famous by this name. Chapter 3 aims at identifying *Mahārājādhirāja* Dravyavardhana, king of Avanti, mentioned by Varāhamihira as a great authority on omens relating to journeys (*yātrās*), which is of great value for the life and times of our author. An analytical study of all the extant evidence reveals that the king was the last known member of the famous Aulikara line ruling about the third quarter of the sixth century A.D. and probably extended his liberal patronage to Varāhamihira. The correct meaning of a stanza of *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* has been brought out in the following chapter, while in Chapter 5 an attempt has been made to reconstruct, partially, the text of the *Samāsa* or *Svalpa-saṃhitā*, the abridged version of Varāhamihira's *magnum opus*, the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, from citations from this work by Utpala in his gloss on the latter. It will be seen that it was not merely a summary of the larger text but also contained some new important information. The classical writers inform us that king Porus (Paurava) carried in front of his army an image of god Heracles to enthuse the forces, and, in the absence of the knowledge of such a reference in ancient Indian literature, this Heracles is generally identified with Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva. In the following chapter attention has been invited to a reference in Varāhamihira's *Yoga-yātrā* to the practice of carrying aloft of the icons of the concerned guardians of the quarters and

of the planets associated with them and effort made to identify the so-called Heracles, who was, in this case, really a *loka-pāla* (lord of direction), in the light of the details about the direction of the march of the army of Porus available in the classical accounts. References to the famous ancient Indian authority on art and iconography, Nagnajit in Varāhamihira's works and Bhaṭṭotpala's commentary have been discussed in Chapter 7, in the light of other allusions to his activities in some other ancient texts like the Brāhmaṇas, the Great Epic and the Purāṇas and it has been shown that the work at present going under the title *Citra-lakṣaṇa* of Nagnajit in Tibetan is not the text which passed under this name till at least the time of Utpala. The rich iconological data contained in Varāhamihira's numerous writings, which are, incidentally the earliest datable texts dealing with this subject, form the theme of the next chapter. The following two chapters aim at ascertaining the real meaning of our author's reference to the ancient sect of the Ājivikas who played such an important role in the socio-religious life during the time of Gautama Buddha and determining Varāhamihira's place in the history of Vāstuvidyā. It has been demonstrated that our author, who was regarded as one of the authorities on Vāstuvidyā in ancient times, represents the oldest datable Indian writer on the subject. The bearing of the references to our author and his works by the well-known Arabic scholar, Alberuni, who may justly be regarded as the first Indologist in the real sense of the term, and the veracity of some medieval Jaina traditions making Bhadrabāhu and Varāhamihira brothers are examined critically in the last two chapters.

Some important allied problems form the theme of the three appendices. In appendix 1 the perplexing question of the general period of the famous astrologer, Kalyāṇavarman, has been discussed with reference to Bhaṭṭotpala who is known to have composed a gloss on his *Sārāvalī*. All the available information about Varāhamihira's scholiast, Bhaṭṭotpala, including his date, life and writings has been discussed critically in the following appendix, while the last appendix throws light on *vedha* and *bodha* which refer to two important processes in the manufacture of perfumes.

We have received valuable help in the completion of this work from various quarters, and it is our pleasant duty to acknowledge our debt to them. The late Dr. Umakant Premanand Shah, Director, Oriental Institute, M.S. University of Baroda, was a great source of inspiration to me in my academic work all through my career and took keen interest in the completion and publication of this work. Unfortunately, he passed away when the work was under publication. Likewise, the late Dr. P.K. Gode of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,

Pune, took keen interest in the preparation of some of the chapters of this work as well as my early academic activity. Professor Jagannath Agrawal has always encouraged me in my academic pursuits and has been taking keen interest in my work. In the present work also I have benefitted from his valuable advice in respect of a few problems. To my ever inspiring teacher Professor V.S. Pathak, formerly Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Archaeology and Culture, Gorakhpur University, I owe a great debt for inviting my attention to some valuable references to Nagnajit in medical texts, and to Professor K.V. Sarma of the Adyar Library and Research Institute, Madras, for supplying a zerox copy of H. Kern's edition and translation of a part of the *Yogayātrā*. I am thankful to my esteemed friends Dr. R. C. Sharma, Director, Indian Museum, Calcutta, Professor Bhagwant Sahai, Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Patna University, and Dr. V.V. Krishna Sastry, Director of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, for some of the illustrations used in this book. Drs. Chandrashekhar Gupta and Ismail Kellellu, my colleagues in the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Nagpur University, deserve thanks for the various kinds of help they provided during the preparation of the press copy of the book. I am specially obliged to Dr. Gupta for inviting my attention to the Varāha figure from Bazaklik as well to some references used in Ch. 8. I take this opportunity to express my heartfelt appreciation of the help in various ways rendered in the completion of the work by my wife Dr. Yogeshwari Shastri, Head of the Department of Hindi, L.A.D. & S.R.P. College, for women, Nagpur, my son Dr. Avinash Upadhyay, Lecturer in Biochemistry, Hislop College, Nagpur, and my daughter-in-law, Dr. Kakoli Upadhyay, Lecturer in Biochemistry, L.A.D. & S.R.P. College for Women, Nagpur. My special blessings are due to Kakoli for the pains she has taken in preparing her maiden index.

The book would not have been finalised so early but for the persistent affectionate persuasion by Shri Shankar Goyal, M.A., Director, Kusumanjali Prakashan, Jodhpur and Meerut, and if the book is published so very expeditiously the credit entirely goes to him. My esteemed friend Professor S.R. Goyal, Head of the Department of History, University of Jodhpur, has spared me of the arduous task of seeing the book through the press and shouldered the entire responsibility of its excellent production. I am grateful to him.

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Ajay Mitra Shastri

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Abbreviations

- AB** : *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.
ABORI : *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*.
ASI, AR : *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports*.
ASR : *Archaeological Survey Reports* by A. Cunningham.
BIMA : *Brāhmaṇical Images in Mathura Art* by V.S. Agrawala.
BI : *Bibliotheca Indica*.
BJ : *Bṛhaj-jātaka*.
BMC, AI : *British Museum Catalogue of Coins, Ancient India* by J. Allan.
BMC, GD : *British Museum Catalogue of Coins, Gupta Dynasty* by J. Allan
BMS : *Bhāratīya Mūrti-śāstra* (Marathi) by N.P. Joshi.
BORI : *Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune*.
BS : *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*.
BSS : *Bombay Sanskrit Series*.
BY : *Bṛhad-yātrā*
CII : *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*.
CMSML : *Catalogue of Manuscripts in Tanjore Maharaja Sarfoji's Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore*, ed. by P.P.S. Sastri.
CSMGOML : *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras*.
DHI : *Development of Hindu Iconography* by J.N. Banerjea.
EI : *Epigraphia Indica*.
ERE : *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.
GOS : *Gaekwad Oriental Series*.
HDS : *History of Dharmasāstra* by P.V. Kane.
HIIA : *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* by A. K. Coomaraswamy.
IA : *Indian Antiquary*.
IC : *Indian Culture*.
IHQ : *Indian Historical Quarterly*.
IMHBD : *Iconography of Minor Hindu and Buddhist Divinities* by Bhagwant Sahai.
ISBV : *India as Seen in the Bṛhat-saṃhitā of Varāhamihira* by Ajay Mitra Shastri.
JAHS : *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*.
JAIH : *Journal of Ancient Indian History*.
JASB : *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.

- JBBRAS** : *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
- JBORS** : *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.*
- JBRS** : *Journal of the Bihar Research Society.*
- JDL** : *Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta.*
- JESI** : *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India.*
- JIH** : *Journal of Indian History.*
- JIM** : *Journal of Indian Museums.*
- JISOA** : *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art.*
- JOI** : *Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda.*
- JRAS** : *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
- JRASBL** : *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters.*
- JUB** : *Journal of the University of Bombay.*
- JUPHS** : *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society.*
- LJ** : *Laghu-jātaka.*
- MASI** : *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.*
- MSS** : *Manuscripts.*
- ND** : *Numismatic Digest.*
- NS** : *New Series.*
- NSM** : *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts.*
- NSP** : *Nirnaya Sagar Press.*
- PBMV** : *Prācīna Bhāratīya Mūrti-vijñāna (Hindi) by N.P. Joshi.*
- PS** : *Pañca-siddhāntikā.*
- SBE** : *Sacred Books of the East.*
- TCSM** : *Triennial Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.*
- TY** : *Ṭikaṇika-yātrā.*
- VIJ** : *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal.*
- VKP** : *Viśvakarma-prakāśa.*
- VSMV** : *Vidarbhā Saṁśodhana Maṇḍaḷa Vārṣika.*
- YY** : *Yoga-yātrā.*
- ZDMG** : *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik.*

Chapter I

Introduction

[Varāhamihira stands out as the pre-eminent Jyotiṣa writer and thinker of ancient India. The combination of astronomical-astrological erudition coupled with his keen observation and literary talent made his works supplant most of the earlier writings on the subject. Unfortunately, however, there is considerable difference of opinion about Varāhamihira's date as he is himself reticent on this point. After considering all the extant evidence, external and internal, on the subject it has been shown convincingly that the close of the fifth and the major portion of the following century should be regarded as his flourishing period. He was born at Kāpitthaka, which is identifiable in the present state of our knowledge with Sāṅkāsya (Sankis) in the Farrukhabad District of Uttar Pradesh and later shifted to Avantī (Modern Ujjain) where he enjoyed the patronage of the Aulikaras. He was a Sun-worshipping Magi priest and in later times he himself came to be regarded as an incarnation of the Sun god. Some very close ancestor of his was a full blooded Iranian Maga priest who gave him the name Varāhamihira which is an altered version of the Iranian name Mihrvərəz born by a senior officer of the Sassanian monarch Bahram V with only a change in the order of the two components of the name. The reason for this change lies in all probability in the cult of what may be conveniently called Varāhamihira which combined the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu and the Sun god with greater emphasis on the former. The oldest known representation of Varāhamihira dates from the Kuṣāṇa period and later this cult migrated to Central Asia where we come across its painted depictions in the cave temples at Bazaklik and other places. The name (Varāhamihira) is sometimes regarded as a corruption of the Persian name Buzurjmehr which itself was the Persian rendering of his supposed name Bṛhanmitra. After a careful examination of the premises of this theory its baselessness has been demonstrated. Finally, attention has been drawn to his works and their importance for the scientific, literary and socio-economic history of India.]

The most renowned of the astronomical and astrological writers that ancient India can boast of was, perhaps, Varāhamihira. He alone of all the luminaries in this field is known to have composed exhaustive

as well as abridged treatises on all the three branches of astronomy-astrology (Jyotiṣa). However, besides being an astronomer-astrologer of an exceptionally high order, Varāhamihira was also an excellent poet gifted with an extra-ordinarily great capacity to infuse a variety of sentiments (*rasas*) combined with a skilful employment of numerous figures of speech (*alaṅkāras*), both of meaning and words¹ and an appropriate use of a large number of metres.² It was obviously because of these poetic qualities of his writings that the well-known Kashmiri writer of the mediaeval period, Kṣemendra, speaks of Varāhamihira as a poet of great celebrity.³ Even Rudraṭa, another Kashmiri writer on poetics, appears to have been indebted to Varāhamihira for his illustration of the *alaṅkāra* known as *Sāra*, which is also quoted by the former's compatriot Mammaṭa, another famous authority on poetics.⁴ It was this combination of mastery over scientific details and the consummate poetic talent which probably made Varāhamihira's writings so very masterly and appealing as to supplant practically all the earlier works on the subject.⁵ If today we know something regarding these works and their authors, it is primarily from references to them in his compositions. His works being the standard ones on the subject, a number of subsequent writers on astrology and astronomy gratefully acknowledged their indebtedness to him. These include, *inter alia*, Kṛṣṇa, Kalyāṇavarman, Bhāskarācārya, Śatānanda, Śīpati, Śrinivāsācārya, Śrinivāsamiśrātmaja and Nārāyaṇadāsa who were the authors respectively of the *Bija-pallava*, the *Sārvali* the *Siddhānta-śiromaṇi*, the *Bhāsvatī karaṇa*, the *Jyotiṣaratnamālā*, the *Śuddhi-dīpikā*, the *Jyotiṣa-tattva-kaumudī* and the *Praśnaviplava* or *Vaiṣṇava-śāstra*.⁶ His well-known commentator and astrological writer Bhaṭṭotpala compares his works to a great ocean full of highly wavy waters in the form of a variety of topics dealt with aquatic animals represented by a multitude of planets and asterisms and resplendent with jewels in the form of numerous *yogas* to help cross which he composed his scholia which are compared to a small boat.⁷ Gaṇeśa Daivajña tells us that when the rules framed by the earlier writers like Parāśara, Āryabhaṭa and others had turned inaccurate, they were corrected by Varāhamihira and other writers.⁸ The famous Arabic writer Abu Raihan ibn Ahmad Al-Beruni, better known by the concluding part of his name, who composed his account known as *Kitab-ul-Hind* in the first half of the eleventh century A.D., is all praise for Varāhamihira whom he describes as an excellent astronomer whose example was worthy of emulation by others, and even when he found some wrong statements in his (Varāhamihira's) writings, he was so much obsessed by the excellence, truthfulness and

supremacy of Varāhamihira that he felt that there might have been some esoteric meaning behind such statements.⁹

I

Varāhamihira's Time

Unfortunately, there is considerable divergence of opinion regarding his date. The *Jyotirvid-ābharaṇa* (XXII. 10), professedly composed by the celebrated Kālidāsa, the author of the three poems (XXII. 19-20) and a court-poet of the traditional Vikramāditya of the first century B.C., includes Varāhamihira among the nine gems of Vikramāditya's court. If we were to believe in this tradition, Varāhamihira will have to be placed in the first century B.C.¹⁰ However, besides the inferiority of this work to Kālidāsa's known compositions, the text contains sufficient evidence to prove that it is a very late forgery attributed to Kālidāsa with the ulterior motive of popularising it. It mentions in a prophetic fashion the Śālivāhana-Śaka (or the well-known Śaka era of 78 A.D.) which commenced 135 years later than the Vikrama era. (X. 110-112). On the basis of certain astronomical details contained in this work historians of Indian astronomy like Sudhakara Dvivedi¹¹ and S.B. Dikshit¹² are inclined to date its composition in about 1242-43 A.D., while on some other considerations Keith¹³ and H. Kern¹⁴ bring it down to so late dates as the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries A.D.

Strangely enough and against the usual practice prevalent among ancient Indian astronomers, Varāhamihira himself gives absolutely no indication about his date. In his *Pañca-siddhāntikā*, however, he refers to the Śaka year 427¹⁵ which, following the common vogue, may be taken as the date of the composition of this work or very near it when he began planning it.¹⁶ The Śaka-kāla is usually taken to refer to the well-known Śaka era with its epoch in 78 A.D., and accordingly Śaka-kāla 427 should be regarded as equal to 105 A.D.

However, as certain statements of Varāhamihira in connection with the Śaka-kāla go against the common notion regarding the date of the Bhārata war,¹⁷ some scholars are inclined to identify it with the so-called Cyrus era or the Buddha Nirvāṇa era. But these views are totally against established historical and textual norms, and if we were to accept them, Varāhamihira would have to be placed in the second-first centuries B.C. This date, however, is irreconcilable with his reference to Āryabhaṭa¹⁸ who was born in 476 A.D. and composed his work under reference twenty-three years later in 499 A.D. In view of this and other considerations, these theories are totally untenable.¹⁹ Some

other scholars have proposed to equate Varāhamihira's Śaka-kāla with the famous Vikrama era with its epoch in 57-58 B.C. As we have shown elsewhere in this volume,²⁰ this opinion is as, if not more, untenable as the two other theories on the subject. It also does not go well with allusion to Āryabhaṭa as in this case also Varāhamihira would have to be dated a few decades prior to the former's birth. Therefore, we are left with no alternative but to regard Varāhamihira's Śaka-kāla, Śakendra-kāla and Śaka-bhūpa-kāla as identical with the famous Śaka era beginning in 78 A.D. The view also goes well with what Alberuni has to say regarding Varāhamihira's time. Writing his Indian account in 1030 A.D. he states that this year corresponded to the year 526 of the era of the canon *Pañca-siddhāntikā*. He further adds that Varāhamihira flourished 525 or 526 years before his own time. These statements, which are clearly based on the mention of Śaka-kāla 427 in the *Pañca-siddhāntikā*, would be simply unintelligible if the Śaka-kāla of Varāhamihira were to be identified with any other era than the well-known reckoning of this name with its epoch in 78 A.D.²¹ The particulars of the date given by Varāhamihira (Caitra śukla pratipadā, Śaka 427) agree with Sunday-Monday 20th-21st March, 505 A.D.²²

However, some scholars doubt if 505 A.D. could really be the date of the composition of the *Pañca-siddhāntikā* as according to a statement of Āmarāja in his commentary on Brahmagupta's *Khaṇḍa-khādyaka* Varāhamihira died in Śaka 509 or 587 A.D. (*nav-āhika-pañcaśata-saṅkhyā-Śāke Varāhamihir-ācārya divyaṁ gataḥ*). It has, therefore, been suggested by a few scholars that it may refer to some important event in Varāhamihira's own life like his birth.²³ However, the veracity of this passage has been doubted by competent authorities, as it is not certain if this statement is in verse or prose and whether it has come down to us in its original form through about a thousand years that have elapsed since its composition.²⁴ But even if we were to take it as authentic, it should not cause much difficulty as it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that Varāhamihira began his literary activities at a young age of twenty or twenty-five when he composed or began his calculations for the *Pañca-siddhāntikā* in 505 A.D., and passed away in 587 A.D., at the rather exceptionally high age of about 105 or 110, which, though very uncommon, is not impossible altogether.²⁵

Another important indication on this point is the reference to the Aulikara monarch *Mahārājādhirāja Śiṅg-Dravyavardhana* in the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* in connection with the omens in a manner indicative of high esteem in which Varāhamihira held him and of the fact that he was

alive at the time of the composition of the text which is admittedly his most mature and one of the latest works. It was obviously composed about the middle of the sixth century A.D. when Dravyavardhana was ruling as a sovereign ruler from Ujjayinī.²⁶ There are some other literary and cultural evidences, positive and negative, which also support in a general manner the sixth century A.D. as the flourishing period for Varāhamihira.²⁷

II

Personal Life and Legends

Varāhamihira was also known as Varāha²⁸ and Mihira²⁹ by the first (*pūrvapada*) and second (*uttarapada*) parts of his name as we learn from some later astronomical works which acknowledge his debt. The only authentic knowledge about his personal life is contained in the following stanza met with in the concluding chapter of the *Bṛhaj-jātaka* appropriately entitled *Upasamhārādhyāya* :

Ādityadāsa-tanayas=tad=avāpta-bodhaḥ
 Kapitthake savitr-labdha-vara-prasādaḥ/
 Āvantiko muni-matāny-avalokya samyag=
 Ghorām Varāhamihiro rucirām cakāra//

—BJ, XXVIII. 9

According to this verse, Varāhamihira was a resident of Avanti which, as Bhaṭṭotpala points out, has to be taken in the sense of the famous city of Ujjayinī,^{29a} and the son of Ādityadāsa³⁰ from whom he had studied at a place known as Kāpitthaka through the boon of the Sun god. It may be reasonably concluded from this stanza that his father Ādityadāsa was also his teacher, probably in Jyotiṣa as would also follow from the opening stanza of the *Pañca-siddhāntikā*.³¹ In PS, XVIII. 61, also the author styles himself *Āvantyaka*, and Utpala describes him as *Āvantikācārya* in the introductory portions of his scholia on the *Bṛhaj-jātaka*, *Laghu-jātaka*, *Yoga-yātrā* and *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*³² as is also done by Mahīdhara in his gloss on the *Bṛhaj-jātaka*.³³ In fact, his association with Avanti has become so popular in public mind that *Āvanta* came to be employed as his secondary name.³⁴

It would follow from this stanza that Kāpitthaka (or one of its variants) was actually the place of Varāhamihira's birth and that it was at a later phase in his life that he migrated to Ujjayinī and made it his permanent residence. It must be mentioned, however, that the manuscripts contain several variants of the place-name including Kāmpilyaka,³⁵ Kāmpilaka,³⁶ Kāpiṣṭhala,³⁷ Kāpiṣkala³⁸ and Kāpitthaka, which is, of course, the most popular reading. Sudhakara

Dvivedi preferred the reading Kāmpilyaka which he proposed to identify with modern Kalpi near Jhansi in Uttar Pradesh.³⁹ This suggestion is, however, untenable as the old name of Kalpi was not Kāmpilyaka, but Kālapriya where Bhavabhūti's plays were enacted.⁴⁰ Bhaṭṭotpala takes Kāpittha as the name of a village which had a Sun-temple (*Kāpitth-ākhye grāme yosau bhagavāu savitā sūryas-tasnāl=labdhaḥ prāpto varaḥ prasādo yena*). The place is generally equated with the village of Kayatha situated at a distance of some 12 miles from Ujjain on the Ujjain-Maksi Road.⁴¹ Recently the Vikram University, Ujjain, carried out archaeological excavations at Kayatha; these excavations have revealed the existence of an early chalcolithic culture dating back to the second millennium B.C. Remains of the statues of Sūrya and other Brāhmaṇical divinities assignable to the period between 600 and 900 A.D. have also been found. It is also reported that the *kapittha* trees grow abundantly at and near Kayatha and that numerous legends concerning Varāhamihira are still current there. But these facts, howsoever convincing they may appear to be, do not warrant by themselves the identification of Kayatha with Varāhamihira's Kāpittha or Kāpitthaka. The point at issue is neither the abundance of the *kapittha* trees nor the antiquity of the place. There are so many localities where *kapittha* trees can be seen in large numbers, but they are not, for that matter, known by a name connected with that tree. The only point that the excavations may be taken to have proved is that the place is quite ancient. They cannot go beyond it. The discovery of the remains of Brāhmaṇical images merely shows that there must have been some Brāhmaṇical temples there as there were at many other ancient places. The legends about Varāhamihira said to have been current at Kayatha appear to have been introduced after some scholars like Suryanarayan Vyas suggested in our own times Varāhamihira's connection with that place. This identification may be finally accepted only if it is shown that Kayatha was anciently known as Kāpittha. No such evidence has so far come to light.

There is, however, an interesting evidence bearing on the question under consideration available in the account of Yuan Chwang (*Si-yu-ki*) who visited India less than a century after the flourishing period of Varāhamihira. The Chinese pilgrim informs us that the town of Sāṅkāśya (modern Sankisa in the Farrukhabad District of Uttar Pradesh) was also called Kah-pi-t'a which has been restored as Kapitha.⁴² Phonetically Kapitha is very close to our Kāpittha. There can be no doubt whatsoever about the high antiquity of Sāṅkāśya. It is mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and in the Buddhist text *Abhidhānatthadīpikā*.⁴³ The importance of the city of Sāṅkāśya in the Maurya peri-

od is clear from the fact that Aśoka chose it as one of the places for the erection of his columns. In the seventh century A.D. it was a stronghold of both the Buddhists and the adherents of Paurāṇic Hinduism. Along with the four Buddhist monasteries with about 1000 inmates, all belonging to the Sammitiya school, Yuan Chwang found there ten Deva-temples belonging to the Śaivas. In the light of these facts it appears more reasonable to identify Varāhamihira's Kāpittha or Kāpitthaka with Yuan Chwang's Kapitha or Sānkāśya. It may thus be concluded that Varāhamihira was born and received his education at Sānkāśya and later shifted to Ujjayinī evidently because of its high reputation as a centre of learning, especially in the field of Jyotiṣa.⁴⁴

Varāhamihira, himself a great astronomer-astrologer, lays great stress on the importance of a *sāmvatsara* for the state and society. He tells us that a king should respect and secure the services of an erudite *sāmvatsara*,⁴⁵ who was advised to appoint four other astrologers to help him.⁴⁶ He states that a monarch who does not honour a learned astrologer well-versed in all the *nigas* and *upāṅgas* and horoscopy and mathematics is destined to ruin⁴⁷ and that neither a thousand elephants nor four times that number of horses are capable of accomplishing so much as a single astrologer knowing well time and climate,⁴⁸ and equates a king without an astrologer to a night without a lamp, to the sky without the sun and to a blind man unable to locate his path.⁴⁹ He further observes that one desirous of well-being should not reside in a country without an astrologer⁵⁰ and that neither father nor mother nor relations and friends are anxious for the welfare of the king and his retinue as a reliable astrologer seeking the augmentation of his fame.⁵¹ In view of these observations we may reasonably assume that in all probability he enjoyed the patronage of some powerful chief. But different opinions have been expressed regarding the identify of that ruler. He has been sought to be identified with the so-called Harṣa Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī (sixth century A.D.) by Bhau Daji⁵² and with king Vikramāditya who is reported to have come to the throne in Śaka 466 corresponding to 544 A.D. by H. Kern.⁵³ But in the absence of any evidence these identifications may at best be regarded as brilliant but unfounded conjectures. According to B. Bhattacharya,⁵⁴ the above-mentioned statement of Āmarāja that Varāhamihira died in Śaka 509 refers to the Vikrama era of 57 B.C. In case this suggestion is accepted, we shall have to date Varāhamihira's death in 451 A.D. and he would become a contemporary and court-astrologer of Candragupta II Vikramāditya. The absurdity of this suggestion is obvious from the fact that he has to distinguish the author of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* and

the *Bṛhaj-jātaka* from that of the *Pañca-siddhāntikā*. Thus, none of these suggestions is well-founded. The internal evidence of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* provides an important hint in this connection. In connection with his description of omens Varāhamihira tells us that he consulted, *inter alia*, the work which *Mahārājādhirāja* Dravyavardhana, king of Avanti (Ujjayinī), had composed after seeing Bhāradvāja's work (LXXXV. 2). There is no doubt that Varāhamihira shows special respect for Dravyavardhana as he mentions him immediately after Ṛṣabha who is said to have based his work on the opinions of such mythical authorities as Śakra, Śukra, Vāgiśa, Kapiṣṭhala and Garutmat and historical writers including Bhāguri and Devala and Bhāradvāja but before the Saptarṣis and Garga, etc., and the works in Sanskrit and Prakrit. Moreover, he prefixes the honorific *śrī* to his name alone. Chronologically also he was Varāhamihira's contemporary, for the known facts of Aulikara history should leave no doubt that he flourished only about the middle of the sixth century A.D. The title *Mahārājādhirāja* employed for him is sufficient to show his sovereign status. Thus, his being a sovereign ruler of Ujjayinī, where Varāhamihira also spent his active life, and contemporaneity with Varāhamihira and the high esteem in which Varāhamihira held him clearly indicate that he was the royal patron of Varāhamihira, and it is not unlikely that before him his royal predecessor and perhaps father, Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvarḍhana also might have extended his patronage to the great astrologer.⁵⁵

Sun-worship appears to have been Varāhamihira's family religion. In all his works except only the *Vivāha-pāṭala*⁵⁶ he offers obeisance to the Sun. His father Ādityadāsa was also obviously a devotee of the Sun as is indicated by his name which connotes 'a slave of the Sun'. His son, Pṛthuyāśas, also invokes the favour of the Sun in the inaugural stanza of his *ṣaṭpañcāśikā*. He believed that he was able to compose his *Bṛhaj-jātaka* due to being favoured by a boon by the Sun.⁵⁷ His commentator, Bhaṭṭotpala, also echoes this belief and refers to Varāhamihira as one whose intellect was sharpened by the boon of the Sun.⁵⁸ It was also believed by some later writers that Varāhamihira was born to Ādityadāsa by the blessings of the Sun.⁵⁹

Some comparatively modern legends and traditions also represent Varāhamihira as a recipient of some favour from the Sun god. Thus a late tradition recorded by Jaina authors like Merutuṅga and Rājaśekharaśūrī, which makes him a brother of the Jaina patriarch Bhadrabāhu, would make us believe that originally he was known as Varāha but on becoming familiar with all the planets and stars by the favour of Sūrya who was pleased with him due to his exemplary cou-

rage and devotion to his pursuit of astrology, he came to be called Varāhamihira, *mihira* being the name of Sūrya.⁶⁰ According to another legend reportedly based on 'some old Gujarathi text' and floating during recent times, Ādityadāsa and his spouse Satyavati *alias* Indumati, who were inhabitants of the Kapittha *agrahāra*, about 100 miles south-west of Ujjain, were blessed with a son in their fifties and christened him Mihira as he was born by the boon of the Sun god. The prefix Varāha came to be added to the name by the favour of king Vikramāditya who was pleased with him when his prophesy that his (Vikramāditya's) son would be killed by a boar (*varāha*) on a certain day in a particular month in the eighteenth year of his age.⁶¹

In later times Varāhamihira came to be treated as an incarnation of Sūrya himself. To begin with, his commentator Bhaṭṭotpala in the introductory portion of his scholia on the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* and the *Bṛhaj-jātaka* states that the Sun descended to the earth in the form of Varāhamihira in the Kali age in order to save Jyotiṣa-śāstra from wholesale destruction.⁶² The author of the *Suprakāśa* as cited in the *Jyotiścandrodāya*⁶³ would like us to believe that Varāhamihira was a partial incarnation (*aṁś-āvatāra*) of the Sun.⁶⁴ The author of the *Bija-pallava* calls Varāhamihira Mihira, the sun, and offers him obeisance describing him as the knower of all the doubts in the minds of the people, the cause of the movements of the heavenly bodies and the sole eye of the universe.⁶⁵ The Daśādhyāyī gloss on the *Bṛhaj-jātaka* avers that Mihira, having composed the entire Jyotiṣa-śāstra into three branches and fearing its ruin in the Kali age because of the decline in the intellect of the people, abridged the entire science having been re-born as Varāhamihira, son of Ādityadāsa.⁶⁶ According to a story narrated in Ch. 8 of the third Pratisargaparvan of the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*,⁶⁷ the Sun predicted that he would be born as Mihirācārya at Rudrapaśu's house at Ujjayinī. He incarnated himself in the Mūla-gaṇḍānta-viṣaya and was consequently discarded in a river; he reached Laṅkā where he was brought up by the demonesses and became well-versed in Jyotiṣa and was sent back to Ujjain by Vibhiṣaṇa. From being believed as the recipient of a special favour of the Sun god, as Varāhamihira himself says, to being regarded as an incarnation of the god himself, was perhaps a natural, though rather unusual, development. But it appears to have been prompted by some important factors. One of them was apparently the inclusion of the word *mihira* in his name. As we have pointed out earlier, this word by itself was sometimes employed as his name. The feat of composing numerous detailed and abridged works on all the different branches of Jyo-

tiṣa which is so closely associated with the sun playing a pivotal role in the firmament, also might have vitally contributed to this development.

Varāhamihira was a Maga priest. This would follow from his description of the iconography of Sūrya which incorporates a number of the elements introduced by the Magi who came to be known in India as Magas.⁶⁸ Varāhamihira was a devotee of this form of the Sun cult and devotes a larger number of verses to an account of the iconological features of Sūrya as compared to all other divinities.⁶⁹ Moreover, according to him, Magas were the only proper persons to consecrate the images of the Sun,⁷⁰ just as Bhāgavatas were for Viṣṇu, the ash-bearing Brāhmaṇas (Pāśupatas) for Śambhu, those well-versed in the special mode of worship known as *maṇḍala-krama* for the Mother-goddesses, Brāhmaṇas for Brahman, the Śākyas for Buddha, and the sky-clad monks (*nagnas*) for Jina.⁷¹ The name-ending Mihira which the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* describes as the *gotra* of R̥jihva and is borne at present by many Śākadvīpī Brahmins is also a clear pointer to the Maga origin of Varāhamihira.⁷² Reference may be made in this connection to the introductory portion of the commentaries on the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* and the *Yoga-yātrā* where Utpala speaks of Varāhamihira both as *Āvantikācārya* and *Magadha-dvija* which would be hard to reconcile if they are taken in an ordinary sense, viz., 'Ācārya of Avanti' and 'Brāhmaṇa of Magadha'. And the latter cannot be treated as a scribal error for *Maga-dvija*, 'Magian Brāhmaṇa', for it is found repeated in his scholium on *BS*, LXXXV. 4. While this expression has been sought to be explained by scholars in various ways associating Varāhamihira with Magadha,⁷³ Varāhamihira's reticence in this respect is inexplicable and raises doubts about the feasibility of these interpretations. However, according to a passage of the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* the term *Magadha* is synonymous with Maga and denotes those who contemplate upon the Maga.⁷⁴ A comparatively later tradition, which seeks to make the Śākadvīpī Brāhmaṇas indigenous, would make us believe that they came to be called Maga because of their origin from the province of Magadha.⁷⁵ It has been suggested, on the other hand, that Magadha in all probability owes its name to the Magas and so does the dialect Magahī (Māgadhī).⁷⁶ Thus, Magadha in the present context seems to denote Maga, and the use of Magadha by Utpala in this sense appears to indicate that it had acquired this connotation by the ninth century A.D.

The Magas were the Sun-worshipping Magi priests who were originally inhabitants of Medea which came to be included in the Achaemenid empire after Cyrus I's conquest and thereafter they gradually spread over the whole of the Achaemenian world, particularly Iran. Some

of them found a foothold in Zoroastrianism sometime in the fifth century B.C. They appear to have entered India in waves, the first wave coming to north-western India when it passed on to the Achaemenids in the sixth-fifth century B.C.⁷⁷ and the second wave in the wake of Scytho-parthian invasion in the second-first century B.C. The second wave probably played an important role in the transformation of the Sun-cult in India which probably explains their association in Indian tradition with Śaka (or Śāka) dvīpa. The next wave came after the invasion of Islam in the first half of the seventh century A.D. That the immigration of the Magi priests in India has to be dated fairly early is evidenced by the mention by Pto'emy (mid-second century A.D.) of the presence of the Brāhmaṇised Magas (Brakhmanai Magoi) as far south as parts of Mount Bettigo as far as the Batai with the city of Brakhme.⁷⁸ This should suffice to indicate that the region of Mount Bettigo had become a stronghold of the Magas who had become a part of the Indian society and had been accepted as Brāhmaṇas and were no longer confined to northern India where they must have been stronger still. In so far as the Indian literary tradition is concerned, probably the earliest reference is met with in the Great Epic where we are told that Śākadvīpa was inhabited by four *janapadas* including the Magas, Maśakas, Mānasas and Mandagas.⁷⁹ The Magas were probably responsible for popularising the anthropomorphic representation of the Sun-god, who was earlier worshipped in the symbolic form,⁸⁰ and the emergence of the Saura sect.

The story of the immigration of the Magas from Śākadvīpa is narrated with slight variations in some of the Purāṇas including the *Bhaviṣya*, *Sāmba*, *Brahma*, and *Varāha*⁸¹ in chapters which appear to have been interpolated with the object of accommodating the special features introduced by the Magas in solar worship and of improving the social status of the Maga Brāhmaṇas.⁸² The legend of the importation of the Magas as given in the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* may be summed up as follows: Sāmba, son of Kṛṣṇa by Jāmbavatī, who had been afflicted by leprosy due to a curse of Nārada, got cured of this heinous disease by worshipping Sūrya, installed his image in a large temple built by him at Mūlasthānapura⁸³ (modern Multan, probably so-called because of being the original (*mūla*) place (*sthāna*) of the introduction of the Iranian form of Sun cult) on the bank of the river Candrabhāgā (Chenab), and when no Brāhmaṇa priest was available locally to conduct Sun-worship in its new form, brought, on the advice of Gauramukha, Ugrasena's priest, from Śākadvīpa⁸⁴ (Eastern Iran) eighteen families of Maga priests who are described as the descendants of the Sun from Nikṣubhā, the daughter of Ṛgijhva

or Sujihva, a Śākadvīpin Brāhmaṇa of the Mihira *gotra*, and the mother of Jaraśabda or Jaraśasta, viz., Zoroaster. The *Sāmba-purāṇa* locates the scene of Sāmba's austerities and propitiation of Sūrya and the erection of his temple at Mitravana on the Candrabhāgā, apparently the same as Multan. That the Magas were Iranian Magi priests was known even as late as the first half of the eleventh century A.D. when Alberuni wrote, "There are some Magians up to the present time in India where they are called Maga."⁸⁵ The Magas are referred to in numerous inscriptions⁸⁶ and literature⁸⁷ up to the twelfth century A.D. The *Maga-vyakti* of Kṛṣṇadāsa Miśra gives a detailed account of the Maga priests. They are still present in various parts of North India including Bihar and Uttar Pradesh where they are called Śākadvīpin Brāhmanas, Bengal where they are known as Graha-vipras (evidently due to their interest in astrology and lore of planets) and Ācārya Brāhmaṇas, and Rajasthan where their nomenclature is Sevak or Bhojak.⁸⁸ As for Multan, it was well-known as an important centre of Sun cult in later times. Yuan Chwang describes the Sūrya temple at this place in detail as follows: "Of the many temples of Multan, the large and beautiful sun temple was worthy of note; the golden image of the god was studded with precious stones; it was miracle-working, and its fame spread far and wide. The danseuse used to sing and dance inside the temple; it was illumined throughout the night, and offering of flowers, incense, etc., were made at all times. The Indian kings and potentates used to dedicate rich presents to the god, and caused to be built rest-houses and hospitals for pilgrims. Not less than 1000 pilgrims from different parts of the country used to congregate and pray there everyday. The temple precincts were charming, for it was surrounded by big tanks and beautiful gardens."⁸⁹ In the eleventh century A.D. Alberuni also refers to a "famous idol" dedicated to the Sun, and therefore called Āditya, at Multan. "It was of wood and covered with red Cordovan leather; in its two eyes were two red rubies. It is said to have been made in the last Kṛitayuga."⁹⁰ He further informs us that "The Hindus of Multan have a festival called Sāmbapura-yātrā, they celebrate it in honour of the Sun and worship him,"⁹¹ thereby indicating the continuance of the popularity of the Sun cult at Multan where its alien form was initiated. Some other Muslim writers also refer to the Sun temple at Multan. The introduction of this reorientated form of Sun-worship was a *fait accompli* by the time of the Kuṣāṇa emperor Kaniška I on whose coins we come across the representation of the Sun called Miiro, which is a corrupt form of Mihira or Mihr,⁹² and it had become an established norm by the

time of Varāhamihira who described the iconology of Sūrya in its Iranised form. This wide-spread popularity was evidently prompted by certain factors including the belief in the power of Sūrya to cure such heinous diseases as leprosy. Herodotus (I.138) observes: "Whatsoever one of the citizens has leprosy or the white (leprosy), does not come into the city, nor does he mingle with the other Persians. And they say that they contract this (diseases) because of having committed some sin against the Sun." One of the motives behind the worship of Sun in ancient Iran was the cure of leprosy. That Sāmba was believed to have been cured of leprosy due to Sun-worship has already been pointed out, and that this superstition continued till later times is indicated by the *Sūrya-śataka* composed with this objective by Mayūra, a court-poet of Harṣa.

The name Varāhamihira is also highly significant in this connection inasmuch as it leaves no doubt that even though the Magi priests were thoroughly Indianised and absorbed in the Brāhmaṇical fold enjoying the status of the Brāhmaṇas, the highest class in the Brāhmaṇical social order, their Iranian origins were not altogether forgotten. The terminal component of the name, Mihira, is distinctly Iranian in its origin, being a Sanskritised form of Iranian Mihr, which itself is corrupted from Mithra which in turn is the same as Vedic Mitra. The first part, Varāha, though not infrequently met with in ancient Indian names, in this particular combination is also a Sanskritised derivative from Iranian 'varaza'.⁹³ A passage from the *Mihr Yasht*, which forms a part of the *Avesta*, clearly avers that Mihr in his march is preceded by Verethraghna,⁹⁴ the god of victory and strength, in the form of a boar, viz., varaza.⁹⁵ The Boar incarnation of Verethraghna is described in almost the same words in the *Bahran Yasht* (5.15).⁹⁶ These passages should leave absolutely no doubt that the word *varāha* in the name Varāhamihira alludes to the Boar incarnation of Verethraghna and goes well with the second component, *mihira*, the sun, whose companion and harbinger he was.⁹⁷ It will not be out of context to mention here that the Mobadān Mobad of the Sassanian monarch Bahram V (420-438 A.D.), who was himself a Zoroastrian, bore the name Mihrvarāza,⁹⁸ which is obviously the same as Varāhamihira with the only notable difference lying in the alteration of the position of the two components of the name in which *varāha* or boar plays a more dominant role. As suggested by J.E. Sanjana, the Iranian counterpart of the name Varāhamihira must have been Varāzmihr, and some very near ancestor of his was a full-blooded Iranian Maga priest.⁹⁹

The change in the order of the two parts of the name needs some

explanation which is not difficult to find out. It would follow from the Avestan evidence cited above that according to a strong Zoroastrian tradition the Sun was associated with the boar (*varāza*) who was himself a representative or incarnation of Verethraghna who is apparently identical with the Vedic Vṛtrahan or Indra. Thus there appears to have been in existence a powerful cult that centred around the Sun and the boar who was the former's harbinger. This cult may be conveniently designated *Mihrvarāza* which appears to have enjoyed great popularity till at least the fifth century A.D. as indicated by the name of the Mobadān Mobad of the Sassanian emperor Bahram V. In India also in the Ṛgvedic period Sūrya was a very important god and Viṣṇu was regarded as one of his aspects, his most characteristic feature comprising his three strides really representing an activity of the Sun according to ancient Vedic commentators.¹⁰⁰ In the Later Vedic age, however, Viṣṇu was on the gradual rise and in the post-Vedic period he succeeded in attaining the preeminent position of one of the three members of the Hindu trinity of gods and concurrently Sūrya's importance declined though he continued to be worshipped as an independent god with an independent sect (*Saura*) centring around him. And *Varāha* was originally associated with *Prajāpati* who is stated in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xiv. 1.2) to have raised the earth from the bottom of the ocean in the form of a boar.¹⁰¹ But in later times it came to be regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu by the process of transferring this function from *Prajāpati* to Viṣṇu after the latter rose to the position of the supreme godhead.¹⁰² In the Iranian tradition, as has been shown above, *Varāha* was regarded as an incarnation of Verethraghna, i.e., Vṛtrahan Indra.¹⁰³ In India, on the other hand, Viṣṇu is often described as the younger brother of Indra,¹⁰⁴ thereby making the transfer of *Varāha* from Indra to Viṣṇu an easy process. And since Verethraghna himself was closely associated with the Sun, it became easier still.

This transformation appears to have been completed long before the time of *Varāhamihira* (sixth century A.D.) and the result was the emergence of what may be called *Varāhamihira* cult for the sake of convenience. Our author was, of course, named after this cult, and it may be reasonably assumed that one of his close ancestors must have been a follower of this Indianised version of the Zoroastrian cult. And this went well with the Indianised Magi priests who had to cope up with the tide of Sanskritic culture while at the same time retaining their separate identity. In course of time they managed to merge in the Hindu society and contribute a lot to its culture, and today they have become a part and parcel of the Hindu social set up

and can be distinguished only by the above-mentioned distinct names. Its significance can be grasped when it is contrasted with a later wave of the Persian immigrants in the seventh century A.D. who could not be absorbed in the Hindu society which had lost its flexibility which characterised it earlier and still maintain their religion and culture closely guarded and are known as Parsees.

That the Varāhamihira cult had become well-established by about the second century A.D. is clearly indicated by an interesting stone sculpture, now weather-beaten, hailing from somewhere near Mathura and deposited in the Mathura Museum (Accession No. 65.15). It is a fragmentary slab depicting from right to left a standing devotee with hands in the *añjali mudrā*, a four-armed standing figure of Varāha, a male figure holding bow and arrow, obviously a soldier, and a princely figure in a half-reclining posture, which is preserved only up to the waist. It is difficult to ascertain the relationship of these last two figures with the central figure of Varāha. The Varāha figure is broken in the upper part and is now headless, standing in the *ālīḍha* pose with his legs kept wide apart, and the two lower hands kept in the *kaṭihasta* pose. The two upper hands carry the figures of Sūrya (Sun) and Candra (Moon) shown riding a two-horsed chariot each embossed on discs.¹⁰⁵ The figure's face is turned to right and is now mutilated. Near the mouth goddess Pṛthivī (earth goddess) is shown as a small female figure carrying a bud-like object in her right hand. Varāha is shown wearing a tight-fitting garland (*graveyaka*), armlets and bracelets, waist-band (*kāya-bandhana*) and a *dhoti* with its ends collected and hanging between the legs and touching the ground, and has the famous *Śrivatsa* mark on his chest. The panel bears on its lower rim a short dedicatory inscription in Brāhmī, now fragmentary and giving no information of any consequence but sufficient to show that the composition belongs to about the second century (Fig-1) A.D.¹⁰⁶ The panel is of great interest inasmuch as it shows a combination of Varāha and solar figures. It occupies a unique place in the history of the Varāhamihira cult in India, but its importance from this point of view has not been appreciated so far.

In fact, it has been rightly pointed out by Kalpana Desai that according to the ancient Indian traditional concept Varāha himself was identical with the Sun¹⁰⁷ which must have facilitated the growth of the Varāhamihira cult. Thus, right from the time of the *R̥gveda* Varāha was referred to as Vṛṣākapi¹⁰⁸ and Vṛṣākapi is identified with Āditya (Sun) in the *Gopātha-Brāhmaṇa* (II.6.12). In later literary texts this equation of Vṛṣākapi with the Sun or Agni is maintained. In the *Mahābhā-*

rata (XIII.70.91), the *Harivaṁśa* (III.33.15) and the *Matsyapurāṇa* (CCXLVI.15), for example, he is spoken of as one of the Rudras and identified with the Sun or Fire. V.S. Agrawala is inclined to regard Agni and Sūrya as the names of Varāha and invites our attention to the *Bhāgavata* description of *trayīniaya saukara-rūpa* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (X.5.2.2) according to which the *trayī* or triple world-building force is symbolised by Sūrya.¹⁰⁹ And lastly, Chāyā, who is the spouse of Sūrya, is described in some of the Purāṇas as the companion of Varāha.¹¹⁰

The continuance of the Varāhamihira cult during the Gupta period is vouched for by the well-known theriomorphic representation of Varāha popularly known as Yajña-Varāha at Eran which has the depiction of Sūrya and *rāsīs* on its necklace.¹¹¹

No other representation of Varāhamihira is yet reported from anywhere in India, but the cult appears to have migrated to and been popularised in Central Asia in later times as indicated by certain paintings on the walls of a few caves. However, these figures have been erroneously taken as those of Gaṇeśa by scholars. One such fresco has been found in the cave temples at Bezaklik. Here we have the figure of Varāha seated cross-legged on a lotus-seat and six-armed. He holds in his upper two hands symbolic disc-shaped representations of the Sun and the Moon, and in the remaining four hands a disc representing the earth, a battle-axe with streamers, an unidentifiable object and a curved stick-like object, probably a sword (fig. 2).¹¹² There are similar depictions of Varāha in caves 7 and 32 at the same site. In all these figures the snout of the boar is shown quite clearly which should leave no doubt about its identification with Varāha. In fact, Alice Getty appeared quite convinced on this point at one stage and questioned the identity of this figure with the elephant-headed deity Gaṇeśa, but ultimately she supported this identification on some grounds that appear quite flimsy.¹¹³ Dhavalikar also echoes the same view and argues that what looks like the snout of the boar is in reality an unrealistic representation of the trunk of the god or rather an elongation of the nose itself. But he is also somewhat doubtful on this point and observes that 'the trunk of the god is not realistically depicted, what we see instead is a sort of snout like that of a boar'.¹¹⁴ However, in addition to what we have stated above, the ears are too small for an elephant, the eyes and flames shown in the halo of the god represent the fierce (*ugra*) aspect for which there is no room in the entire mythology of Gaṇeśa whereas this element is always present and natural in Varāha figures, and the third disc held by the god and standing for the earth definitely prove

that the figure is that of Varāha, and not of the elephant-headed god.

* * *

A persistent legend met with in some late works like the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga of the 14th century A. D. makes a strong plea for regarding Varāhamihira as a younger or elder brother of the famous Jaina patriarch and astrologer Bhadrabāhu who is believed to have lived in the time of Candragupta Maurya.¹¹⁵ These stories, as would be demonstrated elsewhere in this volume,¹¹⁶ were fabricated to prove, though unsuccessfully, the pre-eminence of Bhadrabāhu over Varāhamihira and of Jaina astrology over Brāhmanical astrology.

There is nothing to decide the veracity of the floating tradition according to which the famous Mīmāṃsā teacher Śabarāsvāmin had four spouses hailing from the four *varṇas* and Varāhamihira was born from the Brāhmaṇa wife.¹¹⁷ Kane places Śabarāsvāmin sometime between 100 and 500 A.D. and states that his real name was Ādityadeva and he got his popular name because of living amongst the aboriginal Śabarā to save himself from the atrocious Jains.¹¹⁸ S.K. Dikshit is inclined to believe this tradition and identify Ādityadeva with Varāhamihira's father Ādityadāsa.¹¹⁹

According to Ferishta, the king of India sent the *Pañcatantra* with a chess-board to Khusraw Nūshirwān (531-578 A.D.), king of Persia, who got it translated into Pahlvi by his minister Buzūrmehr.¹²⁰ M.T. Patwardhan¹²¹ and, following him, A.N. Upadhye¹²² have suggested that Bazūrmehr of this tradition might have been the same as Varāhamihira. Upadhye's arguments in support of his theory may be summarised as follows—

1. The word *mihira* in his name might, in view of the Persian and Avestan prototype of that word, imply some foreign influence. Though the claim of foreign influence is plausible, it is not a necessity; "by anaptyxis we can have (from the Vedic word *mitra*) *mitira-mihira* on the analogy of *kātara-kāhala*." The word *varāha* (hog), forming the first part of a personal name is not quite plausible. Thus it is not quite impossible that Varāhamihira's name might have some foreign tinge. This confirms the tradition that he lived in a foreign country for some time.

2. The word *varāha* is a corruption of *bṛhat* from the root *bṛh*, a secondary form of *ṛdḥ*. In view of the rules of phonetic corruption the most natural change of *bṛhat* would be *barāha*, then *varāha*. His (Varāhamihira's) original name might have been Bṛhanmitra and at an early age he might have got an opportunity to spend some time in a foreign country, probably Persia, where he was known as Varāhamihira or by some such akin name. But Varāhamihira itself is a more

easily pronounciable form of Buzūrjmehr.

3. The presence of the word *bṛhat* in the titles of a couple of his works might not be accidental; the author might be indicating his own name there, for though the "*Bṛhat-jātaka* may be in contrast to his *Laghu-jātaka*, but it must be remembered that there is no *Laghu-saṁhitā* as against the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, a title like the *Garga-saṁhitā* etc."

The theory is indeed quite ingenious, but the arguments adduced in its favour do not carry conviction. There is no need to resort to anaptyxis in order to derive the word *mihira* from Vedic *mitra*. There is nothing unusual in the word *mihira* forming part of the name of a person who is known, as we have seen above, to have been a devout follower of the Persian form of Sun-cult which was introduced in India sometime about the beginning of the Christian era. In fact, the word MIRO, which is phonetically closest to *mihira*, occurs as the designation of the Sun god on some coins of the Kuṣāṇa emperors Kaniṣka and Huiṣka.¹²³

There no doubt exists a tradition to the effect that Varāhamihira visited a foreign country. However, in the absence of reliable data it is not possible to ascertain the veracity of this tradition. Even if one were to admit, for the sake of argument, that there is some truth in the tradition, the country he visited must have been Greece or Rome, for he exhibits a good understanding of Greek astrology, employs some thirty-five Sanskritised Greek astronomical terms¹²⁴ besides speaking highly of the astrological knowledge of the Greeks.¹²⁵

The word *varāha* as a part of personal name may appear quite strange to our modern taste, but, as admitted by Upadhye himself, is not entirely unprecedented. Early Indian literary tradition knows of even more opprobrious names like Kauṇapadanta, Śunzḥsepha, Vāta-vyādhi and Śvetāśvatara. Even names containing *varāha* as a component were not quite uncommon as is indicated by some early Indian inscriptions which give us names like *Varāha*, *Varāhadāsa*, *Varāhadeva*, *Varāhadinna*, *Varāhadatta* and *Varāhasimha*.¹²⁶

The word *bṛhat* is used in the titles of four of his works, not two, as stated by Upadhye, viz., *Bṛhaj-jātaka*, *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, *Bṛhad-yātrā* and *Bṛhad-vivāha-pāṭala*. Further, it does not indicate the author's name but stands in contrast to the abridged versions of these works. Thus, just as we have a *Laghu-jātaka* in contrast to the *Bṛhaj-jātaka*, so also there is a *Svalpa* or *Sanāsa-saṁhitā* as against the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*. A number of verses from this abridged version are cited by Bhaṭṭotpala in his commentary on the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*. These quotations with a short introduction are edited elsewhere in this work.¹²⁷

Even if we were to grant for the sake of argument that *Varāha-*

mihira spent some time in Iran, it would appear to be extremely unlikely that in his own works he should have spoken of himself and should have been known in his native land not by his pristine name, Bṛhanmitra according to Upadhye, but by one which is corrupted from its foreign form, Buzūrmehr.

To sum up, the identification of Varāhamihira with Buzūrmehr of Persian tradition is not tenable at all.

III

Varāhamihira's Works

As we have pointed out above, Varāhamihira is the only Jyotiṣa writer who composed a double set of works, viz., detailed and short, on all the three offshoots of the subject, to wit, I. *Tantra* or mathematical astronomy, II. *Horā* or horoscopy including nativity, marriage and journeys, and III. *Saṁhitā* or mundane astrology which includes practically everything on earth. His larger treatise on the first branch, which is invariably spoken of by Varāhamihira as *Karaṇa*, is now represented by the *Pañca-siddhāntikā*, obviously so called because it summarises the contents of the five main Siddhāntas current during his time, to wit, the *Pauliṣa*, the *Romaka*, the *Vāsiṣṭha*, the *Saura* and the *Paitāmaha*. Though Varāhamihira appears to have prepared an abridged version of this work, it is no longer available.

The *Bṛhaj-jātaka* is his larger work on nativity, while its shorter version is represented by the *Laghu-jātaka* which is also referred to as *Svalpa-jātaka* or *Sūkṣma-jātaka*. On weddings also he is known to have composed the *Bṛhad-vivāha-ṣaṭala* which was redacted in the abridged form known as *Svalpa-vivāha-ṣaṭala*. A *Virāha-ṣaṭala* is now available in manuscript form, and V. R. Pandit's edition of the text still remains unpublished. It is difficult to ascertain at present if it represents the copious or shorter version, though, looking to the size, the latter alternative is more likely. On prognostications of journeys and marches we have two larger works, viz., the *Bṛhad-yātrā*, also called *Mahā-yātrā* and *Yakṣyeśvamedhīyā* or *Yakṣyeśvamedhikā-yātrā* after its second stanza (*Yakṣye=śvamedhena vijitya*, etc.), and the *Yoga-yātrā*, the latter composed as the author was not satisfied with the former text. The contents of the former text are summarised in the *Svalpa-yātrā*, also called *Ṭikaṇika-yātrā*.¹²⁸

On the third branch, *Saṁhitā*, we have his major work known as the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* or *Vārāhi-saṁhitā*. Its abridged version called *Samāsa-saṁhitā* or *Svalpa-saṁhitā* is known to us only from citations in Utpala's commentary on the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*. That it was not only a

smaller version of the larger work on this branch but in some cases marked an improvement upon and departure from it would be evident from a perusal of the extracts quoted by Utpala and edited elsewhere in this volume.¹²⁹

The chronological order of the larger works can be determined with a fair degree of precision on the basis of their internal evidence as well as certain statements encountered in Utpala's commentaries on some of them. Thus, the *Karaṇa* or the *Pañca-siddhāntikā* was evidently his first composition. It was followed in succession by the *Bṛhaj-jātaka*, *Bṛhad-yātrā*, *Yoga-yātrā*, *Bṛhad-vivāha-paṭala* and *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*. After finishing these works he seems to have retouched them and gave certain editorial remarks as can be inferred from a few cross references.

We cannot be that sure regarding the chronology of the shorter texts. We are told in the inaugural stanza of the *Laghu-jātaka* that it was written after the *Bṛhaj-jātaka*. Going by this verse it would follow that the shorter works were composed immediately after the copious text in question. However, we learn from the introductory portion of Utpala's commentary on the *Laghu-jātaka* that Varāhamihira had first abridged his work on mathematical astronomy (*Pañca-siddhāntikā*) which was followed by the abridged version of the *Horā-śāstra* (*Bṛhaj-jātaka*). We are, thus, free to conclude that either each copious work was taken up for abridgement immediately following its composition or that first the author finished all the major works and then launched on summarising them in the shorter texts. One point, however, deserves to be noted in this connection. Utpala tells us in his gloss on the *Yoga-yātrā* that this work was composed as the author treated his *Yakṣyeśvamedhīyā-yātrā* as imperfect.¹³⁰ We have no reason to doubt this statement. If we were to believe that all the shorter works were composed after all the larger texts at a stretch, we should reasonably expect his choice for abridgement to fall on the *Yoga-yātrā* which was more complete according to Varāhamihira himself, as avowed by Utpala. But as we have seen, the *Ṭikanika-yātrā* is an abridgement not of this work, but of the earlier text, the *Bṛhad-yātrā*, which he regarded as imperfect. It therefore appears more likely that Varāhamihira proceeded to abridge each copious work immediately after its composition.¹³¹

A few other astrological and literary works attributed to Varāhamihira are known only from their mention by later authors and citations in some later texts and anthologies. Some other texts on astrological topics but of doubtful nature and attributed to Varāhamihira are extant in manuscript form and deposited in manuscripts libra-

ries.¹³²



The works of Varāhamihira in keeping with his encyclopaedic erudition and scholarship are of inestimable value for the history of Jyotiṣa-śāstra as well as for literary and cultural history. The *Pañca-siddhāntikā* is the only source of our knowledge about the original five Siddhāntas¹³³ which are no longer extant in their original form and what go by these names are really later redactions. A number of authors mentioned in this text are known to us today only from references to them in the *Pañca-siddhāntikā*. As pointed out by Thibaut,¹³⁴ though referred to as *Karaṇa* by Varāhamihira himself, it distinguishes itself from other ordinary works of this class by incorporating certain contents lying outside the domain of a *Karaṇa*. It is definitely more scientific in its approach as compared to the earlier works on this subject even though Varāhamihira could not persuade himself, like Brahmagupta, to concede Āryabhaṭa's position regarding the earth rotating round the sun which is accepted universally now. The works on the second branch of Jyotiṣa dealing with nativity, nuptials and travels, particularly the *Bṛhaj-jātaka* and the *Yoga-yātrā*, enjoy great popularity owing to their wider coverage and comparatively more scientific and human approach. They contain much useful information bearing on cultural history besides being of great importance for the history of astrology.¹³⁵ To crown all these, the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* is of supreme value for the history of astrological literature, most of the older authorities mentioned in it being known exclusively from references in this work. The contents of the *Saṃhitā* fall into two classes : *aṅga* and *upāṅga*. The former includes all that is based on planets, asterisms and the signs of the zodiac, while everything else is called *upāṅga*. A major portion of *upāṅga* including architecture, sculpture, iconometry and iconography, underground water-veins, the celebration of the festival of Indra's flagstaff, fauna, signs of men and women, cloths, shoes, jewels, lamps, tooth-sticks, tiaras, swords, chowries, umbrellas, couches, erotic remedies, perfumery, *nirājana*, etc., which is of great value for reconstructing a picture of contemporary life, was an innovation of Varāhamihira. Moreover, he left out of account certain legendary and unscientific topics.¹³⁶ It contains much useful material bearing on geography, religion and philosophy, socio-economic conditions, architecture, sculpture, erotics, polity, meteorology, etc. It was owing to the specialised nature of its contents that some of its chapters, e.g. *Citramayūra*, *Dṛgargala* or *Jalārgala-śāstra* and *Prāsāda-lakṣaṇa* (Chs. XLVI, LIII and LV respectively), were studied as independent treatises and Varāhamihira came to be regarded as an

authority on a variety of subjects. It was apparently due to its exhaustiveness, lucidity, more appealing presentation and literary merit that it superseded practically all the older *Saṃhitā* works.¹³⁷ Even its abridgement, the *Samāsa-saṃhitā*, though no longer extant and known only from Utpala's citations in his commentary on the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, is not totally bereft of value and originality as would appear from a perusal of these quotations.¹³⁸

Footnotes

- 1 *Arthālaṅkāras* and *śabdālaṅkāras* respectively.
- 2 Ch. CIII of the *BS* is composed in about sixty different metres with their names skilfully inserted in relevant stanzas. There are many other metres employed by Varāhamihira. For a list of these metres, vide *ZDMG*, XLIV, pp. 4-15; *JBBRAS*, XXIV-XXV, pp. 63-64. *Yoga-yātrā*, Chs. IV and V are particularly noteworthy for skilled employment of figures of speech. For some examples, see A.B. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 532-533.
- 3 *Ancitya-vicāra-carcā*, XXVI. 79.
- 4 *BS*, LXXIII. 1 :
Jaye dharitryāḥ puranteva sārāin
Pure gṛhaṁ sadmani c-aikadeśaḥ|
Tatr-āpi śayyā śayane varā stri
Ratn-ojvalā rājya sukhasya sārāḥ||
 is probably the original of Rudraṭa's illustration of the figure of speech called *Sāra*, viz.,
Rājye sārāin vasudhā vasundharāyām puraṁ pure saudham|
Saudhe talpaṁ talpe varāṅgaur-ānaṅga-sarvasvam||
 See M.T. Patwardhan, "Sāra and Varāhamihira", *ABORI*, XV, p. 249.
- 5 Cf. Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 528.
- 6 For references, see *ISBV*, pp. 1-4.
- 7 *Varāhamihir-odadhau su-bahu-bheda-toy-ākule*
Grah-arkṣa-gaṇa-yādasi pracura-yoga-ratn-ojvale|
Bhramanti parito yato laghu-dhiyo=rtha-lubdhās=tataḥ
Karoni Vivṛti-plavaṁ nija-dhiy-āham atr-otpalāḥ||
 This stanza is met with in the introductory portion of his commentaries on the *BS*, *BJ* and *YY*,
- 8 H. T. Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, II, p. 476.
- 9 For a detailed discussion of Alberuni's observations about Varāhamihira and his writings, see *infra*, Ch. XI.
- 10 The *Jyotirvid-ābharāṇa* is said to have been composed in 33 B.C. (XXII.21) and king Vikramāditya founded his era in 57 B.C.

- 11 *Gaṇaka-taraṅgiṇī*, pp. 45-46.
- 12 *HIA*, p. 476. Cf. also *Vikrama Volume*, p. 88, fn. 1.
- 13 *A History of Indian Literature*, p. 534.
- 14 *BS*. Introduction, pp. 12-14. Its only known commentary by Bhāvaratna was composed in Vikrama 1768 and published by Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay, in 1908.
- 14a For a full discussion of the date indicating its late character, see *ISBV*, pp. 4-7.
- 15 *PS*, I, 8-10. It is mentioned in connection with rules for finding out *ahargaṇa* or the sum total of civil days elapsed from an initial epoch to a given date.
- 16 For some other well-known astronomical treatises with their epochs as the dates of their composition, *vide ISBV*, p. 12.
- 17 *I.e.* that it took place in 3102 B.C. But there were different traditions on this point. While some of these traditions place this event in 2448-49 B.C., others are in favour of dating it in mid-second millennium B.C. See P.V. Kane. *HDS*, III, pp. 898-900.
- 18 *PS*, XV. 20.
- 19 For a full discussion of these theories, see *ISBV*, 9-10.
- 20 See Ch. II.
- 21 *Vide* for a full discussion, *infra*, Ch. X.
- 22 T.S. Kuppanna Sastri and K.V. Sarma. "The Śaka Era of Varāhamihira," *JIH*, XXXVI, 1958, p. 347. It may be pointed out that the *kṣepakas*, according to the original *Sūrya-siddhānta* known to Varāhamihira, are also favourable to the *amānta* kṛṣṇa caturdaśī of Śaka 427 expired (428 current) which ended on Sunday, 20th March, 505 A.D. some of them being for the noon of that day and others for the next following midnight. See S. B. Dikshit, "The Original Sūryasiddhānta," *IA*, XIX (1890), pp. 47-51; "The Romaka Siddhānta," *ibid.*, p. 137.
- 23 Kern, *BS*. Introduction, p. 4. This view is shared by some other scholars including B.L. Mukherji ("The Date of Varāhamihira's Birth," *JASB*, NS, VIII, 1912, pp. 275-78), Buddha Prakash (*Aspects of Indian History and Civilization*, pp. 89ff.) and S.R. Goyal (*A History of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 359). Some other writers are inclined to take it to be the date of the composition of the *Romaka-siddhānta* (*Literary Remains of Dr. Bhau Daji*, pp. 240-241) or of a commentary thereon or an adaptation thereof (G. Thibaut, *PS*, Introduction, p. XXXVIII). However, both these views fail to carry conviction.
- 24 S.B. Dikshit, *HIA*, p. 211; R.C. Majumdar, *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, III : *The Classical Age*, p. 323.

- 25 Also cf. S.B. Dikshit, *HIA*, pp. 211-212 and Sudhakara Dvivedi, *Gaṇaka-taraṅgiṇī*, pp. 11-13, where it has been conjectured that Varāhamihira started calculations at about the age of seventeen for his *PS* in 505 A.D.
- 26 For a detailed discussion on Dravyavardhana, see *infra*, Ch. III.
- 27 For these evidences, see *ISBV*, pp. 15-18.
- 28 *TCSM*, II, Pt. 1, Sanskrit-A, p. 2609; *ibid.*, IV-A, p. 4547, No. 3068; *ibid.*, VI, Pt. 1, p. 7208, No. 5241; H.D. Velankar, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Desai Collection of the Bombay University Library*, No. 1463. Varāhamihira's works are also sometimes referred to as Vārāha (*CSMGOML*, p. 9481, No. 13976) and his *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* is often called *Vārāhī-saṁhitā*.
- 29 *Bhāsvatī-karaṇa*, I. 1.4; *TCSM*, IV, Pt. 1, Sanskrit-A, p. 4357. The *Subhaṣita-ratna-kaṣa* quotes a couple of stanzas praising Varāha (Boar) incarnation of Viṣṇu and the Sun (Mihira) in the name of Varāhamihira, probably because of the two components of the name. See *Subhaṣita-ratna-koṣa* (ed. by D.D. Kosambi), Introduction, p. XCVI.
- 29a See his commentary on *BJ*, XXVIII. 9.
- 30 Cf. also the beginning of the Daśādhyāyī gloss on the *BJ* which describes Varāhamihira as 'Ādityadāsātmaja'. See *CSMGOML*, p. 9481, No. 14064.
- 31 *Dīuakara-Vasiṣṭha-pūrvān vividha-muudrān praṇamya bhakty-ādau/ Jonakam gurum ca śāstre yeu-āsmiṇ naḥ kṛto bodhaḥ/*
—*PS*, I. 1.
- Earlier we had taken it to indicate that his teacher in Jyotiṣa was different from his father. See *ISBV*, p. 18.
- 32 Bhaṭṭotpala styles Varāhamihira's son, Pṛthuyaśas, also as *Āvantik-ācārya*. See the introductory portion of his commentary on the *ṣaṭpañcāśikā*.
- 33 *NSM*, VII, pp. 211-212, No. 2453.
- 34 See the concluding portion of Utpala's commentary on *BS*, Ch. II, p. 82.
- 35 *NSM*, IV, p. 11, No. 1376.
- 36 *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 211-212, No. 2453.
- 37 *TCSM*, V, Pt. 1, p. 6587, No. 4479; VI, Pt. 1, p. 7196, No. 5133.
- 38 *Ibid.*, VI, Pt. 1, p. 7196, No. 5233. Also cf. Nos. 2806, 3455.
- 38a Even otherwise Kāpiṣṭhala (Kaithal in Punjab) and Kāmpilyaka or Kāmpillaka (Kampil, one of the ancient capitals of Pañcāla) appear to be wide off the mark and as such do not deserve serious consideration.
- 39 *Gaṇaka-taraṅgiṇī*, p. 11.

- 40 V.V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, I (second ed., Nagpur, 1968), pp. 37-44.
- 41 *Vikrama-sruti-grantha* (Hindi), pp. 263, 356.
- 42 T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, I, p. 233.
- 43 H.C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (sixth ed., Calcutta, 1953), pp. 54, 198.
- 44 This same was mainly probably due to the Gupta emperors Candragupta II Vikramāditya, who had conquered it from the Western Kṣatrapas, and his successors upto Skandagupta who retained Gupta control over the city.
- 45 *BS*, II, 10, 19 :
Yastu san'yag=viṣṇāti horā-gaṇita-saṁhitaḥ!
Abhyarcyah sa narendrena svikartavyo jay-aishā!
Tasmād rāṣṭr-ādhiṅgantavyo vidvān sāvatsaro=graṇih!
Jayaḥ yasaḥ śrīyaḥ bhogān śreyaś=ca samabhiṣatā!
- 46 *Ibid.*, II, p. 74.
- 47 *Ibid.*, II, 6 :
Kṛtsr-āṅg-opāṅga-kuśalaḥ horā-gaṇita-naiṣṭhikam!
Ye na pūjayate rājā sa nāśam uṣagacchati!
- 48 *Ibid.*, II, 20 :
Na tat sahasraḥ kariṣṭiḥ vājīnāḥ ca catuṣguram!
Karoti deśa-kāla-jño yath-aiko daiva-cintakaḥ!
- 49 *BS*, II, 8 :
A-pradiṣṭe yathā rātrir=an-ādityaḥ yathā nabhaḥ!
Tath-ā-sāvatsaro rājā bhramaty-andha iv-ādhanī!
- 50 *Ibid.*, II, 11 :
N-ā-sāvatsarīke deśe vastavyaḥ bhūtim=icchatā!
Cakṣur=bhūto hi yat-aīṣa pāpaḥ tatra na vidyate!
- 51 *Ibid.*, II, 22 :
Na tath-ecchati bhūpateḥ pitā janani vā svajano=thavā suhṛt!
Sv-yaśo=bhivṛddhaye yathā hitam=āptaḥ sa-balasya daiva-vit!
- 52 *Literary Remains of Dr. Bhanu Daji*, pp. 240-241.
- 53 *BS*, Introduction, pp. 15-16 and 19.
- 54 *Vikrama Volume*, pp. 108-109.
- 55 For a detailed discussion, see *infra*, Ch. III.
- 56 Its opening stanza invokes Kāma, the Indian god of love.
- 57 See *BJ*, XXVIII, 9, which describes Varāhamihira as *saviṣṭr-labdha-vara-prasāda*.
- 58 In the introductory portion of his gloss on the *BS*, we come across the expressions *arka-vara-labha-vivṛddha-buddhi* (p. 1, verse 1) and *arka-labdha-vara-prasāda* (prose passage introducing the invocatory verse). The former stanza occurs in his commentary on the *BJ*

(p. 1, verse 1) also while the latter expression is slightly modified into *arkāl=labdha-vara-prasāda* (*Ibid.*, p. 2).

59 *Kutūhala-mañjari* :

*Svasti śrī-nṛpa-sūrya-sūmja-Śake yāte dvi-ved-āmbara-trai
Mān-ābda-mite tv-ānehasi jaye varṣe vasant-ādike/
Caitre śveta-dale śubhe Vasu-tithāv-Ādityadāsād=abhūd=
Vedānge nipuṇo Varāhamihiro Vipro raver=āsibhiḥ//*

60 For a full discussion of the genesis of this legend, see *infra*, Ch. XII.

61 B. Suryanarayana Rao. *Life of Varāhamihira*, second ed., Bangalore, 1945. *V2 D N1*

62 *BJ* and *BS* with Utpala's commentary, p. 1, verse 2 :

*Yac=chāstram savitā cakāra vipulaiḥ skandhais=tribhir jyantiṣam
Tasy-occhitti-bhayāt pīnāḥ Kali-yuge saṁsṛtya yo bhūtalam/
Bhūyāḥ svalpataram Varāhamihira-vyājena sarvaṁ vyadhād=
Ittham yaṁ pravadanti mokṣa kṣalās=tasmai namo bhāsvate//*

63 *TCSM*, IV, Pt. 1, Sanskrit-A, p. 4746, No. 3199.

64 *Pūrvam pūrva-munih sasarja vividham yaj=jyotiṣam Viśvasṛt
Sār-oddhāra-paran tato=py-abhimatām daity-endrayor=mantriṇam/
Tasmād=Garga-Parāśar-ādi-munibhiḥ proktam tad=alpaṁ pīnāḥ
Saṁkṣiptam kṛtavān Varāhamihiro=rk-āms-āvātāro=khilam//*

65 *CMSML*, p. 7672, No. 11523 :

*Mihiram Varāhamihiram vande sandeha-vedinam jagatām/
Jyotiṣ=cakra-vibhāvana-hetum jagad=eka-cakṣur=a-kṣndram//*

66 *CSMGOML*, p. 9481, No. 14064 :

*Jyotiṣśāstram=idam vidhāva-vipulam tri-skandha-bhinnaṁ pūrā
Lokānām mati-māndyataḥ Kali-yuge tat-pāta-bhūtyā pīnāḥ/
Svalpaṁ tat sakalam tato racitavān=Ādityadās-ātmajaḥ
Bhūtvā yo Mihiro Varāhamihiram nānmā namaskurmahe//*

67 Venkateshwar Prees ed. (Śaka 1832), verses 99-125. pp. 340-41

68 For a detailed account, see *infra*, Ch. VIII.

69 *BS*, LVII. 46-52.

70 According to Utpala, *Maga Brāhmaṇas*.

71 *BS*, LIX. 19 :

*Viṣṇor=Bhāgavatān Magāms=ca Savitih Sambhoḥ sa-bhasma=dvijān
Mātrṇām=api maṇḍala-krama-vido Viprān vidur=Brahmaṇaḥ/
Śākyān sarva-hītasya śānta-manaso nagnān Jinānām vidur=
Ye yaṁ devaṁ=npāśritāḥ sva-vidhinā tais=tasya kāryā kriyā//*

72 See also D.K. Biswas, "The Maga Ancestry of Varāhamihira." *IHQ*. XXV (1947), pp. 175-183.

73 H. Kern, on the analogy of the present practice among the Brāhmaṇas to distinguish themselves by the name of the region from

- which they themselves or their ancestors hailed, suggested that Varāhamihira's family traced its origin from Magadha. See *BS*, Introduction, pp. 1-2. Sudhakara Dvivedi, on the other hand, felt that Varāhamihira was born and brought up in Magadha where he learnt astronomy-astrology including Āryabhaṭa's work and later migrated to Ujjain in search of fame and pelf and settled there permanently. *Vide* his *Gaṇaka-taraṅgiṇī* pp. 12-16.
- 74 *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*, Venkateshwar Press ed., I. 117. 53 :
Magam dhyāyanti ye tasmāt tena te Magadhāḥ smṛtāḥ
- 75 Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, I, pp. 159-160.
- 76 *JBRs*, XLVI, p. 311; U.P. Thaplyal, *Foreign Elements in Ancient Indian Society*, p. 18.
- 77 S. Chattopadhyaya, *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, IV, p. 175; V.C. Srivastava, *Sun Worship in Ancient India*, pp. 200, 252-253; "Antiquity of Magas in Ancient India", *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1968, pp. 86-94; "Advent of the Magas or Iranian Priests in India", *Foreigners in Ancient India and Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī in Art and Literature* (ed. D.C. Sircar), pp. 73-79; U.P. Thaplyal, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18, 149; Goyal, S.R., *RHAI*, II, pp. 334-339.
- 78 J.W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 170; R.C. Majumdar, *Classical Accounts of India*, p. 375, para 74.
- 79 *Mahābhārata*, Bhīṣmaparvan, 12.33 (Cr. Ed., I, fascicule 15, p. 66) :
Tatra puṇyā janapadāś-catvāro loka-saṁmatāḥ
Magāś=ca Maśakās=c-aiva Mānasā Mandagās=tathā
- 80 The *Sāmba-purāṇa* (XXIX. 2) avers that earlier the image of Sūrya was conspicuous by its absence and the god was worshipped in the *maṇḍala*. The image of Sūrya, which was miraculously found in the river Candrabhāgā, is said to have been created by the divine architect Viśvakarman. *Ibid.* and Ch. XXII. For the worship of Mithra (Indian Mitra) in symbolic form earlier in Iran and his later representation in anthropomorphic form under Hellenic impact, see J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 438; also *vide*, Goyal, *op. cit.*
- 81 *Bhaviṣya*, Brahma-parvan, 139ff.; *Sāmba*, 3, 24, 26; *Brahma*, 20; *Varāha*, 177; D.R. Bhandarkar, "Foreign Elements in Hindu Population", *IA*, XL (1921), pp. 17ff.
- 82 Cf. R.C. Hazra, *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, I, p. 32; "The Sāmba-Purāṇa, a Saura Work of Different Hands," *ABORI*, XXXVI (1955), pp. 62ff.
- 83 It was also known as Sāmbapura, evidently after the name of its founder.
- 84 For the form of the name, see B.C. Deb, "Śākadvīpa", *ABORI*,

- XXXVI (1955), pp. 358ff.
- 85 E. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, I, p. 21.
- 86 The Deo-Barnarka inscription of the Later Gupta king Jivitagupta II (S.R. Goyal, *Maukhari-Puṣyabhūti-Cāhukya-yugīna Abhilekha*, pp. 134-136) datable to the eighth century A.D. probably contains the earliest datable inscriptional reference to the Magas under the name Bhojaka. We are told that initially the village of Vāruṅikā was granted to the Sun-god Varuṇavāsi-bhaṭṭāraka by king Bālāditya who handed it over to Bhojaka Śūryamitra, and the grant was successively renewed by Śarvavarman and Avantivarman in favour of Bhojakas Haṁsamitra and Ṛṣimitra, and finally by Jivitagupta II himself in favour of Bhojaka Durdharamitra. The Ghatiyala inscription no. II of Kakkuka, dated Vikrama 918=861 A.D., was written by Māṭṭravi who is styled Maga (*EI*, IX, p. 281, text-line 10). The Govindapur (Gaya District, Bihar) inscription, dated Śaka 1059 or 1137-38 A.D., refers to the Maga Brāhmaṇas of Śākadvīpa who were brought (to India) by Sāmba (*Sāmba yān=ānūyā*), and its learned composer, Gaṅgādhara himself hailed from a well-known Maga lineage (*Ibid.*, II, p. 353, verses 2-3).
- 87 In addition to referencs cited earlier, Bāṇa says that Tāraka, a court-astrologer of Prabhākaravardhana, was a Maga. See *Harṣacarita*, p. 128.
- 88 Debala Mitra. "Foreign Elements in Indian Population", *The Cultural Heritage of India*, II, pp. 614-615.
- 89 Thomas Watters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 254.
- 90 C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, I, p. 116.
- 91 *Ibid.*, II, p. 184.
- 92 J.N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 139-140, 438. For coins, see P. Gardner, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of India and Bactria in the British Museum*, Pl. XXVI, Figs. 2 and 10 (Kaniṣka); Pl. XXVIII, Figs. 2-4 (Huviṣka).
- 93 Cf. Jehangir E. Sanjana, "Varāhamihira : An Iranian Name", *Festschrift Dinshah Irani*, pp. 115-122; F.C. Davar, *Iran and India through the Ages*, p. 66; R.K. Arora, "The Magas, Sun-Worship and the Bhaṣya Purāṇa", *Purāṇa*, XIII, p. 68.
- 94 Cf. *Vṛtrahan* of the *Ṛgveda* which is an epithet of Indra who also, according to some Vedicists, was the god of strength and war. See K.C. Chattopadhyaya, *Studies in Vedic and Indo-Iranian Religion and Literature*, I, p. 100.
- 95 Yenhe paurva-naemāt vazaitte Verethraghno Ahura-dhāto hu-kehrpa varazahe paiti-ereno, *Mīhr Yasht*, 18.
- 96 See J.E. Sanjana, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

- 97 V.K. Rajwade also thinks that Varāhamihira is an un-Indian name and equates *varāha* with *hanra*, an imaginary form of Ahura (see *Rājavāde Lekha-saṅgraha*, Part III : *Saṅkirṇa Nibandha*, Poona, 1936, cited by J.E. Sanjana, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-116), which is palpably erroneous.
- 98 Muhammad Iqbal, *Irān ba'ahd-e Sāsāniān* (Urdu translation of the *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* by Arthur Christensen), p. 152, cited by J.E. Sanjana, *op. cit.*, p. 122.
- 99 J.E. Sanjana, *op. cit.*, p. 122. That the name Varāhamihira has a foreign appearance and is comparable to that of the Epathalitic invader, Mihirakula, had been pointed out by D.D. Kosambi also. - See his introduction to the *Subhāṣita-ratna-koṣa*, p. XCVI.
- 100 J.N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 385.
- 101 According to the *Taittirīya-āranyaka* the earth was raised from the waters by a hundred-armed black boar.
- 102 A.A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 41.
- 103 For Indra being an Indo-Iranian god, see S.R. Goyal, *A Religious History of Ancient India*, I, pp. 63-64.
- 104 Cf. The Bihar stone inscription of Skandagupta (Fleet, *CII*, III, No. 14, p. 49, line 1) and the Maitraka King Śīlāditya VII's Alina plates (*ibid.*, No. 39, p. 174, line 14) where Viṣṇu is called *Indrānuja* and *Upendra* respectively.
- 105 Earlier N.P. Joshi, who published the inscription, believed that both the representations were of Sūrya ("A Varāha Image of the Kushāṇa Period", *Lalit Kala*, No. 12, October 1962, pp. 46-47; *Mathura Sculptures*, Mathura, 1966, App. II, pp. iii-vii). But later he rightly modified his view and regarded the two figures as of the Sun and the Moon on the basis of some literary references.
- 106 N.P. Joshi, "Kushāṇa Varāha Sculpture", *Arts Asiaticque*, XII, Rome, 1965, pp. 113-119; *PBMV*, p. 86; *BMS*, pp. 66ff.
- 107 See her addendum to N.P. Joshi's article, *Lalit Kala*, No. 12, Oct. 1962, p. 47.
- 108 Umakanta P. Shah, "Vṛṣākapi in the Ṛgveda", *JOI*, Vol. VIII, No. I, pp. 41ff.
- 109 V.S. Agrawala, "Yajñavarāha : An Interpretation", *Purāṇa*, V, No. 2, pp. 225ff.
- 110 Cf. *Harivaṃśa*, III. 34. 41; *Vāyu*, VI. 22; *Matsya*, CCXLVII. 73, etc.
- 111 N.P. Joshi, *BMS*, pp. 67, 287.
- 112 Other scholars have identified these objects somewhat differently. See Alice Getty, *Gaṇeśa—A Monograph on the Elephant-faced God*, 2nd edition, New Delhi, 1971, p. 41, fig. 4; M.K. Dhavalikar,

- “Gaṇeśa in Central Asia”, *Giridharasri : Essays on Indology* (Dr. G.S. Dikshit Felicitation Volume), Delhi, 1987, pp. 39-40, fig. 6.
- 113 Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
- 114 Dhavalikar, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
- 115 T.L. Shah, *Ancient India*, II, p. 269; IV, pp. 234, 338-339.
- 116 *Vide, infra*, Ch. XII.
- 117 *Brāhmaṇyām=abhavad=Varāhamihiro jyotirvidām=agraṇiḥ Rājā Bhartṛharis=ca Vikrama-ṅrpaḥ Kṣatrātmajāyām=abhūt| Vaiśyāyām Haricandra-vaidya-tilaka jātaś=ca Śaṅkuḥ kṛti Śūdrāyām=Amaraḥ ṣaḍ=eva Śabarasyāmi-dvijasy-ātunajāḥ||*
- 118 *ABORI*, VI, 1925, p. 14.
- 119 *JC*, VI, p. 210. For a few legends and stories, see *ISBV*, pp. 23-25.
- 120 Brigg, *Ferishta*, I, pp. 149-150.
- 121 *Uniarakhayāmacyā Rubāyā* (Marathi) notes, p. 3, cited by Upadhye.
- 122 *IHQ*, IX (1933), pp. 984-986.
- 123 Allen H. Wood III, *The Gold Coin-types of the Great Kushānas*, pp. 8, 11, 21 etc.
- 124 H. Kern (ed.), *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, Introduction, pp. 28-29 fn. 1; Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, pp. 254-255.
- 125 *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, II. 14.
- 126 Lüders' List No. 1131; Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 9, 13, 67, 1195, 1196, 1323, 1712.
- 127 *Infra*, Ch. V.
- 128 For some other names by which this work was known. see Ch. XI.
- 129 *Infra*, Ch. V.
- 130 *Tatr-ādan Vakṣyēśyamedhīyām Yātrām vidhāya tāni=aparipūrṇām manyamāno=parām Yoga-yātrām cikīrṣuḥ.*
- 131 For a detailed discussion. see *ISBV*, pp. 25-28 and 31-34. The latter suggestion regarding the abridged versions is made for the first time in these pages.
- 132 For a list of these works, see *ibid.*, pp. 28-31.
- 133 These Siddhāntas are 1. *Pauliśa*, 2. *Romaka*, 3. *Vāsiṣṭha*, 4. *Saura* and 5. *Paitāmaha*.
- 134 *PS*, Introduction, p. 8.
- 135 *Infra*, Chs. VI and IX dealing with Herakles and the Ājivikas are based exclusively on the *YY* and the *BJ* respectively. Ch. VIII on iconography also draws some useful material from these and *BY*.
- 136 For an account of mythical and legendary matter, see *ISBV*, pp. 433-435.
- 137 *Infra*, Chs. III, IV, VII and X are exclusively based on the *BS*, while Chs. II and VIII also copiously draw upon it.
- 138 See introduction to the edition of these citations in *infra*, Ch. V.

Chapter 2

Śaka Era of Varāhamihira

[The only era mentioned by Varāhamihira is what he calls Śaka-kāla (the era of Śaka or the Śakas), Śakendra-kāla and Śaka-bhūpa-kāla (both meaning the era of the Śaka lord or lords). These expressions are generally taken to refer to the well-known Śaka era beginning in 78 A. D. However, as Varāhamihira gives the gap between the time of Yudhiṣṭhira and the beginning of the Śaka-kāla as 2526 years which is at variance with the more popular notion that the Bhārata war was fought (in which Pāṇḍavas including Yudhiṣṭhira and the Kauravas participated) at the juncture of Dvāpara and Kali, viz., in 3102 B.C., scholars have proposed various theories regarding the Śaka era mentioned by Varāhamihira which is sometimes identified with the hypothetical era started by the Achaemenid emperor Cyrus the Great in 550 B.C. to mark the establishment of his empire or his incursions into India, the era of Buddha's (Śākya's) *nīrvāṇa* which is sought to be dated variously in 543 or 540 B.C., or the well-known Vikrama era with its epoch in 57 B.C. A critical examination of these theories involving the invention of otherwise unknown reckonings, mutilation of the established readings, deviation from traditional interpretations and twisting of facts leaves no doubt about their untenability. It has been shown that all the traditions can be easily accounted for with the identification of the Śaka-kāla and the like with the famous Śālivāhana-Śaka era with its epoch in 78 A. D.]

I

The Evidence

The expression *Śaka-kāla* or Śaka era is commonly understood in the sense of the so called Śālivāhana-Śaka era with its epoch in 78 A.D. The *Pañca-siddhāntikā* and the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira contain references to this era by the words *Śaka-kāla* (the era of Śaka or the Śakas),¹ *Śakendra-kāla*² or *Śaka-bhūpa-kāla*³ (both meaning the era of the Śaka king or kings). In the *Pañca-siddhāntikā* rules are given for finding out the *ahargaṇa* or the sum total of civil days elapsed from an initial epoch to a given date, and for this purpose we are asked to deduct 427 from the number of that Śaka year for which the *ahargaṇa* is to be found out at the commencement of the bright half of Caitra

after the sun has half set at Yavanapura at the beginning of Monday, showing that the epoch of the *Pañca-siddhāntikā* is calculated taking the first day of the bright half of Caitra of Śaka year 427 as the base.⁴ Ch. VIII of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* mentions *Śakendra-kāla* (VIII. 20) or *Śaka-bhūpa-kāla* (VIII. 21) in connection with the rules for finding out the particular five-year period and its year of the 60-year cycle of Jupiter. We are directed to multiply the number of the year elapsed up to a particular Śaka year by 44 ($11 \times 4 = 44$), add to the product 8589 and divide the result by 3750, add the Śaka year to the quotient, divide the result by 60 and the remainder thereof by 5. The latter (5) represents the 5-year lustrums presided over by Nārāyaṇa etc., and the remainder the number of year elapsed in a particular lustrum.⁵ The other reference appertains the position of the Seven Sages in the lunar mansion of Maghā during the rule of Yudhiṣṭhira. It is averred that the Seven Sages were posited in Maghā when king Yudhiṣṭhira was ruling the earth and that the interval between him and (the beginning of) the Śaka-kāla was 2526 years.⁶ The next stanza adds that the Ursa Major remain in each lunar mansion for a hundred years and that they are regarded as posited in that star which makes them conspicuous and to the east of which they rise.⁷

II

Interpretations

The Śaka era mentioned in these verses under various names is generally identified with the well known era of that name commencing in 78 A.D. According to the last two verses (XIII. 3-4), then, the period of Yudhiṣṭhira, and thereby the Mahābhārata war, would fall in 2448 B.C. This is in conflict with the more popularly believed tradition which places the Bhārata war at the juncture of the Dvāpara and Kali *yugas* and the commencement of Kali in 3102 B.C., which is also reflected in the date portion of the famous Aihole *prasaṣti* of the Cālukya emperor Pulakeśin II.⁸ With the object of avoiding this apparent conflict between the dates of the Bhārata war as arrived at on the basis of Varāhamihira's statement regarding the position of the Seven Sages in Maghā at the time of Yudhiṣṭhira and the interval between him and the beginning of the Śaka-kāla (*viz.*, 2448 B.C.) and the more popular notion placing this event about 3102 B.C., some scholars have proposed various theories involving the invention of certain hitherto unknown reckonings as well as the mutilation or alteration of the established readings of certain verses in Varāhamihira's writings.

Cyrus Era

Thus, it has been suggested by various scholars that Yudhiṣṭhira passed away in the 26th year of the Kali age and that by Śaka-kāla or allied nomenclatures Varāhamihira has actually referred to a hypothetical era initiated by the Achaemenid emperor Cyrus the Great in order to commemorate the establishment of his great empire or his inroads into the Indian borderland in 550 B.C., which would exactly correspond to 2526 years after Yudhiṣṭhira, as averred by Varāhamihira, and would at the same time eliminate conflict between his statement and the popular tradition (3102-26-2526=550 B.C.).

Buddha Nirvana Era

According to another view, the *Śaka-kāla*, etc., here are errors for *Śakya-kāla* or *Śākya-kāla*, etc., which actually refer to the era of Buddha's (Śākya's) *nirvāṇa* or passing away which is sought to be dated variously to 543 or 540 B.C.

If we were to accept these views, Varāhamihira would have to be placed in the latter half of the second and the adjacent part of the first century B.C., which is simply impossible. We have examined these views and demonstrated their untenability elsewhere.⁹ We have also pointed out that according to a persistent tradition prevailing up to early mediaeval period and cited by the well-known Kashmiri historian Kalhaṇa there was a long interval between the beginning of the Kali age and the Bhārata war. It is stated that the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas flourished 653 years after the commencement of the Kali age, the notion that the Bhārata war was fought at the end of Dvāpara is false and those who believe in this notion are foolish.¹⁰ This statement of Kalhaṇa is apparently based on the above-mentioned stanza of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* (XIII. 3) which is, in fact, quoted a little later (I. 56). This tradition, which may be termed Varāhamihira-Kalhaṇa tradition, would lead strong support to 2448 B.C. as the date of the Bhārata war.¹¹

Vikrama Era

It has been recently suggested by G.S. Gai and S. Sankaranarayanan that by Śaka-kāla Varāhamihira actually means the Vikrama samvat commencing in 58-57 B.C., and not the Śaka-Śālivāhana era of 78 A.D. This suggestion has been offered with a view to lending support to their reading and interpretation of the date portion of the Hisse-Borala stone inscription of the Vākāṭaka monarch Devasena of the Vatsagulma (Basim) branch of the family. The reading and interpretation of this portion has become controversial owing to the damaged condition of this part of the stone bearing this four-line inscription.¹²

That this inscription is dated in Śaka 380 corresponding to 457

A.D.¹³ is admitted by all the epigraphists, but due to the mutilation of this portion of the epigraph various guesses have been made by scholars dealing with this record.¹⁴ That this portion specifies the date of the record in astronomical terms with reference to the position of the Saptarṣis in Uttarā-Phālgunī is admitted by all the scholars including Gai and Sankaranarayanan. They propose to read the relevant portion of the record as *Siddham [Dharmas*] utasya vri(vr)ttasya 3000 20 Sapta=rṣaya Uttarāsu Phāl [guni*] ṣu Śakān [ām] 380*. According to Gai and Sankaranarayanan the passage, thus, speaks of the Yudhiṣṭhira (Dharmasuta) year 3020 when the Saptarṣis were in Uttarā-Phālgunī and the corresponding Śaka year was 380. However, as according to the generally accepted interpretation of *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, XIII. 3-4, Śaka 380 would correspond to the Yudhiṣṭhira year 2906, and not 3020 as desired by them to suit their own interpretation, they propose to take *ṣaḍ-dvika-pañca-dvi* of the relevant verse of the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* (XIII. 3) in the sense of 2512 (instead of 2526 as generally understood) besides understanding the expression *Śaka-kāla* as meaning the Vikrama Samvat of 57 B.C. instead of the Śaka-Śālivāhana era of 78 A.D. And as even according to this interpretation the Yudhiṣṭhira year for Śaka 380 would be 3027, they suggest to separate the word *sapta* from the following *rṣaya* and take the former as forming a part of the date, viz., 3027, which would regularly correspond to the Śālivāhana-Śaka year 380, as averred in the inscription. However, in the Yudhiṣṭhira year 3027 the Seven Sages were, according to Varāhamihira tradition, in the Hasta *nakṣatra*, and not in Uttarā-Phālgunī as stated in the epigraph. This discrepancy is sought to be accounted for on the supposition that in this respect the composer of the record followed the Purāṇic tradition according to which the Seven Sages were in Maghā at the time when Yudhiṣṭhira's grandson, Parīkṣit, came to the throne after his grandfather Yudhiṣṭhira's rule covering 36 years. Deducting 36 years of Yudhiṣṭhira's rule from the Yudhiṣṭhira year 3027, we arrive at the Parīkṣit year 2991 when the Saptarṣis were in Uttarā-Phālgunī as stated in the inscription. Accepting all these hypotheses, the relevant passage may be translated as follows—“(in the year) 3027 of the famous Dharmasuta (viz., Yudhiṣṭhira) when the Sages were in the Uttarā-Phālgunī (and in the year) 380 of the (Śālivāhana) Śakas.”

But the reading and interpretation proposed by Gai and Sankaranarayanan, notwithstanding all the unwarranted conjectures, fail to carry conviction. First, as regards the reading. The reading of the first three letters, which are missing, is a matter of conjecture, pure and simple, in such cases the only scientific criterion for the choice of

one reading in preference to others being its capability to yield a satisfactory meaning. However, as would be shown in the sequence, the reading proposed by Gai and Sankaranarayanan not only does not admit of a satisfactory interpretation but also lands them in insurmountable difficulties involving several unwarranted suppositions one after the other. Their reading of the symbol preceding 20 as 3000 is not supported by any evidence cited by them. Their only argument in support of their reading is that the same symbol occurs for 3000 in a Nasik inscription of Uṣavadāta, son-in-law of the Śaka Mahākṣatrapa Nahapāna.¹⁵ However, an examination of the facsimile of the Nasik inscription under consideration¹⁶ should suffice to convince even a casual viewer, not to speak of a student of epigraphy, that there is a world of difference between the symbol for 3000 and the sign in the present inscription. We must point out in this context that the symbol for 3000 in the Nasik inscription in question (or, for that matter, anywhere else) does not show any curve at the lower end of the vertical¹⁷ as does the symbol in our (Hisse-Borāla) inscription. It should also be noted in this connection that the same Nasik inscription also contains the symbols for 1000, 2000, 8000 and 70000, but in all these cases the vertical of the basic sign of 1000 is almost straight.¹⁸ Then, again, a hook-like stroke appended to the right of the vertical noticed in the present record cannot be accounted for in case it is taken to be meant for 3000.¹⁹ The symbol in question, thus, cannot be taken as 3000.

Once the improbability of the reading 3000 as proposed by Gai and Sankaranarayanan has been demonstrated, the untenability of their interpretation based thereupon becomes quite apparent. But even if we were to concede, for argument's sake, their reading to be correct, the following discussion would reveal the highly unconvincing character of their interpretation. It ignores, nay goes squarely against, some of the well-established traditional interpretations besides involving distortion of some well-known facts. The principal bases of their theory are as under—

- (i) Use of the Yudhiṣṭhira era,
- (ii) *ṣaḍ-dvika-pañca-dvi-yutaḥ* = 2512,
- (iii) Śaka-kāla = Vikrama era,
- (iv) Date partly in figures and partly in words, and
- (v) Mention of the position of the Seven Sages following the Purāṇic tradition.

We must put these points to a searching examination serially which is attempted below.

I. Use of the Yudhiṣṭhira Era

The learned scholars favour the Yudhiṣṭhira era because the 3020th year of the Kali era commencing in 3102 B.C. does not correspond to Śaka 380,²⁰ the date of the record. In this context it must be pointed out that the Yudhiṣṭhira era is not referred to so early as that either in literature or inscriptions. Whether such a reckoning was actually current is doubtful. Varāhamihira also does not mention any era started by or counted from Yudhiṣṭhira's time. What he does is just to indicate the time of Yudhiṣṭhira by referring to the interval separating his rule from the commencement of the Śaka-kāla, evidently on the basis of the most popular traditions obtaining during his days. Consequently, the employment of the Yudhiṣṭhira era is not very likely in so early an epigraph as the one under consideration.

II. Sad-dvika-panca-dvi-yutaḥ=2512

Bhaṭṭopāla, the well-known scholiast of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, takes the expression *ṣaḍ-dvika-pañca-dvi-yutaḥ*²¹ in the sense of 2526 years (*sahasra-dvayena pañcabhiḥ sataiḥ ṣaḍ-vimsaty-adhikair 2526 Śaka-nṛpa-kālo yuktaḥ kāryaḥ*), and this interpretation is generally accepted by scholars.²² But, as pointed out above, it does not suit Gai and Sankaranarayanan, and, therefore, they take this expression to mean 2512. The only evidence adduced by them in support of their argument is that Varāhamihira employs the *ka*-ending numerals for denoting multiples. Accordingly, *ṣaḍ-dvika*= $6 \times 2 = 12$. However, this is only partially true. We do not deny that in Varāhamihira's works we often find the use of *ka*-ending numerals in the sense of multiples. However, it is equally true that there are numerous instances of the numbers terminating in *ka* being employed in the ordinary sense. For example, we may mention *lavaṇodaka-ṣaṭka*=64 (not $4 \times 6 = 24$),²³ *tri-dvika*=23 (not $3 \times 2 = 6$),²⁴ *sapt-aṣṭaka*=87 (not $7 \times 8 = 56$),²⁵ *aṣṭa-navaka*=98 (not $8 \times 9 = 72$),²⁶ *ṣaṭka-pañcaka*=56 (not $6 \times 5 = 30$),²⁷ etc. It is, thus, not necessary to take *ṣaḍ-dvika-pañca-dvi-yutaḥ* in the sense of 2512 just to suit the impossible reading 3000, suggested by Gai and Sankaranarayanan. Moreover, the above-mentioned interpretation of Bhaṭṭa Utpala is strongly supported by a tradition recorded by the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa which we have already referred to.²⁸ This tradition, as already mentioned, lends strong support to 2448 B.C. as the date of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas and thereby the period of the Bhārata war. Unless we take *ṣaḍ-dvika-pañca-dvi-yutaḥ* to mean 2526, the stanza in question cannot be reconciled with Kalhaṇa's statement.²⁹ In case it is taken in the sense of 2512, as proposed by Gai and Sankaranarayanan, Yudhiṣṭhira (and, for that matter, the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas) will have to be placed in 2434 B.C. (2512-

78=2434). In view of these facts the expression in question cannot be taken to mean anything but 2526.

III. Saka-kāla=Vikrama samvat

The expression Śaka-kāla is generally, and rightly, taken to denote the famous Śālivāhana-Śaka era with 78 A.D. for its epoch. However, as this meaning is irreconcilable with the imaginary reading *Dharma-sutasya vṛttasya 3020* proposed by Gai and Sankaranarayanan, they insist on taking the word in question to mean the Vikrama era with 58-57 B.C. for its epoch. This theory is based on Utpala's commentary on *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, VIII. 20, wherein it is stated that the Śakas were Mleccha kings and the time of their destruction by the illustrious Vikramāditya is well-known as Śaka or Śakendra-kāla (*Śaka nāma Mleccha-jātayo rājānas=te yasmin kāle Vikramāditya-devena vyāpādītāḥ sa kālo loke Śaka iti prasiddhaḥ|tasmāc=Chakendra-kālāt Śaka-nṛpa-vadha-kālāt*). Not only Utpala, but Pṛthūdakasvāmin (circa 864 A.D.),³⁰ and Āmarāja (circa 1180 A.D.)³¹ also make similar statements in respect of the commencement of the Śaka era in their commentaries on the *Khaṇḍa-khādyaka* of Brahmagupta. The strange notion that the Śaka era coincided with and commemorates the annihilation of the Śaka chiefs by Vikramāditya appears, to have got currency in later times, and it is mentioned by the Arabic writer Abu Raihan Ibn Ahmad Alberuni in his *Kitab-ul-Hind* also.³² However, he clearly draws a line of distinction between the Vikrama and the Śaka eras which, as he rightly points out, were separated from one another by an interval of 135 years.³³ When and why this peculiar notion about the commencement of the Śaka era came into existence and whether the distinction between the Vikrama and the Śaka eras was clear to these late commentators are questions that are irrelevant in the present context.³⁴ The only problem that is pertinent at the moment is the sense in which Varāhamihira has employed the expression Śaka-kāla. We have a clinching evidence to decide this point. Varāhamihira composed his *Pañca-siddhāntikā*, in or around the year 427 of what he calls Śaka-kāla.³⁵ If Śaka-kāla is here taken to denote the Vikrama era of 57 B.C., the composition of the *Pañca-siddhāntikā* will have to be dated in or about 370 A.D.³⁶ This would, however, result in a serious anachronism. For, this text contains an allusion to the famous astronomer Āryabhaṭa³⁷ who was born in 476 A.D. and composed his *Āryabhaṭīya* in 499 A.D.³⁸ In view of this fact we are left with no alternative but to take the word *Śaka-kāla* in the sense of the Śālivāhana-Śaka era commencing in 78 A.D.

IV. Date (Yudhisthira Year 3027) Partly in Figures and Partly in Words

As already pointed out, the Yudhiṣṭhira year 3020 does not correspond to Śaka 380, and, in order to obviate this difficulty, Gai and Sankaranarayanan are inclined to take the word *sapta* following 20 as part of the date which, according to them, is 3027. In other words, the date is expressed partly in figures and partly in words. However, it is pertinent to note in this connection that although innumerable dated inscriptions have been reported from various parts of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, this strange method of indicating the date is rare in the extreme. Normally the date is given either in figures or in words or both in figures and words, but certainly not partly in figures and partly in words. Therefore, this suggestion also, like others, is highly problematical.

V. Reference to the Position of the Saptarṣis according to the Puranic Tradition

But even if we were to concede all the above arguments, in the Yudhiṣṭhira year 3027 the Seven Sages were not in Uttarā-Phālgunī *nakṣatra*, as averred in the epigraph. In order to obviate this problem Gai and Sankaranarayanan indulge in the imagination that the author of the Hisse-Borala inscription indicated the position of the constellation of Ursa Major following the Purāṇas which state that the Saptarṣis were in Maghā at the time of Parīkṣit's accession which coincided with the commencement of Kali. However, the fact that the Kali and the Yudhiṣṭhira eras were different from each other is admitted by Gai and Sankaranarayanan also. As stated by Kalhaṇa, there was an interval of 653 years between the beginning of the Kali-yuga and the time of Yudhiṣṭhira as given by Varāhamihira.³⁹ The two traditions being entirely different and diametrically opposed to one another, it is most unlikely that the composer of the Hisse-Borala inscription would follow the Varāhamihira-Kalhaṇa tradition while giving the date in the Yudhiṣṭhira era and the Purāṇic tradition while specifying the position of the Ursa Major at the same time. Moreover, it must be pointed out in this connection that according to the Purāṇic tradition about the date of Parīkṣit the Seven Sages were in Jyeṣṭhā, not Uttarā-Phālgunī, in Śaka 380. It is, thus, impossible to reconcile the Varāhamihira-Kalhaṇa tradition regarding the date of Yudhiṣṭhira and the Purāṇic tradition about the position of the Saptarṣis at the time of Parīkṣit's accession.

It would follow from the above discussion that the views of Gai and Sankaranarayanan are quite untenable. Not only do they fail to unravel the mystery surrounding the date portion of the Hisse-Borala inscription which has suffered mutilation due to the fact that the stone bearing this record has been damaged irreparably in this part, but,

also, they make it much more complicated. In the process they have also failed to prove that the Śaka era mentioned by Varāhamihira is identical with the Vikrama era. The best thing under the circumstances would be to leave this portion as it is and to remain satisfied with the date expressed in a known reckoning, Śaka 380 or 458 A.D.⁴⁰

In fine, we must conclude that by Śaka-kāla and the like Varāhamihira means nothing but the well-known Śaka era of 78 A.D.

Footnotes

1 *PS*, 1.8; *BS*, XIII. 3.

2 *Ibid.*, VIII. 20.

3 *Ibid.*, VIII. 21.

4 सप्ताश्विनेदसंख्य शककालमपास्य चैत्रशुक्लादौ ।
अर्घास्तमिते भानौ यवनपुरे सोमदिवसाद्ये ॥
मासीकृते समासे द्विष्टे सप्ताहृतेऽष्टयमपक्षैः ।
लब्धैर्युतोऽधिमासीस्त्रिंशत्तन्स्त्रियुतो द्विष्टः ॥
रुद्रघ्नः समनुसरो लब्धो नो गुणसप्तभिर्द्युगणः ।
रोमकसिद्धांतोऽयं नातिचिरे पोलिशेऽप्येवम् ॥ —*PS*, I. 8-10.

5 गतानि वर्षाणि शकेन्द्रकालाद्यतानि रुद्रगुणयेच्चतुर्भिः ।
नवाष्टपञ्चाष्ट 8589 युगानि कृत्वा विमाजयेच्छून्यारागरामैः 3750 ॥
लब्धेन युवतं शकभूपकालं संशोध्य पट्टया विपरीद्विनश्य ।
युगानि नारायणपूर्वकाणि लब्धानि शेपाः क्रमशः समाः स्युः ॥ —*BS*, VIII. 20-21

6 आसन् मघासु मुनयः शासति पृथ्वीं युधिष्ठिरे नृपते ।
पद्द्विकपञ्चद्वियुतः शककालस्तस्य राजश्च ॥ —*BS*, XIII. 3.

7 एकस्मिन्नक्षेत्रे शतं ते चरन्ति वर्षाणाम् ।
प्रागुदयतोऽप्यविवराद्दृजुन्नयति तत्र संयुवतः ॥ —*Ibid.*, XIII. 4

8 त्रिशत्सु त्रिसहस्रेषु भारतादाद्ववादितः ।
मत्ताब्दशतयुक्तेषु गतेष्वब्देषु पंचसु ॥
पंचाशत्सु कलौ काले पट्सु पंचाशतासु च ।
समासु समतीतासु शकानामपि भूभुजाम् ॥ —*EI*, Vol. VI, p. 7.

9 *ISBV*, pp. 9-10.

10 भारतं ह्यपरास्तेऽभूद्वातंयेति विमोहिताः ।
केचिदेतां मृषा तेषां कालसंख्यां प्रचक्रिरे ॥
शतेषु पट्सु सार्धेषु द्व्यधिकेषु च भूतले ।
कलेर्गतेषु वर्षाणामभूवन्कुरुषाण्डवाः ॥ —*Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*, I, 49, 51.

11 For a full discussion on this problem, see *ISBV*, pp. 10-11. P.C. Sengupta ("Astronomical References in the Mahābhārata and their Significance", *JRASBL*, III, (1933), pp. 101-119; "Bhārata Battle Traditions", *ibid.*, IV (1938), pp. 393-413) finds support for this tradition in the *Mahābhārata* itself. Also see P.V. Kane, *HDS*, III, pp. 898-900, where some supporting evidences are cited.

12 Shobhana Gokhale (*EI*, XXXVII, pp. 1-4) and V.B. Kolte (*Dr.*

Mirashi Felicitation Volume, pp. 372-387; see also *Vidarbha Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala Vārṣika* (Marathi), 1964, pp. 137-156) originally edited the inscription, while G.S. Gai and S. Sankaranarayanan (*EI*, XXXVII, pp. 5-8) and the present author (*Unesh Mishra Commemoration Volume*, pp. 617-627) offered their comments on its controversial portion.

This short inscription registers the construction of a lake, called Sudarśana, by Ārya Svāmīlādeva, an obedient servant of the Vākāṭaka king Devasena, in Śaka 380, *viz.*, 457-458 A.D.

- 13 This is the only inscription to be dated in a well-known reckoning and is consequently of singular importance for determining the chronology of the Vākāṭakas which was hitherto based only on the synchronism between them and the Imperial Guptas.
- 14 In addition to the epigraphists referred to in note 12 above, D.C. Sircar and J.E. Mitchiner (*JAIH*, I, pp. 94-98, and *Monthly Bulletin of the Asiatic Society*, August, 1978, pp. 6-7 respectively) and B.N. Mukherjee (*JESI*, VII, pp. 2-5) have also participated in the debate on this valuable epigraph.
- 15 *EI*, VIII, p. 82, No. 12.
- 16 *Ibid.*, Pl. V, No. 12, opposite p. 82.
- 17 *Ibid.* See also G. Bühler, *Indian Palaeography* (Calcutta, 1959), Pl. IX, Column IV.
- 18 *Ibid.*, Pl. IX; *EI*, VIII, Pl. V, No. 12, facing p. 82.
- 19 A comparison with the stroke for the medial *ā* repeatedly found in the present inscription would reveal that the rather bold horizontal top-stroke attached to the right of the symbol under consideration is an irregular stroke. Alternatively it may be regarded as a crack.
- 20 Śaka 380 = Kali 3101 + 78 + 380 = 3559.
- 21 Occurring in *BS*, XIII, 3, cited above.
- 22 However, a few scholars do not agree with this interpretation of the expression *ṣaḍ-dvika-pañca-dvi-yutaḥ* which they interpret differently each for his own reason. Thus, V.G. Aiyer in his *Chronology of Ancient India* (p. 75) is inclined to take it in the sense of 26 times 25, that is, 650 years, while according to C.V. Vaidya, it means 2566 years (*Mahābhārata : A Criticism* (Bombay, 1904), p. 68). K.L. Daftari (*The Astronomical Method and its Application to the Chronology of Ancient India* (Nagpur, 1942), p. 77) cites this stanza in the name of Garga and, like C.V. Vaidya, takes the expression *ṣaḍ-dvika* to mean two sixes or 66. All these interpretations are opposed to Utpala, who was removed from Varāhamihira by about three centuries only and is certainly more dependable in

this matter than modern scholars. And, as has been shown above, his interpretation finds strong support from the famous poet-historian Kalhaṇa.

23 *PS*, II. 12.

24 *Ibid.*, IV. 30.

25 *Ibid.*, VIII. 1.

26 *Ibid.*, VIII. 4.

27 *Ibid.*, VIII. 8.

28 *Vide Surpa*, note 10.

29 2526-77=2448 B.C.

30 *Śakā nāma mlecchā rājāna=te yasmin kāle Vikramādityena vyāpāditāḥ sa kālo=tyartham prasiddhaḥ. Khaṇḍa-khādyaka* (edited by P.C. Sengupta with Pṛthūdakasvāmin's commentary, Calcutta, p. 3.

31 *Śakā nāma mleccha rājānas=te yasmin kāle Vikramādityena vyāpāditāḥ sa Śaka-sambandhi kālaḥ Śaka ity=ucyate. Khaṇḍa-khādyaka* with Āmarāja's gloss (Calcutta, 1925), p. 2.

32 This work was composed in 1030 A.D.

33 "The epoch of the era of Śaka or Śakakāla", says Alberni, "falls 135 years later than that of Vikramāditya. The here-mentioned Śaka tyrannised over their country between the river Sindh and the ocean after he had made Āryāvarta in the midst of this realm his dwelling place. ...The Hindus had much to suffer from him, till at last they received help from the east, when Vikramāditya marched against him, put him to flight and killed him in the region of Karur, between Multan and the castle of Loni. Now this date became famous ... since there is a long interval between the era which is called the era of Vikramāditya and the killing of Śaka, we think that the Vikramāditya from whom the era has got its name is not identical with that one who killed Śaka, but only a namesake of his." E. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, II, p. 6.

It is curious to note in this connection that in Alberuni's period the Gupta-kāla also, like the Śaka-kāla, was believed to commemorate the termination of the rule of the Guptas. See *ibid.*, II, p. 7.

34 That Bhaṭṭotpala, while giving the date of the composition of his work, actually employed the word *Śaka* for the Vikrama era has been shown by us elsewhere. See *IHQ*, XXXVIII, pp. 247-259.

35 This meaning must satisfactorily explain all the relevant facts.

36 427 v.s.-57=370 A.D. It could not have been composed before this date.

37 *PS*, XV. 20.

42 *Varāhamihira and His Times*

38 पण्ड्यवदानां पण्डियंदा व्यतीतास्त्रयश्च युगपादाः ।
व्यधिका विशतिरव्दास्तदेह मम जन्मनोऽतीताः ॥

39 Kalhaṇa speaks of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas, while Varāhamihira refers to the date of Yudhiṣṭhira's rule, which are obviously identical.

40 For the contents and significance of the Hisse-Borala inscription, see Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Early History of the Deccan : Problems and Perspectives*, pp. 64-65.

Chapter 3

Mahārājādhirāja Dravyavardhana

[Dravyavardhana, described as *Mohārājādhirāja* and king of Avanti by Varāhamihira, was regarded as an authority on astrology, especially omens. Varāhamihira held him in a specially high esteem and appears to have enjoyed his patronage as may be inferred from the tenor of his description. However, there is a divergence of opinion regarding not only the ruling family to which he belonged but also about his general period and capital. While there seems to be emerging a general consensus in favour of assigning him to the Aulikara family in view of his *vardhana*-ending name and general chronology, scholars are greatly divided on the questions as to whether he had his capital at Daśapura (modern Mandasor) or Ujjayinī (modern Ujjain) and whether he lived before or after Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana. After a thorough analysis of the textual evidence it has been shown that he ruled from the city of Ujjayinī, and the name Avanti in this context stands for the limited sense of the capital of Avanti, Ujjayinī, which was also known as Avanti, and the examination of the inscriptional data, including some recently discovered epigraphs, leaves no doubt that he flourished in the post-Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana period and was responsible for shifting the dynastic capital from Daśapura to Ujjayinī.]

I

The Evidence

Varāhamihira's writings are of inestimable value for the cultural and scientific history of ancient India, but they are singularly deficient as regards information on political history. It was a normal practice with the astronomical and astrological writers of the post-Christian period to refer to the ruling chief under whose patronage or during whose reign the work was composed and the date of its completion, sometimes one and in some cases both, which enable us to determine their dates precisely. However, Varāhamihira did not follow this practice in any of his numerous works with the result that there is considerable difference of opinion and uncertainty about his date and royal patron, if any, whose generosity might have facilitated his literary activity.

The only specific reference to a king occurs, rather unexpectedly, in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*¹ in connection with the treatment of the *sākunas*

or omens. We are told that Varāhamihira utilised, *inter alia*, the work which *Mahārājādhirāja* Dravyavardhana, king of Avanti, had written after consulting the work, obviously on the same subject, of Bhāradvāja.² Avanti, it must be pointed out, denoted the country of Western Malwa and also its ancient capital Ujjayinī, now represented by the city of Ujjain in the present state of Madhya Pradesh. However, Varāhamihira has himself given a definite indication that he understood this name in the latter sense. This would be apparent from a comparison of *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, XII. 14 dealing with the appearance of Agastya (Canopus)³ and its parallel in the *Samāsa-saṁhitā*⁴ cited by Bhaṭṭotpala, the commentator, in his commentary on this stanza.⁵ While in the former we have 'Ujjayinī' specifically mentioned, we find 'Avanti' used for it in the latter. Bhaṭṭotpala also takes the two names in this context as of identical meaning.⁶ In the context of the reference to king Dravyavardhana in connection with the *śākunas* also he takes Avanti as synonymous with Ujjayinī.⁷ Varāhamihira was himself a resident of Avanti (*Āvantika*) as stated by him in *Bṛhaj-jātaka*, XXVIII. 9, where also Bhaṭṭotpala is inclined to take it in the sense of the city of Ujjayinī which was the capital of the country of Avanti.⁸ There should, therefore, be no doubt that Varāhamihira, himself an inhabitant of Ujjayinī, was familiar with Dravyavardhana as the ruler of Avanti with its metropolis at Ujjayinī.⁹

As has been pointed out above, this forms the only specific reference to a monarch made by Varāhamihira in all his writings, and there must obviously have been some special reason for it. A careful perusal of the stanzas in question seems to indicate that Varāhamihira entertained a highly reverential attitude towards Dravyavardhana. The latter is referred to immediately after an authority named Ṛṣabha who wrote his work on the subject on the basis of the views of traditional authors like Śakra, Śukra, Vāgīśa (Bṛhaspati), Kapiṣṭhala, Garutmān,¹⁰ Bhaguri and Devala, and before the Saptarṣis (Seven Sages) and numerous *Yātrā*-writers including Garga, and Sanskrit and Prakrit texts which Varāhamihira is stated to have utilised for his chapter on *śākunas* (*sarva=śākuna-saṁgraha*). Based on Bhāradvāja's work as it reportedly was, Dravyavardhana's book must not have been of a very high standard. However, Varāhamihira not only mentions his work before reputed authorities like the Seven Sages and definitely historical writer Garga, but besides describing him as *Mahārājādhirāja* and king (*uṣpa*) of Avanti (*Āvantika*), employs for him alone the honorific *śri* (illustrious) which is indicative of the high respect in which Dravyavardhana was held by him. There was obviously some special relationship between Varāhamihira and Dravyavardhana,

and it may be reasonably concluded that the latter was the royal patron of the former at the time of the composition of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*. Even if for some reason this conclusion is not found acceptable, it can definitely be averred that he was a contemporary of Varāhamihira, though we should prefer the alternative suggestion.

It would thus be seen that the determination of the date of Dravyavardhana would be of great value for ascertaining that of Varāhamihira, even though we know that the latter flourished in the first half of the sixth century A.D.

II

Differing Views

P.V. Kane, who first invited scholarly attention to this historically valuable reference, was naturally unable to offer any definite suggestion on the age and family of Dravyavardhana. He merely observed, "It would be very useful if antiquarians can find out this king Dravyavardhana of Ujjayinī. To me it is a new kingly name. Whether there is any connection of this king with the family to which Emperor Harshavardhana belonged is more than I can say."¹¹ His conjecture about the possibility of Dravyavardhana belonging to the family which produced Harṣavardhana was obviously based on the name-ending *vardhana*, for at the time he wrote this was the only family with *vardhana*-ending names that was well known to scholars. However, as candidly pointed out by him, he was not sure on this point.

Later writers took up the matter and tried to identify this Dravyavardhana variously. The first to take up this thread was V.V. Mirashi, who, while commenting on two inscriptions of *Mahārāja* Gauri,¹² a feudatory of Ādityavardhana,¹³ strongly felt, obviously on account of the *vardhana*-ending name and the chronological proximity,¹⁴ that Dravyavardhana belonged to the famous Aulikara lineage and placed him after Ādityavardhana (known date 547 V.E. = 490-91 A.D.)¹⁵ and before the well known emperor Yaśodharman *alias* Viṣṇuvardhana (known date 589 V.E. = 532 A.D.).¹⁶ According to him, he (Dravyavardhana) was 'a predecessor of Yaśodharman and may have been his father.'¹⁷ And as Varāhamihira's *Pañca-siddhāntikā* was probably composed in Śaka 427 or 505 A.D., he was inclined to date his reign from c. 495 to c. 515 A.D.¹⁸ He also concluded that, like Dravyavardhana, his predecessor Ādityavardhana¹⁹ and successor Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana also had their capital at Ujjayinī, while Daśapura (modern Mandasor), the erstwhile capital of the Aulikaras,²⁰ had become the headquarters of their feudatories, the Mānavāyanis,²¹ and viceroys

(*Rājasthānīyas*),²² whose records have been found there. He further held that Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana had set his victory columns at Mandasor as it was there that he defeated Mihirakula with a view to helping his feudatories who had their headquarters there.²³ He thought that the two Aulikara lines, one with the *varman*-ending names with their metropolis at Daśapura and the other bearing *vardhana*-ending names having their headquarters at Ujjayinī, belonged to the same family and that the latter were the successors of the former.²⁴ He reiterated his position in some of his subsequent writings on the subject.²⁵ He further pointed out that even though after Candragupta II's victory over the Western Satraps Ujjayinī became the second capital of the Imperial Guptas for the Central and Western provinces of their empire, the Aulikaras at no time acknowledged their suzerainty.²⁶

D.C. Sircar pointed out that most of the Aulikara inscriptions have been found at or in the proximity of Daśapura and none at all at or near Ujjain which should suffice to indicate that all through Daśapura remained their capital. While in the fragmentary Mandasor inscription of *Mahārāja* Gauri of the Mānavāyanī family his overlord Ādityavardhana is probably described as ruling over Daśapur,²⁷ there is absolutely no evidence to indicate that the Mānavāyanīs or any provincial governors had their headquarters at this place.²⁸ And even if Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana had his capital at Daśapura, there was no difficulty in Abhayadatta and Dharmadoṣa, his *Rājasthānīyas*, having their gubernatorial headquarters at the same locality, acting as they might have been as governors of the metropolitan district.²⁹ He pointed out that there is no evidence to prove whether he ruled in the fifth or sixth century A.D. or whether he was a predecessor or successor of Ādityavardhana.³⁰ But he agreed that Dravyavardhana may be supposed to have belonged to the Aulikara family.

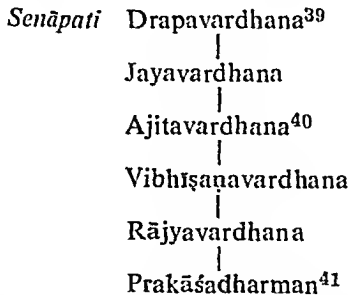
Buddha Prakash, on the other hand, demurred to these suggestions. He denied the possibility of there being any paramount ruler before Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana in view of the Hūṇa depredations and wide-spread authority over a large part of India including its central parts (the Malwa region) and Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana's contemptuous attitude towards his predecessors. Had his father or predecessor been a paramount ruler with imperial titles, his attitude would be simply inexplicable. Thus, *Mahārājādhirāja* Dravyavardhana could not have been his predecessor, there being absolutely no question of his being father of Yaśodharman.³¹ Further, as *vardhana*-ending names appear to have been fairly common during the period and in the region concerned, it is not necessary to assume any connection between Ādityavardhana, Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana and

Dravyavardhana. The fact that Ādityavardhana is not given any grandiloquent title, but is merely called *narendra*, demonstrates that he did not occupy any position of considerable prestige, and he may have owed allegiance to the Guptas on whose behalf he fought against some recalcitrant or aggressive power, though of this we have no clear evidence.³² In view of these facts it is more likely that Dravyavardhana, who assumed the imperial title of *Mahārājādhirāja*, was a successor, not predecessor, of Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana.³³ S.R. Goyal was also favourably disposed to this line of argument.³⁴

III

Recent Discoveries and Analysis of the Theories on the Subject

Some recently discovered epigraphs have necessitated a sea-change in our thinking on the problem. These discoveries include the Risthal stone inscription of the Aulikara king Prakāśadharman³⁵ and the Sanjeli plates of the time of the Hūṇa chief Toramāṇa.³⁶ The former is dated in the (Mālava) year 572 or 515-16 A.D., which is removed from the date of the Mandasor stone inscription of the time of the Aulikara emperor Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana of the Malava year 589 corresponding to 532 A.D.,³⁷ only by 16-17 years. It aims at recording the excavation of a tank in the memory of Prakāśadharman's grandfather Vibhīṣaṇavardhana and christened after him as Vibhīṣaṇa-saras, which resembled the famous Bindu-saras and the construction of a lofty temple of Śiva evidently at Risthal, and the erection by his orders at Daśapura, through his *Rājasthānīya* (provincial governor) Bhagavaddoṣa, of the temple of Prakāśeśvara (Śiva, so called after his own name) and a shrine of god Brahman. The inscription supplies us the genealogy of Prakāśadharman consisting, including himself, of six generations³⁸ related to each other as father and son which may be given as follows—



This epigraph should leave no doubt about Prakāśadharman's links with Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana who, as we have seen above, is

posterior to the former by only 16-17 years⁴² and, like him, bears *dharman*-ending name.⁴³ The poet responsible for the composition of this *prāśasti* was the same as the composer of Yaśodharman's undated Mandasor inscription : Vāsula, son of Kakka.⁴⁴ What is surprising is that the stanza mentioning this fact is almost identical in words.⁴⁵ The *Rājasthānīyas* mentioned in this inscription and the epigraph of Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana's time dated Mālava year 589 or 532 A.D. were also related to one another and that mentioned in the epigraph in question (Bhagavaddoṣa)⁴⁶ was the immediate predecessor of Abhayadatta, whose nephew, Dharmadoṣa,⁴⁷ occupied this position under Yaśodharman.⁴⁸ Then again, Prakāśadharman claims to have vanquished in war the Hūṇa king Toramāṇa⁴⁹ and to have rendered his proud title *Adhirāja*, which had been established on the earth by virtue of the acknowledgement of his suzerainty by a number of ruling chiefs, futile.⁵⁰ As against this, Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana prided himself in getting his feet adorned by the flowers of the head of Mihirakula,⁵¹ son and successor of Toramāṇa.⁵² These facts should leave no doubt about the point that Prakāśadharman was the immediate predecessor of Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana, and the latter was probably the former's son and successor.⁵³ The defeat of the two successive Hūṇa monarchs was evidently the principal achievement of these two Aulikara emperors and they were justifiably proud of it.

The present record has a very important bearing on the problem under discussion. Firstly, it gives us five generations of kings belonging to the Aulikara line with *vardhana*-ending names and one with a *dharman*-ending name which, as shown above, preceded Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana. However, there is no mention of either Ādityavardhana or Dravyavardhana in this list. Yaśodharman was not only not an upstart, but was preceded by six generations of his family which began with *Senāpati* Drapavardhana, who himself rose to kingly status but continued to use his earlier title like Puṣyamitra Śuṅga, and gradually rose to greater heights till the time of Prakāśadharman who attained the status of an imperial ruler by defeating the Hūṇa king Toramāṇa. By any moderate estimate the family must have come to power not later than the first quarter of the fifth century A.D. Secondly, the family had its capital at Daśapura upto the time of its last known member Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana. Earlier, another line of the Aulikaras with *varman*-ending names had its seat of authority at the same place. As the last known date of this line is 472 A.D.,⁵⁴ it is possible that originally the line with *vardhana*-ending names was subservient to the Vārman line and replaced it subsequently taking advantage of the eventual decline in its power, declared its indepen-

dence and shifted its headquarters to Daśapura. This must have taken place some time after 472 A.D.; exactly when, we cannot decide for want of necessary evidence. The Risthal record gives a clear indication of the humble beginnings of the Vardhana line. Its first member is described as a *senāpati* or commander, and it is not impossible that originally he was an army commander of the Varman chiefs. While Adityavardhana, who is, as we have seen above, described as ruling over Daśapura and might have been a collateral member of the Vardhana line,⁵⁵ the same cannot be said about Dravyavardhana as he is said to have been ruling from Ujjayinī.

We may now refer to the suggestion of Ramesh and Tiwari to identify Drapavardhana (or Drumavardhana as read by Mirashi) with Dravyavardhana of Varāhamihira. As the first part of the name as read by them, Drapa, is inexplicable according to Sanskrit lexicographers, it has been suggested that the progenitor of the Aulikaras was either of foreign extraction or a tribal chieftain raised to the status of a ruling king. In this connection they invite our attention to Varāhamihira's reference to the above-mentioned *Mahārājādhirāja* Dravyavardhana whom they propose to identify with Drapavardhana of the Risthal inscription and conjecture that in course of successfully re-copying the manuscripts *drapa* got changed into *dravya* either because of the defective original from which the scribe copied or because of his conscious effort to make the name look meaningful.⁵⁶ However, this identification is simply impossible for a variety of reasons. Firstly, Drapavardhana is styled merely *senāpati* or commander, while Dravyavardhana was *mahārājādhirāja* or a sovereign ruler.^{56a} Secondly, as we have shown above, Dravyavardhana was a patron (or at least a contemporary) of Varāhamihira and, thus, must have flourished in the sixth century A.D., whereas Drapavardhana, the first member of the family mentioned in the Risthal epigraph, could not have flourished later than the middle of the preceding century A.D. Thirdly, while Dravyavardhana was ruling from the city of Ujjayinī, we are not sure about Drapavardhana's capital which certainly could not have been located at Ujjayinī. And finally, it is unthinkable that if the name had already been Sanskritised into Dravyavardhana, the author of the Risthal *prafasti*, who was a poet of no mean order, would have referred to the non-Sanskritic form of the name. And even if a certain copyist mistook the name because of the defective original (a damaged manuscript) or tried to Sanskritise it, there should have been variant readings which are conspicuously absent in the present case. As Drapavardhana happens to be a meaningless name, we prefer Mirashi's reading Drumavardhana.

The combined evidence of the Eran inscription of Dhanyaviṣṇu, younger brother of the deceased Gupta feudatory Mātṛviṣṇu, dated in year 1 of Toramāṇa,⁵⁷ and the Sanjeli (Panchamahāl District, North Gujarat) plates of *Mahārāja* Bhūta, and probably also of his son and successor *Mahārāja* Mātrdāsa II, leaves no room for doubt that the Hūna king Toramāṇa had established an extensive empire in Central India extending from Eran (Sagar District, Madhya Pradesh) in the east to North Gujarat in the west. Another inscription at Eran, dated Gupta year 191 (510 A.D.), referring to the self-immolation of the wife of Goparāja on the latter's death in a war in which he assisted the Gupta emperor Bhānugupta, who is described as 'the bravest man on the earth and equal in valour to Pārtha (Arjuna)',⁵⁸ probably indicates Toramāṇa's defeat at the hands of the Gupta emperor. The Risthal inscription shows that he had also to face a crushing defeat from the Aulikara king Prakāśadharman sometime in or prior to 515-16 A.D. But his life was spared, and the Aulikara chief was gratified with his head bowing at his (Prakāśadharman's) foot-stool in the act of salutation indicative of his submission. It may be reasonably supposed that he continued to rule over some outlying territorial possessions for a few years more, and we feel that the Kura (Salt Range, presently in Pakistan) stone inscription of his reign⁵⁹ belongs to this period. Thereafter his son and successor, Mihirakula, is known to have ruled at least for fifteen years as indicated by the Gwalior inscription of his time.⁶⁰ This Mihirakula was defeated by Prakāśadharman's successor, Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana, sometime in c. 530 A.D.,⁶¹ but his life was also spared as would follow from the wording of the verse mentioning this event in Yaśodharman's undated *prastiti* at Mandasor. 530 A.D., the approximate year of his defeat at the hands of Yaśodharman, was not necessarily his fifteenth year known from the above-mentioned Gwalior inscription and might have been removed from the latter by a few years. In view of these facts Toramāṇa's defeat by Prakāśadharman cannot be dated much later than 510 A.D., the date of the Eran inscription of the time of the Gupta emperor Bhānugupta. Whether Prakāśadharman had made a common cause with Bhānugupta against Toramāṇa or whether the two fought separately is beyond what can be determined at present. But the former possibility cannot be altogether ruled out, and in that case it is quite likely that Bhānugupta defeated him at Eran and Prakāśadharman at or near Mandasor about the same time and the two events have to be looked at as parts of a strategic understanding between the two sovereign powers. After his defeat at the hands of Yaśodharman, Mihirakula also appears to have retired to outlying

provinces in the north-west as can be inferred from later confused traditions. Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana also might have continued to rule for a few years beyond his only known date, 532 A.D., and the termination of his reign may be dated around 540 A.D.

* * *

Now, coming back to our problem, the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, which contains reference to Dravyavardhana, was one of Varāhamihira's latest works, the only text composed after its abridged version known as the *Samāsa-saṃhitā* or *Svalpa-saṃhitā*. The *Pañca-siddhāntikā* was his first work and was followed by numerous other texts on *jātaka*, *yātrā* and *vivāha* which may have easily taken about four decades or so. So if the *Pañca-siddhāntikā* was composed or calculations for it started in 505 A.D., the composition of his encyclopaedic *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* may be easily dated around 545-550 A.D. If Varāhamihira began his literary career at the young age of twenty-five or so with the composition of the *Pañca-siddhāntikā*, he could have continued to write for about forty or forty-five years up to the age of sixty-five or seventy years which is fairly common even today.

IV

The Conclusion

As we have seen above, *Mahārājādhirāja* Dravyavardhana must have been a patron of Varāhamihira at the time of the composition of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* which, being one of his latest writings, must be dated sometime about the middle of the sixth century A.D. Dravyavardhana, who must have been alive at that time, must also be placed during the same period, viz., c. 540-560 A.D., and was, at least chronologically, the successor of Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana.

Unfortunately, we have no definite evidence to prove that Dravyavardhana also belonged to the Aulikara family. The only grounds for this assumption consist of the *vardhana*-ending name and chronological proximity. However, the *vardhana*-ending names were fairly common during this period,⁶² whereas chronological nearness may be only accidental. Moreover, while the Aulikara, monarchs upto Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana were ruling from Daśapura, Dravyavardhana, as shown above, had his capital at Ujjayinī, about 75 miles south of Daśapura. But it is not impossible that he deliberately shifted his capital to Ujjayinī in view of its reputation as a centre of learning including astronomy-astrology in which his interest is more than indicated by his composition of a work dealing, perhaps *inter alia*, with omens in connection with which he is mentioned by Varāhamihira

who otherwise gives absolutely no indication of the contemporary ruling powers. Administrative convenience may have been another factor responsible for it. We have shown elsewhere that the overlords on whose feet the Maitraka chief Dhruvasena I (525-545 A.D.) of Saurāṣṭra is said to have meditated (*parama-bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudhyāta*) were in all probability the Aulikara emperors.⁶³ Dravyavardhana may have found it necessary and more convenient to have a more southerly place as capital in order to exercise an effective control over their Maitraka vassals, and this requirement was met by shifting the capital to Ujjayinī. After him the *vardhana*-ending names went generally out of vogue in so far as Central India was concerned. While there is no definite evidence at present to connect him with the Aulikara family, there was during this period no other ruling family with which he may be plausibly connected. Moreover, as he was an imperial ruler as indicated by his assumption of the sovereign title *Mahārājādhirāja*, he could not have been an upstart, and there could not be a better background than that provided by the Aulikara emperors Prakāśadharman and Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana. Therefore, going by the circumstantial evidence and without prejudice to any evidence that may be lying in the womb of future, we may conclude that he was the last known Aulikara emperor and he shifted the family capital from Daśapura to Ujjayinī.⁶⁴ What happened after him to his family is unknown. But within a short period the Aulikara empire built by Prakāśadharman, Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana and Dravyavardhana disintegrated and the original kingdom of Western Malwa fell to the Kalacuris of Māhiṣmati.

The foundations of the Aulikara empire were so well built by his predecessors and perhaps himself that Dravyavardhana could enjoy a peaceful rule and devote himself to literary activities for which his new capital, Ujjayinī, was so well known. The association with scholars like Varāhamihira whom he most likely patronised liberally, evidently spurred his scholarly interest into active participation in literary creation. The interest in astrology was perhaps especially due to encouragement and help from astrologers-astronomers including Varāhamihira who might have provided him with necessary expertise for composing an astrological treatise dealing with omens; in all probability his work was refined by Varāhamihira as regards style and contents even as Kālidāsa helped the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II in the composition of his poem *Setubandha* and Bāṇabhaṭṭa and Dhāvaka might have assisted their royal patron Harṣa in the writing of his dramatic works. All the same, Varāhamihira acknowledged him out of a sincere feeling of gratitude for his lavish patronage.

Unfortunately, Dravyavardhana's astrological treatise in which he dwelt upon omens has not come down to us nor he is known to have been mentioned by any subsequent astrologer. Perhaps like so many earlier texts on astronomy-astrology this work was also supplanted by Varāhamihira's compositions.

Footnotes

- 1 The references are to Sudhakara Dvivedi's edition with Bhaṭṭot-pala's commentary.
- 2 यच्छक्रशुक्रवागीशकपिष्ठलगरुतमताम् ।
मतेभ्यः प्राह ऋषमो भागुरेद्वैवलस्य च ॥
भारद्वाजमतं दृष्ट्वा यच्च श्रीद्रव्यवर्धनः ।
आवन्तिकः प्राह नृपो महाराजाधिराजकः ॥
सप्तर्षीणां मतं यच्च संस्कृतं प्राकृतं च यत् ।
यानि चोक्तानि गर्गाक्षयत्रिकाकरंश्च भूरिभिः ॥
तानि दृष्ट्वा चकारेमं सर्वशाकुनसंग्रहम् ।
वराहमिहिरः प्रीत्या शिष्याणां ज्ञानमुत्तमम् ॥ —BS, LXXXV. 1-4.
- 3 संख्याविधानान् प्रतिदेशस्य विज्ञाय सन्दर्शनमादिशेज्जः ।
तच्चोज्जयिन्यामगतस्य कथ्यां भागैः स्वराद्यैः स्फुटभास्करस्य ॥ —*Ibid.*, XII. 140.
- 4 The abridged version of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, also known as *Svalpa-saṃhitā*. See *infra*, Ch. V.
- 5 श्रीद्रव्यवर्धनाख्यो महाराजाधिराजवंशप्रसूत आवन्तिक उज्जयिन्या नृपो राजा.....
- 6 See his commentary on BS, XII. 14.
- 7 *Śri-Dravyavardhan-ākhyo mahārājādhirāja-vamśa-prasūta Āvantika Ujjayinyā nṛpo rājā...* —Utpala's commentary on BS, LXXV. 2.
- 8 *Āvantikāh Āvantake deśe Ujjayinyām vāstavyah.*
- 9 D.C. Sircar had observed that the expression *Āvantika* meant both 'the lord of the Avanti people or country' and 'the lord of the city of Avanti (identical with Ujjayini)' and that consequently 'the epithet *Āvantika* applied to Dravyavardhana does not prove that his capital was at Ujjayini and not at Daśapura.' See "Note on Mandasor Inscription of Gauri", *EI*, XXXIII, p. 206. Vide also *IHQ*, XXXV, pp. 73ff. However, as pointed out by V.V. Mirashi (*Studies in Indology*, II, pp. 182-183), "the correct form of the word meaning 'a king of the country of Avanti' is *Āvantya* according to Pāṇini, IV. 1, 171 and 174."
- 10 That Garutmān was a legendary personage is clearly indicated by Utpala's rendering of the name by Vainateya, viz., Garuḍa.
- 11 P.V. Kane, "Varāhamihira and Utpala", *JBBRAS*, XXIV-XXV, p. 116.
- 12 D.C. Sircar, "Two inscriptions of Gauri", *EI*, XXX, pp. 120-127. One of these inscriptions was found at Chhoti Sadri and the other,

a fragmentary one, at Mandasor.

- 13 This fact is known from the Mandasor inscription which refers to *Nareudra Ādityavardhana* in the locative singular in the manner in which suzerains are generally mentioned. See *EI*, XXX, p. 132, verse 2.
- 14 While Varāhamihira flourished in the first half of the sixth century A.D., the Vardhana branch of the Aulikaras ruled in the latter half of the fifth and the first half of the sixth century A.D.
- 15 This is the date of the Chhoti Sadri inscription of Gauri.
- 16 This date is known from a Mandasor inscription of his reign. See D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, I, pp. 41 ff.
- 17 *Studies in Indology*, I (second ed.), p. 228; "Further Light on Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana", *Bhārati-Bhānam (Light on Indology)*, K.V. Sarma Felicitation Volume, p. 408.
- 18 *Studies in Indology*, I p. 228. However, later he seems to have changed his opinion and proposed to place him before 505 A.D. See *Bhārati-Bhānam*, p. 408. For the impossibility of his reign being dated earlier, see *Studies in Indology*, I, p. 228.
- 19 It has been suggested that he was responsible for shifting his family capital from Daśapura to Ujjayinī. See *Bhārati-Bhānam*, p. 410, where it is said that the Aulikara chiefs from Jayavarman to Prabhākara ruled from Daśapura while Ādityavardhana to Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana had their capital at Ujjayinī.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 410.
- 21 A fragmentary stone inscription of the Mānavāyani chief Gauri has been found at Mandasor. *Vide EI*, XXX, pp. 227-232.
- 22 For an inscription of the time of *Rājasthāniya Dharmmadoṣa*, see D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, pp. 411 ff.
- 23 *Studies in Indology*, I, p. 229; *Bhārati-Bhānam*, pp. 226.
- 24 See *ibid.*, p. 410; *Studies in Indology*, I, p. 226.
- 25 *Studies in Indology*, II, pp 180-184; *Bhārati-Bhānam*. pp. 405-426; *Indological Research Papers*, pp. 98-120.
- 26 The main evidence cited in support of this contention is the use of the Mālava era of 57 B.C. instead of the Gupta era, and the mention of the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta in the well-known inscription of the silk-weavers' guild at Mandasor is sought to be explained away as intended to indicate the time of their (silk-weavers') migration to Daśapura as the Gupta kings were famous. Similarly, the description of Prabhākara, who is also regarded as an Aulikara king, in the Mandasor inscription as *Gupt-ānvay-āridruma-dhūma-ketu* (comet to the trees that were the enemies of the

Gupta family is regarded as merely indicating the valuable assistance rendered by him to the Gupta king Skandagupta when his kingdom was invaded by some enemies, and not of his subservience to the Guptas. See *Bhārati-Bhānam*, pp. 409-411. K. C. Jain also believes that some early members of the Aulikara family were independent rulers. See *Malwa through the Ages*, pp. 250ff. But these arguments fail to carry conviction.

- 27 *Jitvā ripu-balaṁ saṅkhye ramyaṁ purāṁ daś-ādikaṁ*
[*Pālayati**] nara vyāghre Narendr-Ādityavardhane]

—*Select Inscriptions*, I, p. 410.

V.V. Mirashi does not agree with this restoration proposed by D.C. Sircar and feels that the stanza simply refers to some unspecified act of Ādityavardhana in connection with a town whose name contained the word *daśa* (probably Daśapura). See *Studies in Indology*, I, p. 223. Elsewhere he doubted any reference to Daśapura in the inscription. *Vide ibid.*, II, p. 182.

- 28 "Note on Mandasor Inscription of Gauri", *EI*, XXXIII, p. 207.
29 As a parallel he refers to *Mahārāja* Brahmadata or Jayadata ruling over the Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* with headquarters evidently at the city of Puṇḍravardhana where the office of an *Āyuktaka* or governor of the district round the city was also located. *Vide ibid.*, p. 207, fn. 3.
30 *Ibid.*, p. 208. His statement that the *BS* may have been composed some time about the first quarter of the sixth century A.D. is not supported by any evidence. As will be pointed out in the sequel, it was one of the latest works of Varāhamihira and was probably written about the middle of that century.

K.C. Jain (*Malwa through the Ages*, pp. 255-256) also thinks that Dravyavardhana, probably an Aulikara ruler of Daśapura, lived in or before the beginning of the sixth century A.D. See also p. 299.

- 31 *Aspects of Indian History and Civilization*, pp. 359.
32 *Ibid.*, p. 97.
33 *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.
34 *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 359.
35 This inscription has been edited by K.V. Ramesh and S.P. Tiwari ("Risthal Inscription of Aulikara Prakāśadharmā, Vikrama Year 572", *JESI*, X, pp. 96-103); cf. V.V. Mirashi ("Risthala yethāla Prakāśadharmācā Śilālekha", *VSMV*, 1983, pp. 45-68; *Studies in Ancient Indian History*). S.R. Goyal has also given valuable comments on it. See his *Guptakālina Abhilekha*, pp. 363-365.
36 R.N. Mehta and A.M. Thakkar, *M.S. University Copper-plates of*

- the Time of Toranāṇa*, M.S. University Archaeological Series, No. 14. See also V.V. Mirashi, "The Early History of the Hūṇas in India", *JOI*, XXIX, pp. 11ff.; *Indological Research Papers*, I, pp. 88ff.; S.R. Goyal, *Guptakālina Abhilekha* pp. 368-369.
- 37 D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, pp. 411-417.
- 38 According to V.V. Mirashi, the epigraph mentions seven generations. See *PSMV*, 1983, p. 49. He takes Bhagavatprakāśa, who is mentioned in verse 2 of the inscription, as the first king, which is apparently wrong as will be shown in the sequel.
- 39 This is the reading of Ramesh and Tewari. Mirashi reads Drumavardhana. Both the readings are possible in view of the facts that there is only a slight difference between the forms of *p* and *m*, and the ligature attached to *d* can be read both as *ra* and *ru*.
- 40 Ramesh and Tewari take the name to be Ajitavardhana while, according to Mirashi, it is Jitavardhana. Grammatically, both are possible though the former appears more likely.
- 41 In verse 2 he is referred to as Bhagavatprakāśa in the same manner as Pulakeśin II in the Aihole *prasthā* under his other name, Satyāśraya (D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, II, p. 444, verse 3), and it is not correct to take it as the name of another, that is the first, ruler of the dynasty as Mirashi has done.
- 42 This is based on the known dates of the records of the two chiefs; and it is quite possible that Prakāśadharman continued to rule for a few years more and Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana may have come to the throne a few years earlier.
- 43 It is also not impossible that like Yaśodharman, who had Viṣṇuvardhana as another name, his predecessor Prakāśadharman also had another *vardhana*-ending name which may be brought to light by future discoveries. It is interesting to remember in this connection that in the case of Yaśodharman also the name Viṣṇuvardhana is known only from an inscription of the family of his Rājasthānīya (D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, p. 413, verse 6), and is conspicuously absent in his own inscriptions on the victory pillars.
- 44 *JESI*, X, p. 100, verse 29; S.R. Goyal, *Guptakālina Abhilekha*, p. 367, verse 9.
- 45 The Risthal inscription has *pūrvv-eyam Kakka-sūnnā*, while in the Mandasor inscription the same poet has replaced it by *ślokāḥ Kakasya sūnnā*.
- 46 He is mentioned in the latter inscription, verse 16, also.
- 47 He was a son of Doṣakumbha, who was apparently a brother of

- Abhayadatta.
- 48 D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, p. 416, verse 20. Ramesh and Tewari, however, describe Nirdoṣa (*alias* Dakṣa), who was actually a younger brother of Dharmmadoṣa, a nephew of Bhagavaddoṣa. *Vide JESI*, X, p. 97.
- 49 It is perhaps the first inscription in which Toramāṇa is spoken of as a Hūṇa king. The inscriptions of his own reign are reticent on this point.
- 50 *JESI*, X, p.99, verse 16. There is controversy regarding the interpretation of this stanza. In short, Ramesh and Tewari take this verse to refer to a single war against Toramāṇa and Mihirakula in which Prakāśadharman won a victory, at a time when Mihirakula had not yet succeeded his father on the throne, and believe that Yaśodharman had also assisted his predecessor in this war as he merely claims that his feet were worshipped by Mihirakula without actually stating whether he had personally defeated him. This assumption is based primarily on the use of the expression ‘*ā-Toramāṇa-nṛpateḥ*’ in the verse in question. However, Yaśodharman’s victory pillar inscription at Mandasor (verse 6) clearly states that Mihirakula’s head was bent into salutation of his feet by the prowess of his arms and Mirashi points out that *ā-Toramāṇa-nṛpateḥ* in the present context cannot mean ‘from Toramāṇa onwards’ (in *VSMV*, 1983, p. 47, fn. 3, Mirashi says ‘up to Toramāṇa’, which is evidently due to inadvertence), because the ablative case, which is needed for such a sense, is absent here and the intended case here is genitive singular (*nṛpateḥ* can be both ablative and genitive) as indicated by ‘*Hūṇādhipasya*’ qualifying it. *Ā*, he thinks, is here employed for compliance with the metrical requirements. Jagannath Agrawal (*Researches in Indian Epigraphy and Numismatics*, p. 93), on the other hand, thinks that *ā-Toramāṇa-nṛpateḥ* is in ablative singular and qualifies *pāda-piṭhām* which he proposes to read *pāda-piṭhāt* in order to make it fit with *ā-Toramāṇa-nṛpateḥ* which he renders by ‘from the time of king Toramāṇa’. In some other respects also he differs from Ramesh and Tewari. We propose to discuss this inscription elsewhere.
- 51 D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, p. 419, verse 6. *Cf.* also S. R. Goyal, *Guptakālina Abhilekha*, p. 365.
- 52 *Ibid.*, p. 360 (Gwalior Inscription of Mihirakula), verse 4, which clearly describes him as Toramāṇa’s son.
- 53 The exact relationship cannot be determined for want of necessary evidence; Yaśodharman could have been a younger brother of Prakāśadharman.

- 54 This is the date of the Mandasor inscription mentioning Bandhuvvarman and Kumāragupta I. See S. R. Goyal, *Guptakālīna Abhilekha*, pp. 352 ff.
- 55 As the Chhoti Sadri inscription of his feudatory Gauri is dated 491 A. D., Ādityavardhana's rule may be dated towards the close of the fifth century A. D. In case he belonged to the Aulikara family, he may have been a brother of Rājyavardhana, father of Prakāśadharman.
- 56 *JESI*, X, pp. 102-103. note 2.
- 56_a S. R. Goyal, *Guptakālīna Abhilekha*, p. 364.
- 57 *Ibid.*, p. 357.
- 58 *Ibid.*, pp. 317-318.
- 59 *Ibid.*, p. 356.
- 60 *Ibid.*, pp. 360-361.
- 61 Though the inscription mentioning this event is not dated (*ibid.*, p. 367. verse 6), it is possibly implied in another record of Yaśodharman's reign, dated 532 A. D. (D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, pp. 411 ff.), which speaks of his victory over many eastern and northern kings and thereby attaining the rare title of *Rājādhirāja-Paramēśvara*.
- 62 Buddha Prakashī, *Aspects of Indian History and Civilization*, p. 97. As pointed out above, it is possible that Ādityavardhana was a collateral member of the Vardhana line of the Aulikara family. But the Mānavāyani feudatory family also had a few members with *vardhana*-ending names.
- 63 The paper is under publication. S. R. Goyal is also of the same view.
- 64 S. R. Goyal now feels that Dravyavardhana flourished sometime between 467 A. D., when Mandasor is known to have been ruled by Prabhākara, supposedly an Aulikara king, and before the middle of the sixth century A. D. and is favourably inclined to place him after Yośodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana in *circa* 535-555 A. D. See his *Gupta Sāmrājya kā Itihāsa*, p. 353.

Chapter 4

Bṛhat-saṁhitā, LXXV. 2

[The expression *sotpalam madhu* in *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, LXXV 2 as forming one of the constituents of the Cupid's snare was rendered by H. Kern as 'lotus, spring' (taking *madhu* in the sense of spring) and by V. Subrahmanya Sastri and M. Ramakrishna Bhat as 'lilies, wine', evidently ignoring the significance of *sa* in *sotpalam*. A perusal of Īśvaradatta's *Dhūrta-vijā-saṁvāda*, Śyāmilaka's *Pādu-tāḍitaka*, the *Gāhā-sapta-śatī* attributed to Hāla and the *Nāgānanda* of Harṣa clearly shows that the word *sa* in *sotpalam* was significantly employed by Varāhamihira, and the expression under consideration means 'wine flavoured with blue lotus buds']

The second verse of Ch. LXXV (entitled *Kāndarpikam*)¹ of Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* runs as follows—

*harmya-pṛṣṭham udmūtha-raśmayāḥ sotpalam madhu madālasā priyā,
vallakī smara-kathā rahaḥ srajo varga eṣa madanasya vāgurā.*

Dr. H. Kern has translated it as follows—

"The flat roof of a mansion, moon-beams, spring, a sweet girl languid with the effects of wine, a lute, privacy, and garlands : these constitute the ensnaring net of love."² It does not appear to be a correct rendering. Kern has taken here *madhu* to mean 'spring', which, though not improbable, does not appear to be the sense intended by Varāhamihira. Moreover, in the second line, the word *smara-kathā* has been left untranslated. A better rendering is that given by V. Subrahmanya Sastri and M. Ramakrishna Bhat, viz. "Cupid's snare consists of the following group; viz. a terrace, the Moon's rays, lilies, wine, an intoxicated sweet-heart, a lute, amatory talk, privacy and garlands".³ Messrs. Sastri and Bhat also fail to discern the connection between the words *sotpalam* and *madhu*, and evidently take them to be quite independent of each other. But the use of *saha-samāsa* in the word *sotpalam* by Varāhamihira seems to be deliberate, and the intended meaning is 'wine with blue lotus'. The discerning eye of the scholiast Bhaṭṭotpala caught the sense when he explained these words by *sotpalam, nilotpalasahitam, madhu madyam*.⁴ In fact, here we have a reference to an interesting drinking habit which seems to have enjoyed great popularity in ancient India.⁵ It was a common practice to flavour the wine with

pieces of lotus buds. We come across some references to this practice in ancient Sanskrit texts. Thus in the *Dhūrta-ṛiṭa-saṁvāda*⁶ of Īśvara-datta a *ṛiṭa* is represented as telling Kṛṣṇilaka, son of a *śreṣṭhin*, that for a young man whose father is living it is not possible to enjoy even the smell of the goblets shaped like a dancing peacock filled with wine, flavoured with pieces of the buds of the blue lotus, exhibiting circular spots caused by mango oil, and wavy on account of the heaving breaths of loving women :

*na ca kila śakyam sannupahitotpala-khaṇḍakānām sahakāra tailodgata-candrakānām kāmīnīniḥśvāsa-vikṣobhita-taraṅgānām pranṛtta-barhiṇā-kārāṇām vāruṇīcaṣakāṇām gandhamātraṁ api jñātum.*⁷

In verse 29 of the same work there is a reference to wine with fresh lotus-buds floating on its surface :

*vikaca-navotpala-tilakā sasambhramotkṣepa-cañcala-taraṅgā,
tasyai deyā madirā yā hṛdaya-kuṭumbini bhavataḥ.*⁸

Another reference to the flavouring of wine with the blue lotus buds will be found in the following verse from the *Pādatāḍitaka* of Śyāmilaka⁹—

*kiṁ nilotpala-patra-cakra-vivarair abhyeṣi mām cumbitīm
na tvām paśyati Rohiṇī kathaya me santyajyatām vepathnī
mattānām madhū-bhājanēṣv' alikathāḥ śrotīm sahāsā iva
strīṇām kuṇḍala-koṭi-bhinna-kiraṇaś candraḥ samuttiṣṭhati.*¹⁰

This practice is mentioned in the *Gāthāsaptasatī* (535) and the *Nāgānanda* (III. 2) also.

In the light of the foregoing we propose to translate the verse under review as follows :

“The roof of a mansion, the rays of the moon, wine with lotus (-buds floating on its surface), a beloved languid with inebriation, a lyre, amorous conversation, privacy and garlands, this group form Cupid's snare.”¹¹

Footnotes

- 1 According to Sudhakara Dvivedi's edition with Bhaṅgotpala's commentary published as Vol. X of Vijayanagaram Sanskrit Series. In the editions of Kern and V. Subrahmanya Sastri and M. Ramakrishna Bhat it is Ch. LXXVI.
- 2 *JRAS*, New Series, Vol. III, 1875, p. 109. My thanks are due to my esteemed friend the late Shri V.M. Bedekar, who, on request, kindly supplied me Kern's translation of the verse.
- 3 P. 600 of Bangalore edition of the text with English translation, 1947.
- 4 Sudhakara Dvivedi's edition, Part II, p. 937.
- 5 Curiously enough such an important drinking habit is not men-

tioned in Dr. Om Prakash's useful work *Food and Drinks in Ancient India*.

- 6 Included by Motichandra and V.S. Agrawala in the *Śṛṅgāra-hāṭa*, published by Hindi Granth Ratnakar, Bombay, 1960, pp. 63-120. According to the editors, it belongs to the Gupta period.
- 7 *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 88.
- 9 It is also included in the *Śṛṅgāra-hāṭa* and is supposed to belong to the Gupta age.
- 10 Verse 106.
- 11 I had an occasion to discuss this verse earlier in my doctoral thesis. I had then followed Kern and Sastri. The real meaning of the phrase *sotpalāṁ madhu* occurred to me on going through the *Dhūrta-viṭa-saṁvāda* and the *Pādatāḍitaka*. Later in the published revision of my thesis (*ISBṼ*, p. 215), I made the necessary correction.

Chapter 5

Contribution towards the Reconstruction of the Samāsa-saṁhitā

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[Varāhamihira, one of the greatest celebrities in the field of astrology and astronomy that ancient India produced, is known to have composed a double set of works, viz., detailed and abridged, on all the three branches of *Jyotiṣa*. But while an abridged version of the *Bṛhat-jātaka* is available, unfortunately those of the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* and the *Pañca-siddhāntikā* are no longer extant. However, quite a few extracts from the *Samāsa-saṁhitā* or *Svalpa-saṁhitā*, the abridged version of the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, are cited by Bhaṭṭotpala in his commentary on the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*. These extracts are compiled here in a systematic form with an introductory note highlighting their special features and references comparing the corresponding stanzas from the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* and suggesting a few textual amendments.]

1

Introduction

Varāhamihira, one of the greatest astronomers and astrologers that ancient India produced, is known to have written a double set of works, copious and abridged, on each of the three branches of *Jyotiṣa*, viz., *Tantra* (mathematical astronomy), *Horā* (horoscopy) and *Śākhā* or *Saṁhitā* (natural astrology).¹ His copious and smaller works on nativity (*jātaka*)² and journey (*yātrā*)³ are still extant, while we have unmistakable references to his similar writings on prognostics of weddings (*vivāha*).⁴ At present the *Pañca-siddhāntikā*⁵ is his only extant work on Mathematical astronomy, but there is reason to believe that he also wrote a smaller work on this subject.⁶ The third branch comprising natural astrology is represented by his encyclopaedic work, the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*. No manuscript of its abridged version, which was known as the *Samāsa-saṁhitā* or *Svalpa-saṁhitā*,⁷ is now known to exist. But no less than 142 verses of this small work are found scattered at seventy-two different places in Bhaṭṭotpala's commentary on the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* and are quoted below with a view to forming an idea of its contents. Unless otherwise specified, all these stanzas are introduced with the phrase 'tathā ca *Samāsa-saṁhitāyām*'. These extr-

aets have been numbered in order of their occurrence, and the introducing sentences except the one specified above are given at the beginning of respective extracts. As far as possible they have been supplied with headlines according to their subject-matter. The third figure at the end of every extract refers to the page of Mahāmahopādhyāya Sudhākara Dvivedī's edition of the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* with Bhaṭṭotpala's gloss, while the first two figures denote the chapter and verses of the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* on which it is cited. The notes, which make comparisons with the corresponding verses of the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* and suggest some better readings, will also be found useful.

The *Samāsa-saṁhitā* was certainly extant in the ninth century A. D. as will be clear from a perusal of Bhaṭṭotpala's gloss on the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*.⁸ But Alberuni's silence about it may be taken to indicate that the work was lost by the first half of the eleventh century A. D. when the famous Arabic writer wrote his account of India.

The *Samāsa-saṁhitā* is not merely an abridged version of the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*; a perusal of the extracts collected below would show that it contained some new matter which makes valuable additions to our knowledge of some of the issues connected with the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*. Dr. J. F. Fleet,⁹ for example, held that Varāhamihira's description of the Madhyadeśa¹⁰ or the Middle Country closely agrees with that of Manu according to whom it denotes the stretch of land between the Himalayas and the Vindhya and to the east of Vinasana (where the river Sarasvatī disappears) and west of Prayāga.¹¹ Incorrectness of this view is demonstrated by extract No. 23 below which shows that the southern limit of the Madhyadeśa, according to Varāhamihira, was the Pāriyātra mountain. In the *Samāsa-saṁhitā* XXIII. 2, is described the method of gauging rainfall; but it is from a *Samāsa-saṁhitā* verse (extract 41) alone that we know this measurement to have been based on the Māgadha system which, from its mention in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, appears to have been current for a period of at least about one thousand years. The legend of Agastya devouring the demon Vātāpi, which is narrated beautifully in extract No. 21 below, is conspicuously absent in the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*. Further, there is nothing in the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* that may be regarded as parallel to extract No. 35 below. Some of the verses of the *Samāsa-saṁhitā* were identical with those in its parent work.¹² It will be interesting to note that in certain cases the number of verses devoted to the description of a subject in this small work is larger than in its original.¹³ Lastly, it would appear from Utpala's introductory remarks like '*tathā cācāryeṇa Samāsa-saṁhitā-nibandhe (or-ndhane) spaṣṭataram uktam*'¹⁴ that certain statements of the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* were improved upon in its abridged

version. It is hoped that the discovery of a complete manuscript of the *Samāsa-saṁhitā* will enrich our knowledge of Varāhamihira's times.

II

TEXT

आदित्यचारस्तस्य च ऋतुवर्णलक्षणम्

- 1 ताम्रघृतकनकमुक्ताकमलासूक्ष्मसन्निभः शुभः सविता ।
शिशिरादिपु पट्सु ऋतुषु प्रावृषि सर्वर्तुसन्निभः स्निग्धः ॥—III. 23-4; 92

चन्द्रचारः

- 2 भवति विशाखाद्यानां पण्णां याम्येन पापदशचन्द्रः ।
उदगिष्टः सर्वेषां पित्र्येशविशाखयोश्चान्तः¹⁵ ॥—IV. 6; 102

चन्द्रसंस्थानानां सफलं लक्षणम्

- 3 उदगुन्नतः शुभफलः समः समो दक्षिणोन्नतो न शुभः ।
युद्धानि चापरूपे ज्यास्य यतस्ते नृपा जयिनः ॥
नाविकपीडा नौवल्लाङ्गलवत् संस्थिते कृपिकराणाम् ।
दण्डावाङ्मुखमङ्कटजर्जरपीठाकृतिर्न शुभः ॥
उत्पाता व्याख्याता येऽर्को चन्द्रेऽपि ते विनिर्देश्याः ।
शुक्ले भवन्ति सौम्याः कृष्णेऽधिकपापफलदास्ते¹⁶ ॥—IV. 15; 109

चन्द्रसम्बन्धिन उत्पाताः

- 4 उदयन्तमप्यसदृशं न शुभं बहुसपताथवेकस्य ।
एकश्चन्द्रविकारं यः पश्येन्न स चिरं जीवेत् ॥—IV. 17; 109
- 5 प्रत्यन्तविनाशोऽन्नक्षयो महाराजपीडा च ।
सङ्ग्रामाश्चाभिहते शृङ्गे भौमादिभिः क्रमशः ॥—IV. 21; 111
- 6 उल्काभिहतो ग्रहणे तन्नक्षत्रं नृपं हन्ति ॥—IV. 28; 114

राहुचारः

- 7 उदगादिपु दिक्ष्वशुभो विप्रादीनां सितादिवर्णस्य¹⁷ ।
विदिगादिस्थितो हन्याद् राहुर्ल्लोच्छान् सविजिगीषून् ॥
द्विजराजन्यान् हन्यादुदगयने दक्षिणे तु विट्शूद्रान् ।
समरामयाय राहूर्यदि पक्षान्ते पुनर्दृश्यः ॥—V. 32-34; 139
- 8 कूर्मविभागेन वदेत् पीडां देशस्य वीक्ष्य नक्षत्रम् ।
सहितं ग्रहणं येन तद्देशश्चाप्नुयात् पीडाम् ॥—V. 42; 143

- 9 अश्वयुग्माघकार्तिकभाद्रपदेष्वगतः सुभिक्षकरः ।
 राहुरवशिष्टमासेष्वशुभकरो वृष्टिघान्यानाम्¹⁸ ॥—V. 80; 156 .
- 10 परुषपवनाभ्रगर्जितविद्युत्परिवेशभूप्रकम्पाद्याः ।
 सप्ताहान्तर्तं शुभाः ग्रहणनिवृत्तौ शुभा वृष्टिः ॥—V. 92-96; 162

बुधचारः

- 11 उदयं याति शशिसुतो नोत्पातविर्वाजितः कदाचिदपि ।
 पवनाग्निसलिलभयदो घान्यार्धवृद्धिक्षयकृद् वा ॥—VII. 1; 170

बुधस्य सप्तगतयः

- 12 तथा च समाससंहितायामनेनैवोक्तम् ।
 प्राकृतविमिश्रसंक्षिप्ततीक्ष्णयोगान्तघोरपापाख्याः¹⁹ ।
 गतयो लक्षणमासां नोदयदिवसैः स्फुटं भवति ॥
 स्पष्टा पराशरमते स्वाती ज प्राकृता त्रिभं याम्यात् ।
 मिश्रा गतिः शशिशेखरभुजगपितृदेवतासौम्यैः ॥
 संक्षिप्ता नाम गतिः पुनर्वसुः फल्गुनीद्वयं पुष्यः ।
 तीक्ष्णा भद्रपदाद्य' नक्षत्रचतुष्टयं ज्येष्ठा ॥
 मूलश्रवृक्षं योगा घोरा श्रवणत्रिभं च सत्वाष्ट्रम् ।
 पापाख्या तु विशाखा हस्तो मैत्रं च शशिसूनोः²⁰ ॥—VII. 13; 176

गुरुचारस्तत्र च गुरोर्द्वादशाब्दाः

- 13 गुरुदयति नक्षत्रे यस्मिस्तत्सञ्ज्ञितानि वर्षाणि ।
 द्विभयोगीन्याग्नेयात् त्रिभमन्त्यं पञ्चममुपान्त्यम्²¹ ॥—VIII. 14; 190

षष्ट्यब्दान्तर्भूतानां द्वादशानां युगानां नामानि

- 14 विष्णुगुरुशुक्रहुतमुक्त्वष्टाहिवु' ध्वपित्र्यविश्वानि ।
 सौम्यमथेन्द्राग्न्याख्यं त्वाश्विनमपि भाग्यसञ्ज्ञं च ॥—VIII. 23; 196

युगानां फलविधानम्

- 15 चत्वारि युगान्यादौ शुभानि मघ्यानि मघ्यमफलानि ।
 चत्वार्यन्त्यानि न शोभनानि वर्षैर्विशेषोऽत्र ॥—VIII. 26; 198

युगान्तर्गतानां वर्षाणां फलकथनम्

- 16 ऐन्द्रे तृतीयमशुभं द्वितीयवर्जानि पञ्चमे तु युगे ।
 पित्र्ये युगे तृतीयं चतुर्थमपि पापदं वर्षम् ॥
 वैश्वे तृतीयमशुभं शुभदान्युक्तानि चावशेषाणि ।
 सौम्ये द्वितीयवर्षं शुभावहं यत् तृतीयं तु ॥

प्रथितं शुभमैन्द्राग्नी तृतीयवर्षं तथाग्निदैवत्ये ।
भाग्ये प्रथमं वर्षं षष्ट्यब्दस्यैव सङ्क्षेपः²² ॥—VIII. 52; 208

शुक्रचारस्तत्र च तस्य नव वीथयः

- 17 वीथी नागानाम्नी स्वातिर्भरणी च कृत्तिका चैव ।
स्वायम्भुवस्त्रिभाः स्युर्गजवीथ्यैरावती वृषभा ॥
एकपदादिचतुष्कं गौः स्याद् जारदग्वी त्रिभा श्रवणात् ।
मैत्रात् त्रिभं मृगाऽजा हस्तश्चित्रा विशाखा च ॥
द्वे चापाढे दहना तिस्र उदग्वीथयः क्रमाच्छुभदाः ।
मध्या मध्यास्तिलो याम्याः पापा मृगाद्यास्ताः²³ ॥—IX. 2-4; 211

षण्णां शुक्रमण्डलानां सफलं लक्षणम्

- 18 भरणीरीद्रमवानिलशक्रघनिष्ठादिसम्प्रवृत्तेषु ।
चारोदयः शुभो मण्डलेषु हित्वैन्द्र्यपित्र्याद्ये²⁴ ॥—IX.22; 218
- केतुचारस्तत्र च केतूनां संख्या दिव्यान्तरिक्षभौमानां केतूनां फलं च**

- 19 केचित् केतुसहस्रं शतमेकसमन्वितं वदन्त्येके ।
नारदमत एकोऽयं त्रिस्थानसमुद्भवो विविघ्नरूपः ॥
द्विव्यग्रहर्क्षजातास्तीत्रफला.मन्दफलकरा भीमाः ।
प्राणिध्वजादितुङ्गेषु चान्तरिक्षा न चान्यशुभाः ॥
उदयास्तमयाधूमनसंयोगाकारमार्गदिग्यातैः ।
फलनिर्देशो दिवसैर्मासा मासैस्तु वर्षाणि²⁵ ॥—XI. 7; 243

शुभाशुभयोः केत्वोर्लक्षणं फलञ्च

- 20 अचिरस्थितोऽभिवृष्टस्त्वृजुः स्मितः स्निग्धमूर्तिरुदगुदितः ।
ह्रस्वतनुः प्रसन्नः केतुर्लोकस्य भावाय ॥
न शुभो विपरीतोऽतो विशेषतः शक्रचापसङ्काशः ।
द्वित्रिचतुश्चूलो वा दक्षिणसंस्थश्च मृत्युकरः ॥—XI. 8-9; 243-244

अगस्त्यचारस्तत्र च मुनेरगस्त्यस्य महत्त्ववर्णनम्

- 21 भानोर्वर्त्मवि गतवृद्धशिखरो विन्ध्याचल(ः) स्तम्भितो
वातापिर्मुनिकुक्षिमृ(भि)त् सुररिपुर्जीर्णश्च येनासुरः ।
पीतश्चाम्बुनिधिस्तपोऽम्बुनिधिना याम्या च दिग्भूषिता
तस्यागस्त्यमुनेः पयश्च्युतिकृतश्चारः समासादयम्²⁶ ॥—XII. 13; 275

अगस्त्योदयः

- 22 सप्तभिरंशैः कन्यामप्राप्ते रोमके तु दिवसकरे ।
दृश्योऽगस्त्योऽवन्त्यां तत्समपूर्वापिरेऽप्येवम् ॥—XII. 14. 276

नक्षत्रकर्मविभागः ।

- 23 एतदाचार्येण समाससंहितायां स्पष्टतरमुक्तम् । तथा च—
²⁷भत्रयमानेयाद्यं मध्यं प्राक्प्रभृति च प्रदक्षिणतः
 कथयामि प्रविभागं रौद्रात् प्रागादिदेशानाम् ॥
 मध्यमुदक्पाञ्चाला वङ्गा यमूनान्तरं²⁸ कुरुक्षेत्रम् ।
 उदगपि च पारियात्रात्²⁹ परमथवाऽयोग्यमत्स्याश्च ॥
 सारस्वतयामुनवत्सघोपसङ्ख्या³⁰ननीपमाण्डव्याः ।
 भद्रारिमोद³¹ नैमिपसाल्वोपज्योतिषाश्वत्याः ।
 औदुम्बरोऽथ कुकुरोज्जिहानगजसाह्वकङ्कपाण्डुगुडाः ।
 माध्यमिकोद्देहिककालकोटिकापिष्ठलाश्चेति ॥
 मध्येऽयं प्रविभागः शेषर्क्षाणां तथादिशेद् देशान् ।
 प्रख्यातदेशमध्यानन्यांश्चैवाभिधास्यामि ॥
 आर्द्रादिकाशिकोशलमिथिलोत्कलवर्धमान³² पाण्ड्योद्गः ।
 लौहित्यमगधसमतटमेककलाम्वण्ठ³³ ताम्रलिप्ताख्याः ॥
 आश्लेषाद्ये त्रिपुरी निषादराष्ट्राणि चेदिकदशाणां ।
 शूलिकविन्व्यान्तःस्थाः वत्सान्ध्रविदर्भकालिङ्गाः ॥
 आर्यम्णाद्ये चैदिक³⁴ कोङ्कणावनवासिकोल्लगिरिमलयाः ।
 उज्जयिनो³⁵ भरुकच्छा दिशा च याम्यार्णवो यावत् ॥
 स्वात्याद्ये सिन्धुसौवीरकापिलवनितास्य³⁶ मार्गरानर्त्ताः ।
 वर्धरभवनसुराष्ट्रकाम्बोजद्रविडरैवतकाः ॥
 ज्येष्ठादितोऽपरान्तकशकहैहयजूङ्गपाञ्चनदकतकाः³⁷ ।
 निर्मर्यादा म्लेच्छाः शान्तिकवोककाणवैश्याश्च ॥
 विश्वेश्वरादिशूलिकतालतुषारैकनेत्रमाण्डव्याः ।
 स्त्रीराज्यचर्मरङ्गाश्मकलडहोरु³⁸हक³⁹फाल्गुलुकाः ॥
 शतभिषगाद्ये केकयगान्धारादर्शयामुनाग्नीध्राः ।
 दासेय⁴⁰ चिपिटनासार्जुनायना दण्डपिङ्गलकाः ।
 पौष्णाद्ये काश्मीर⁴¹ त्रिगर्तदरदाभिसारचीनरवसाः ।
 तङ्गणकिरातकीरा ब्रह्मपुरजटासुराश्चेति ॥—XIV. 29-31 ; 204-295

ग्रहभक्तियोगः

- 24 भानोरङ्गकलिङ्गवङ्गयमुनाः श्रीपर्वताः पारता
 ब्राह्मीकोत्कट⁴² सुहृशोणमगधाः प्राङ् नर्मदाद्वाशिकाः ।
 कौशाम्बी शबरान्ध्रपीण्डयवना यास्याश्रिता मेकला-
 शचीनोदुम्बरवर्द्धमानविकटाश्चम्पेक्षुमत्याश्रिताः ।

जलपर्वतदुर्गकोशला वनिताराज्यतुपारतङ्गणाः ।
 वनवासहलाः सरस्वती शीतांशोर्भरुकच्छरोमकाः ॥
 क्षितिजस्य महानदी पयोष्णी वेणा वेत्रवती च मालती ।
 मलयद्रविडाशमकान्ध्रचोला भीभाट्टं त्वपरे च ये स्थिताश्च ॥
 पारेविन्ध्य⁴³ पश्चिमः शोणभागो गोदावर्याः कूलमद्रिर्महेन्द्रः ।
 सिप्रा सिन्धुभूर्मिजस्येति देशा वैदेहाख्याः कोङ्कणाः केरलाश्च ॥
 सौम्यस्य सौराष्ट्रिकभोजदेशा गङ्गाश्रिताश्चोत्तरकूलनद्यः ।
 विन्ध्याद्धर्मन्त्यं मथुरापुस्तात् सुवास्तुसिन्ध्वद्रिगुहाश्रिताश्च ॥
 जीवस्य सारस्वतमत्स्यशाल्वाः प्राक्सिन्धुभागो मथुरापराद्धम् ।
 लघुघ्नः शतद्रू रमठा विपाशा त्रैगर्तयौवैयकपारताश्च ॥
 देशा भृगोस्तक्षशिला वितस्ता गन्धारकाः कैकयमालवाश्च ।
 दाशार्णकौशीनरचन्द्रभागाश्चेद्याह्वसिप्रास्थलकालकारव्याः ॥
 सरस्वती यत्र गता प्रणाशं वेदस्मृती मालवकाः सुराष्ट्राः ।
 पाश्चात्यदेशा विदिशा मही च सीरेः स्मृताः पुष्करमर्बुदश्च ॥
 राहोः कृतघ्नकुलपांसननीचशूद्रा वोवकाणशूलिकनियुद्धविदुग्रकोपाः ।
 गोमायुभक्षगिरिदुर्गनिवासिनश्च गर्भस्थहिंस्रपरदाररताः खलाश्च ॥
 शिखिनो वनसंस्थितावगाणा मरुभूपह्वचोलहूणचीनाः ।
 व्यवसायपराक्रमोपपन्नाः परदारानुरता मदोत्कटाश्च⁴⁴ ॥—XIV. 37-8;
 318-319

ग्रहवर्षफलम्, तत्र च भास्कराब्दः

- 25 तीक्ष्णोऽर्कः स्वल्पसस्यश्च गतमेघोऽतितस्करः ।
 वहूरगव्याविगणो भास्कराब्दो रणाकुलः ॥—XIX. 1-3; 330

चन्द्राब्दः

- 26 बहुवर्षातिसस्यश्च गवां क्षीरप्रदाकः ।
 चन्द्राब्दः कामिनामिष्टश्चित्यङ्कितमहीतलः ॥—XIX. 4-6; 340

भौमाब्दः

- 27 अग्नितस्कररोगाद्दयो नृपविग्रहदायकः ।
 गतसस्यो बहुव्यालो भौमाब्दो बालहा भृशम् ॥—XIX. 7-9; 342

बुधाब्दः

- 28 ब्रह्मक्षत्रस्य सस्थानां जनानां च कलाविदाम् ।
 वृद्धिप्रदोऽब्दो वौषस्तु भूपसाम्यकरः क्षिती ॥—XIX. 10-12; 344

गुरोरब्दः

- 29 बहुयज्ञोऽतिसस्यश्च गोगजाश्वहितस्तथा ।
पुरन्दरगुरोरब्दो बहुसस्यप्रदः शिवः ॥—XIX. 13-15; 345

सिताब्दः

- 30 सस्याद्यो धर्मबहुलो गतातङ्को बहूदकः ।
कामिनां कामदः कामं सिताब्दो⁴⁵ नृपशर्मदः ॥—XIX. 16-18; 347

शनेरब्दः

- 31 दुर्भिक्षमरकं रोगान् करोति पवनं तथा ।
शनैश्चरोऽब्दो दोषांश्च विग्रहांश्चैव भूभुजाम् ॥
संवत्सरोक्तं सकलं ऋतुमासायनेषु च ।
फलं ग्रहस्य वक्तव्यं बलयुवतस्य नान्यथा ॥—XIX. 19-21; 348

ग्रहशृङ्गाटकम्

- 32 सर्वे यदा दिनकरं विशन्ति कुर्युर्ग्रहास्तदा पीडाम्
क्षुच्छस्त्रमयातङ्कै रपरैश्च परस्पराघातैः ॥
⁴⁶प्रत्यर्चिपः प्रसन्नाः सम्भृतकिरणाः प्रदक्षिणावर्ताः ।
सुस्निग्धामलतनवः क्षेमसुभिक्षावहास्ते स्युः⁴⁷ ॥—XX. 4; 351

षण्णां योगानां नामानि फलानि च

- 33 ग्रहकोशसन्निपातौ संवर्त्तसमागमो समाजश्च ।
सम्मोहश्चेति तेषां लक्षणमस्तात् समादेश्यम् ॥
सूर्यजगुरुसंयोगे द्वावप्येकोऽपरः समागच्छेत् ।
स हि भवति कोशसञ्ज्ञो दुर्भिक्षभयावहो लोके ॥
एक उदितः प्रतीच्यामपरः प्राच्यां ग्रहोदितो यदि च ।
ग्रन्थोन्यमथोक्ताभिविलिखेत् स हि सन्निपाताख्यः ॥
सह पीरेण च पीरो यायी सह यायिना ग्रहो यश्च ।
दृश्येत समायुवतः स समाजाख्यः समादिष्टः ॥
अथ यायिनागराख्याश्चत्वारः पञ्च वा सह भवेयुः ।
एकर्धे संवर्तः शिखिराहुयुतः स सम्मोहः ॥—XX. 5-8; 352
- 34 संवर्त्तसमागमयोः साम्यै मोहे भयानि कोशे च ।
सुमसा समाजसञ्ज्ञे वैराण्यथ सन्निपाताख्ये ॥—XX. 9; 353

वीथिषु स्थितानां ग्रहाणां फलकथनम्

- 35 तथा चात्रायं विशेषः समाससंहितायाम् ।

दुर्भिक्षरोगतस्करशस्ता वृष्टिक्षुधं ग्रहाः कुर्युः ।
 आनलवीथ्यां जेया अजवीथ्यां नेत्रपरिहानिः ॥
 शस्त्रभयं मृगवीथ्यां जारद्गव्यां क्षुधं च रोगांश्च ।
 पशुनाशं गोवीथ्यामृपभारव्यायां च सर्वे तु ॥
 ग्रहोदये प्रवासे च सोमसूर्यग्रहे तथा ।
 विचार्यं वीथीमार्गांश्च लोके ब्रूयाच्छुभाशुभम् ॥—XX. 9; 353-354

गर्भलक्षणं तत्र च धृतस्य गर्भस्य प्रसवकालः

36 तथा चाचार्येण समासंहितानिवन्धने स्पष्टतरमुक्तम् ।
 पीपासितपक्षाद्यैः श्रावणशुक्लादयो विनिर्देश्याः ।
 साद्धैः पङ्क्तिभिर्मासैर्गर्भविपाकः स नक्षत्रे ॥—XXI. 7; 353

गर्भविवृद्धये ऋतुस्वभावजनितो विशेषः

37 शस्तानि मृगान्मासाच्छीतहिमवायुमेघकृतानि ।
 स्तनिततडिज्जलमारुतघनतापान्यतिशयं तु वैशाखे ॥
 कृष्णेन शुक्लपक्षः सितेन कृष्णेन निशा दिनोत्थेन ।
 रात्र्याहः सन्ध्यायां सन्ध्या दिग्ब्यत्ययाज्जलदाः ॥—XXI.19-22; 363

गर्भकाले मेघानां लक्षणम्

38 पृथुघनबहुला जलदा जलचरसत्त्वान्विताः शुभाः गर्भाः ।
 स्निग्धसितत्रहुलपरिवेपपरिवृता हिमकरोष्णाकरौ ॥
 नृखगमृगा मुदिता निरूपहतास्तरवः ।
 वियदमलं च यदा भवति तदा सुसमा ॥
 स्निग्धतडित् प्रतिसूर्यकमत्स्यशक्रवनुः प्रथमापरमव्ये ।
 शान्तरवा मृगपक्षिमनुष्याः शक्रशशीश्वरदिवपवनाश्च⁴⁸ ॥
 —XXI. 23-24; 363-364

गर्भघातका उत्पाताः

39 विविधमुत्पातलक्षणमाचार्येण समासंहितानिवन्धने स्पष्टतरमुक्तम् ।
 दिव्यं ग्रहर्क्षजातं भुवि भीमं स्थिरचरोद्भवं यच्च ।
 दिग्दाहोत्कामारुतपरिवेपाद्यं वियत्प्रभवम्⁴⁹ ॥—XXI. 29; 366

निमित्तैर्वर्षविस्तरस्य निश्चयः

40 गर्भो बहुतीघदो भवत्य⁵⁰ नेन वातिदिष्टं यथा प्रवर्षणे एतावती पानीयसङ्ख्या
 श्रध्वसङ्ख्या वाचार्येण समासंहितानिवन्धने उक्ता ।
 पञ्चनिमित्तैः शतयोजनं तदद्विर्द्धमेकहान्यातः ।
 वर्पति पञ्चनिमित्ताद् रूपेणैकेन यो गर्भः⁵¹ ॥—XXI. 30; 367

वृष्टिप्रमाणम्

- 41 ज्येष्ठस्य पूर्णमासीमतीत्य भूमुद्रया यथा वृष्टे ।
आप्याद्यैर्जलमानं मागधमानेन हस्तमिते⁵² ॥ - XXIII. 2; 374

नक्षत्राणां वृष्टिप्रमाणम्

- 42 दश युक्ता द्विकृतखतिथिरसाष्टदिग्विषयरामजलतिथिभिः ।
तिथिरसरसैश्च विरसाः सदशकृताः पङ्क्विहीनाश्च ॥
जलपट्कदशकसहिता जलरसयुक्ताः पङ्ङनाश्च ।
विषयतिथिपट्कसहिताश्चाश्विन्यादिषु जलद्रोणाः ॥—XXIII. 6-9; 376

रोहिणीयोगः

- 43 आषाढ बहुलपक्षे शिशिरकरे रोहिणीसमायुक्ते ।
यदि गगनममलमत्यन्ततीक्ष्णरश्मिः सहस्रांशुः ॥
सलिलगुरुनम्रजलघरतडिल्लतालोलरञ्जितदिगन्तः ।
अमितमलभेकचातककादम्बविमिश्रमाकाशम् ॥
क्षितितनयरविजसहितः स्फटिकनिभश्चन्द्रमा निरुत्पातः ।
मरुतश्च पूर्वपूर्वोत्तरोत्तराः शान्तमृगविहगाः⁵³ ॥—XXIV. 20; 389

रोहिण्या विविधदिक्षु स्थितस्य चन्द्रमसः फलम्

- 44 उदगपि च तुहिनकिरणः पूर्वोत्तरतोऽथवा स्थितः प्राञ्चाम् ।
यदि भवति तदा वसुधा भवति विवृद्धा प्रहृण्टजना ॥
उपसर्गोऽनिलदिवस्ये याम्याशासंस्थिते शकटके च ।
किं कण्ठैस्तैरुक्तैः श्रुतमात्रैर्यैः कृशो भवति ॥
क्रिमिशुकशलभादिभयं नैर्ऋत्यां नातिपुष्टिरपरेण ।
व्या(वा)यव्याशासंस्थे मध्यं सस्यं कुमुदनाथे⁵⁴ ॥—XXIV. 33; 395

आषाढीयोगः

- 45 तुलिताधिवासितानामन्येद्युर्दधिकं भवति वीजम् ।
आषाढपौर्णमास्यां तद्वृद्धिस्तत्र मन्त्रोऽयम्⁵⁵ ॥—XXVI. 1; 401

वर्षज्ञानम्

- 46 वर्षप्रश्ने प्रावृषि जलराशी कण्टके शशी बलवान् ।
मृगुजो वा शुभदृष्टो बहुजलकृत् स्वल्पदः पापैः ॥—XXVIII. 1; 413

सद्योवर्षलक्षणम्

- 47 आर्द्रद्रव्यं सलिलं जलसञ्ज्ञश्रवणदर्शनान्यथवा ॥—XXVIII. 2; 413
48 पृच्छाकाले शान्ता वारुणदिवस्था विहङ्गा वा ।

दर्पणलोहकलङ्को लवणकलेदोऽतितीक्ष्णकिरणोऽर्कः ॥
 पोप्लूयन्ते मत्स्याः दिश्यैशान्यां तिडिच्च दवा ।
 उत्कर्णपुच्छवदना गावस्तापोऽम्भसां पवननाशः ॥
 अञ्जनपुञ्जश्यामा गिरयो वाष्पावृता यदि वा ।
 यदि जलपांशुस्नानं विहगानां मैथुनं द्विजिह्वानाम् ॥
 वृक्षारोहणमथवा पिपीलिकाण्डोपसङ्क्रान्तिः ।
 कृकवाकुशुककपोतकलविङ्कविलोचनोऽर्कन्दोः ॥
 स्निग्धः परिवेषो वा वियदमलं बालकनिमित्तम्⁵⁶ ।
 मधुसदृशः शीतांशुः प्रतिचन्द्रः शीतमारुतः पूर्वः ॥
 ऊर्ध्वाङ्कुराश्च वलय (ल्लय) स्सद्योवर्षाय कीर्त्यन्ते ।
 स्निग्धा समसितरेखा यथाभ्रवृन्दानि कल्पितान्येव ॥
 यच्छन्त्यपो मयूखा यदि चेन्दोर्वा रवेर्दीप्ताः⁵⁷ ॥—XXVIII. 18; 420

वायव्याग्नेयैन्द्रवारुणानां भूकम्पानां लक्षणानि, पूर्वलिङ्गानि फलानि च

49 तथा च समाससंहितायामाचार्येणोक्तम् ।

आर्यमणपूर्वं भ्रुचतुष्टयं च शशाङ्कमादित्यमथाश्विनी च ।
 वायव्यमेतत् पवनोऽत्र चण्डो मासद्वयेनाशुभदः प्रजानाम् ॥
 अजैकपादं बहुला भरण्यो भाग्यं विशाखा गुरुमं मघा च ।
 क्षुदग्निशस्यामयकोपकारि पक्षैस्त्रिभिर्मण्डलमग्निसञ्ज्ञम् ॥
 प्राजापत्यं वैष्णवं मैत्रमैन्द्रं विश्वेशं स्याद् वासवं चाग्निजिच्च ।
 ऐन्द्रं हृद्ये तन्मण्डलं सप्तरात्रात् कुर्यात् तोयं हृष्टलोकं प्रशान्तम् ।
 आहिवुर्धन्यं वारुणं मूत्रमाप्यं पीष्णं सार्पं मन्मथारीश्वरं च ।
 सद्यः पाकं वारुणं नाम शस्तं तोयप्रायं हृष्टलोकं प्रशान्तम् ॥
 उल्का हरिश्चन्द्रपुरं रचश्च निर्घातिभूकम्पककुप्प्रदाहाः ॥
 वातोऽतिचण्डो ग्रहणं रवीन्द्रोर्नेक्षत्रतारागणवैकृतानि ॥
 व्यभ्रे वृष्टिवैकृतं चातिवृष्टिर्वूमोऽनग्निर्विस्फुलिङ्गाचिपो वा ।
 वन्यं सत्त्वं ग्राममध्ये विशेद् वा रात्रावैन्द्रं कार्मुकं दृश्यते वा ॥
 सन्ध्याविकारः परिवेषखण्डा नद्यः प्रतीपा दिवि तूर्यनादः ।
 अन्यच्च यत् स्यात् प्रकृतेः प्रतीपं तन्मण्डलैरेव फलं निगद्यम्⁵⁸ ॥

—XXXII. 23; 451-452

उल्कास्वरूपम्

50 आचार्येण स्वल्पसंहितायामेवोक्तम् ।

अस्त्राणि लोकपाला लोकाभावाय सन्त्यजन्त्युल्काः ।

केपाञ्चित् पुण्यकृतां तत्रोल्काविच्युतिः स्वर्गात् ॥—XXXIII. 1; 456

पञ्चोल्काभेदाः

- 51 उल्काथ पञ्चरूपा धिष्ण्योल्का विद्युत्तोऽशनिस्तारा ।
धिष्ण्योल्के पक्षफले तन्त्रिगुणश्चाशनिः पडहिकेऽन्ये ॥
फलपादकरी तारा धिष्ण्याद्ध पुष्कलं शेषाः⁵⁹ ॥—XXXIII. 2; 456

तत्राशनिः

- 52 अशनिः प्राणिषु निपतति दारयति घरातलं बृहच्छब्दा ॥—XXXIII. 4; 457

विद्युत्

- 53 विद्युत् तटतटशब्दा ज्वालामालाकुला पतति ॥—XXXIII. 5; 457

धिष्ण्या

- 54 ⁶⁰धिष्ण्या सिता द्विहस्ता धनूपि दश याति कृशदेहा ॥—XXXIII. 6; 458

तारा

- 55 तारा तु हस्तमात्रा यात्वूर्ध्वमधः स्थिता सिता ताम्रा ॥—XXXIII. 7; 458

उल्का

- 56 उल्काग्रतो विशाला बहुप्रकारा पुरुषमात्रा ॥—XXXIII. 8; 458

विविधदिक्षु पतिताया उल्कायाः फलम्

- 57 उदगादिषु विप्रादीन् सितलोहित⁶¹ कृष्णावरांश्च ।
घ्नन्ति ग्रहर्क्षाघातैस्तद्भक्तीनां च नाशाय⁶² ॥—XXXIII. 17; 462

निमित्तसंयुक्तायां उल्कायाः फलम्

- 58 क्रूरग्रहर्क्षलग्न क्षणतियिकरणप्रभञ्जनैर्दीप्तैः ।
दोप्ताण्डजभृगविरुतैर्निर्घातक्षितिनिमर्देषु⁶³ ॥—XXXIII. 30; 466

परिवेषलक्षणं सफलम्

- 59 श्रृङ्गाटकचापविकारसन्निभः पशुवमूर्त्तिरतिबहुलः ।
सकलगगनानुचारी बहुवर्णश्चावलम्बी च ॥
द्वित्रिगुणः खण्डो वा सन्ध्यात्रयमुत्थितो ग्रहच्छादी ।
परिवेषः पापफलो ग्रहरोधी हन्ति तद्भक्तीः ॥
स्निग्धो मधुघृतशिलिचापपत्रनीलोत्पलाब्जरजतनिभः ।
क्षेमसुभिक्षाय भवेत् परिवेषोऽर्कस्य शशिनो वा⁶⁴ ॥—XXXIV. 9; 470

परिवेषगतानां ग्रहाणां फलम्

- 60 बलपपुरोहितनरपतिकृषिकृत्पीडा क्रमेण परिविष्टैः
कुलगुरुसितार्कपुत्रैः सौम्येन तु मन्त्रिपरिवृद्धिः ॥
केतोः शस्त्रोद्योगो राहोः परिवेषणेन रोगभयम् ।
युद्धक्षुद्भयनृपतेर्नाशं व्याध्यादिभिः क्रमशः ॥—XXXIV. 12-15; 472

निर्घातिलक्षणम्

- 61 निर्घातोऽहोरात्रेण हन्ति नृपपीरभृत्यराष्ट्रजनान् ।
तस्करविप्रांश्चार्कोदयाद्दिशं⁶⁵ पतित यस्याम् ॥—XXXVIII. 2-5; 483

उत्पातलक्षणम्

- 62 यः प्रकृतिविपर्यासः सर्वः सङ्क्षेपतः स उत्पातः ।
क्षितिगगनदिव्यजातो यथोत्तरं गुरुतरो भवति⁶⁶ ॥—XLV. 1; 540

दिव्यान्तरिक्षभौमा उत्पाताः

- 63 दिव्यं ग्रहर्क्षजातं मुवि भौमं स्थिरचरोद्भवं यच्च ।
दिग्दाहोल्कापतनं परिवेषाद्यं वियत्प्रभवम् ॥—XLV. 4-5; 542

चतसृषु दिक्षु स्थितानां द्वाराणां शुभाशुभकथनम्

- 64 आचार्येण समाससंहितानिवन्धने स्पष्टतरं निबद्धम् । तथा चाह ।
पूर्वाण्यैशान्यां याम्याग्नेय्यां दक्षिणानि जानीयात् ।
द्वाराणि नैर्ऋतात् पश्चिमान्युदक्स्थानि वायव्याम् ॥
आग्नेयमग्निभयदं पार्जन्यं स्त्रीप्रसूतिदं द्वारम् ।
प्रचुरधनदं जयन्तं नृपवल्लभकारि माहेन्द्रम् ॥
सौर्यं क्रोधः प्रचुरः सत्येऽनृतवादितं भृशे चौर्यम् ।
चौर्यं तथान्तरिक्षे प्राग्द्वाराणि प्रदिष्टानि ॥
वायव्येऽल्पसुतत्वं प्रैष्यं प्रौण्येऽथ नीचता वितथे ।
बह्वन्नपानपुत्रं बृहत्क्षते याम्य अपि रौद्रम् ॥
गान्धर्वे गन्धत्वं नृपचौरभयाय मृङ्गराजाख्यम् ।
मृगमपि सुतवीर्यघ्नं दक्षिणतो द्वारनिर्देशः ॥
पित्र्ये शरीरपीडा दीवारिकसञ्ज्ञिते च रिपुवृद्धिः ।
सुग्रीवे घनहानिः पुत्रघनाढयं कुसुमदन्तम् ॥
वारुणमर्थनिचयदं नृपभयदं चासुरं विनिदिष्टम् ।
शोपं घनहानिकरं बहुरोगं पापयक्ष्माख्यम् ॥

रोगमुखं वधवन्धदमात्मजवैराभिवृद्धिदं नागम् ।
 मुख्यं धनसुतवृद्धिदमनेककल्याणदं च भल्लाटम् ॥
 सौम्यं धनपुत्रकरं भोजङ्गे पुत्रवैररिपुवृद्धिः ।
 अदितौ स्त्रीदोषाः स्युदितौ घनं सङ्क्षयं याति ॥—LII. 73; 678-679

द्वारवेधफलम्

- 65 आचार्येण समाससंहितानिबन्धे स्पष्टतरं निवद्धं तच्चाह ।
 स्तम्भतरुभ्रमकोरौविद्धं वेधश्च न शुभकरद्वारम् ।
 वेधोच्छ्रयाद् द्विगुणां भूमिं त्यक्त्वा न दोषाय ॥—LII. 74; 682

ग्रहगोचरस्तत्र सूर्यदिवसे करणीयानि कर्माणि

- 66 नृपाग्निपशुकर्माणि युक्तकार्याणि यानि च ।
 सूर्यस्य दिवसे प्राज्ञस्तानि सर्वाणि कारयेत् ॥—CIII. 61(a); 1244

चन्द्रदिने करणीयकार्याणि

- 67 जलस्त्रीराजकर्माणि मृदून्यन्यानि यानि च ।
 तानि चन्द्रदिने कुर्यात् शुक्लपक्षे विशेषतः ॥—CIII. 61 (b); 1245

भौमदिने

- 68 दुर्गग्रहणकर्माणि हेमकर्माणि यानि च ।
 तथा च पशुकर्माणि कुर्याद् भौमदिने नरः ॥—CIII. 61 (c); 1246

सौम्यदिने

- 69 स्वाध्यायशिल्पव्यायामकलाकर्मरतानि च ।
 तानि सौम्यदिने कुर्याद् यदि पापैर्न सङ्गतः ॥—CIII. 61 (d); 1247

गुरुदिने

- 70 शान्तिपौष्टिककर्माणि तथा ज्ञानाश्रितानि च ।
 तानि कृत्स्नं विधेयानि दिने देवगुरोः शुभे ॥—CIII. 62; 1250

शुक्रदिने

- 71 कलागन्धर्वकर्माणि रत्नकर्माणि यानि च ।
 तानि कार्याणि दिवसे सदा दैत्यगुरोः शुभे ॥—CIII. 63 (a); 1251

शनिदिने

- 72 शस्त्राणि पाशकर्माणि पशुकर्माणि यानि च ।
 तानि सौरदिने कुर्यात्लोहकर्माणि यानि च ॥

संवत्सरे तथा मासे होरायामुदये तथा ।

उक्तानि यानि कर्माणि तथा कुर्याद् गृहस्य च ॥—CIII. 63 (b); 1252

Footnotes

- 1 Cf. *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* I. 9, 10; CVI. 14; *Bṛhaj-jātaka*, XXVII. 6.
- 2 *Bṛhaj-jātaka* and *Laghu-jātaka*.
- 3 *Bṛhad-yātrā* or *Bṛhad-yogayātrā* and *Tikaṇika*-or *Svalpa-yātrā*. The *Yoga-yātrā* is an independent work.
- 4 Cf. *BS*, I. 10 and Utpala's gloss; *Bṛhaj-jātaka*, XX. 10; XXIV. 16 and Utpala's gloss. A *Vivāha-paṭala* with Utpala's commentary is preserved in a single manuscript which forms the basis of Dr. V.R. Pandit's unpublished edition.
- 5 Varāhamihira calls it by the name *Karaṇa*. Cf. *BS*, I. 10; V. 18; XVII. 1; XXIV. 5; CVL. 14 etc.; *Bṛhaj-jātaka* XXVIII. 6; *Pañca-siddhāntikā*, XVIII. 65.
- 6 वराहमिहिरो....ज्योतिः शास्त्रमङ्ग्रहं कृत्वा तदेव विस्तरं ग्रन्थमीरुणां कृते संक्षिप्तं गणितशास्त्रं कृत्वा होराशास्त्रं वक्तुः कामः—Utpala's comm. on *Laghu-jātaka*.
- 7 Cf. Extract No. 50 below.
- 8 The date of Bhaṭṭotpala is a controversial issue. On the basis of a verse occurring at the end of some of the manuscripts of his commentary on the *Bṛhaj-jātaka* it was usually held that he wrote it in Śaka 888 or 966 A.D. But the non-occurrence of this verse in a manuscript and the inclusion of a passage of Utpala's gloss on the *Bṛhaj-jātaka* in a work of the Arabic writer Abu Ma'shar (died 886 A.D.) has led Mm. P.V. Kane to suppose that he cannot be placed later than 850 A.D. *Vide, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay* (N.S.), Vol. 33 (1958), pp. 147-149. I venture to differ from Mm. Kane. In my opinion, Bhaṭṭotpala actually means by the word Śaka not the Śaka-Śālivāhana era commencing 78 A.D., but the Vikrama era of 58-57 B.C. My theory is supported by what Utpala says about the beginning of the Śaka era. According to him, "that time, when the barbarian rulers called Śakas were killed by king Vikramāditya, is popular as Śaka."—शका नाम् म्लेच्छजातयो राजानः ते यस्मिन् काले विक्रमादित्यदेवेन व्यापादिताः स कालो लोके शक इति प्रसिद्धः । तस्माच्छकेन्द्रकालात् शकनृपवधकालादारभ्य...Utpala on *BS*, VIII. 20. According to this calculation, Bhaṭṭotpala wrote his commentary on the *Bṛhaj-jātaka* in 830 A.D. The details of the date given by Utpala fit in well if it is referred to the Vikrama era. I have discussed this question in detail elsewhere in this volume.
- 9 *IA*, Vol. XXII, p. 169.
- 10 *BS*, XIV. 2-4.

- 11 हिमवद्-विन्ध्ययोर्मध्यं यत् प्राग् विनशनादपि ।
प्रत्यगेव प्रयागाच्च मध्यदेशः प्रकीर्तितः ॥ --*Manu-smṛiti*, II. 21.
- 12 Cf. *BS*, XXI. 31 and extract No. 40; *BS*, VII (a) and extract No. 12, 1.1.
- 13 Thus the *Samāsa-saṁhitā* allots 7 verses to the same subject which claims only five verses in *BS* (XX. 5-9).
- 14 Cf. extracts 36. 39, 63, 64.
- 15 Cf. *BS*, IV. 5-6.
- 16 Cf. *BS*, IV. 8-16.
- 17 Read वर्षश्च.
- 18 Cf. *BS*, V. 69-80.
- 19 This line is a verbatim reproduction of *BS*, VII. 8(a).
- 20 These verses summarise *BS*, VII. 8-12(a).
- 21 This is a summary of *BS*, VIII. 1-2. While commenting on *BS*, VIII. 2, viz., क्रमशस्त्रिभं तु पञ्चममुपान्त्यमन्त्य च, Utpala takes 'antya' to mean 'last', 'concluding' and states that the fifth (Phālguna), eleventh (*upāntya*, *Bhādrapada*) and twelfth (*antya*, *Āśvayuja*) years of the Jovian Cycle comprise three constellations each—पञ्चमं फाल्गुनं वर्षम् त्रिभं नक्षत्रत्रयानुयोगीनि । अन्त्यं द्वादशं चाश्वयुज त्रिभम् तस्य समीपमुपान्त्यमित्येकादशं च त्रिभम् । एवं पञ्चममुपान्त्यमन्त्यं वर्षत्रयं त्रिभम् । But according to another interpretation sought to be supported by Garga, Parāśara and Kaśyapa, 'antya' should be taken to mean 'near', not 'last'. Thus the fifth, eleventh (*upāntya*) and tenth (*antya*) consist to three *nakṣatras* each—अत्रान्त्य एव व्याचक्षते यथोपान्त्यमन्त्यं चेत्यत्रान्त्यशब्दः समीपवाची । उपान्त्यस्यैकादशस्य समीपं दशमं श्रावणं न तु द्वादशमाश्वयुजम्-इति. But the *Samāsa-saṁhitā* verse in question clearly demonstrates that Varāhamihira uses *antya* in the sense of 'last', and not 'near'
- 22 These summarise *BS*, VIII. 27-52; but nothing is stated about the first, second, fourth and sixth *yugas*.
- 23 These as well as *BS*, IX, 2-4 represent Varāhamihira's own view as distinguished from that of others. Cf. *BS*, IX. 1.
- 24 Cf. *BS*, IX. 10-22.
- 25 These summarise *BS*, XI. 2(a), 4-7.
- 26 Cf. *BS*, XII. 1-6. The legend of devouring the demon Vātāpi is not narrated in the corresponding verses of *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*. In V. Subrahmanya Sastry's edition it occurs as *BS*, XII. 1.
- 27 Cf. *BS*, XIV. 1-31. Being an abridged version, the *Samāsa-Saṁhitā* omits some place-names, but adds some new ones.
- 28 Probably an error for '*Gaṅgā-Yamunāntarālam*', meaning Antardevi or Ganga-Yamuna Doad.
- 29 It demonstrates that Varāhamihira took Pāriyātra mountain (western portion of the Vindhya range west of Bhopal including Ara-

vali range) to be the southern limit of the Madhyadeśa or the Middle Country. This agrees with Aśvaghōṣa's *Soundarānanda* which takes Madhyadeśa to be the land between Himavat and Pāriyātra. Cf. मध्यदेश इव व्यक्तो हिमवत्परियात्रयोः, II. 62. But contrast *Manu-smṛti*, II. 21, where Vindhya is said to be the southern boundary of Madhyadeśa. Fleet's view that Varāhamihira's Madhyadeśa agrees with that of Manu needs revision in the light of the *Samāsa-sāṃhitā* extract in question. For Fleet's view see *JA*, Vol. XXII, p. 169.

30 Read सङ्ख्यात as in *BS*, XIV. 2.

31 Read मद्रारिमेद as in *BS*, XIV. 2.

32 Pāṇḍyas cannot be located in the east. It is probably an error for पाण्ड्योद्गाः.

33 Read मेकलास्वच्छ or मेकलकाम्बच्छ.

34 The *Samāsa-sāṃhitā* locates the Cedis both in the south-east and southern divisions. They are mentioned only as a southern people in *BS*.

35 Although *BS* refers to the ruler of Avanti as representing the southern division, Ujjayintī is conspicuous by its absence in the list of the southern countries there.

36 The same as the Nārīmkhas of *BS*.

37 'Taka' as the name of a people or country does not occur in the corresponding verses of *BS*. It should be probably read as पञ्चनदकनकशकाः.

38 The printed edition of *BS* reads हस्त.

39 'Āruhaka' as the designation of a people or country is conspicuous by its absence in the *Bṛhat-sāṃhitā* list.

40 Probably the same as the Dāsameyas of *BS*, XIV. 28.

41 Though Trigarta is mentioned here as a north-eastern country, in *BS*, XIV. 25, it is referred to as a northern country.

42 Probably an error for 'Bāhlikotkala'.

43 'Pārevindhya' probably denotes the region to the south of the Vindhya mountain. Cf. *Mahābhārata*, Sabhāparvan, 51. 11 (Pāre-sindhu).

44 This is a summary of *BS*, Ch. XVI.

45 शर्मदः सदा is a variant.

46 This verse is also cited on *BS*, XX. 6-8, p. 353.

47 Cf. *BS*, XX. 1-4.

48 These verses state much more than the corresponding verses of *BS*. दिग्मस्तश्च is a variant reading.

49 Cf. *BS*, XXI. 25-27, 29.

50 This refers to *BS*, XXI. 28.

51 This is the same as *BS*, XXI. 31.

- 52 According to *BS*, XXIII. 2, rainfall was measured by means of a specially prepared round gauge with a diameter of one cubit and probably containing marks indicative of *palas*; fifty *palas* made one *āḍhaka*. This measure, according to the *Samāsa-saṁhitā* verse in question, belonged to what may be called the Māgadha system. The same measure is described in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. Māgadha and Kāliṅga appear to have been the two systems of standard measurements in ancient India. Cf. *Caraka*, Kalpasthāna, XII. 105. For different systems of measuring rainfall see my paper 'Textual Evidence bearing on Rainfall in Ancient India', in the *Journal of Oriental Institute*, M.S. University of Baroda, Vol. IX, No. 4, pp. 407-418.
- 53 Cf. *BS*, XXIV. 12-20.
- 54 Cf. *BS*, XXIV. 29-33.
- 55 It seems that *BS*, XXVI. 2-5, which is said to be a *mantra* for sanctifying a weighing balance, was incorporated in the *Samāsa-saṁhitā* also.
- 56 Cf. *BS*, XXVIII. 5.
- 57 Cf. *BS*, XXVIII. 3-18.
- 58 Cf. *BS*, XXXII. 8ff.
- 59 Cf. *BS*. XXXIII. 2-3.
- 60 These three lines introduced with the phrase तयाच are undoubtedly taken from the *Samāsa-saṁhitā*.
- 61 Yellow, the colour attributed to the Vaiśyas, is conspicuous by its absence.
- 62 Cf. *BS*, XXXIII. 15, 17.
- 63 Cf. *BS*, XXXIII. 18ff.
- 64 Cf. *BS*, XXXIV. 4-9.
- 65 Read दिशि.
- 66 Cf. *BS*, XLV. 1-2.

Chapter 6

Herakles in Front of the Army of Porus

[Quintus Rufus Curtius (1st century A.D.) informs us on the authority of Alexander's historians that the army of Paurava (Porus), while on march against Alexander, carried in front an image of Herakles to enthuse the ranks. The Indian Herakles has been commonly identified with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa on account of his association by Megasthenes with the Śūrasenas, Mathurā and the river Yamunā. However, it is evident from an examination of the relevant evidence that the Indian Herakles cannot be equated with any one Indian divinity and that in different contexts he represented different deities. Indian literary evidence indicates the prevalence of the practice of worshipping the Lokapālas and the planets immediately prior to a military expedition and carrying in front the images of the Dikpāla and the planet associated with the direction in which the army was marching. Even though this evidence pertains to the late Gupta period, in view of the continuity of the religious practices in India it is quite likely that this practice had been inherited from earlier times, and one need not be astonished if this practice was prevalent in the fourth century B.C. also. While there is a comparative uncertainty about the antiquity of the planet worship, the concept of the guardians of quarters (Lokapālas) can be easily traced back to the later Vedic period. The image in question must, therefore, have been that of a Dikpāla, almost certainly Vāyu, as the army of Porus was in all likelihood marching towards the north-west. And in case Porus' army was marching northward, it must have carried an image of Kubera one of whose emblems was *gadā*. This identification or confusion was obviously facilitated by *daṇḍa* or staff, one of the attributes of the Wind-god, or *gadā*, an emblem of Kubera, which the Greeks probably confused with the club, an attribute of their god Herakles. Even otherwise this confusion was not impossible as the historians of Alexander had to accommodate the numerous Indian divinities within the concepts of the twin gods Dionysus and Herakles.]

The historians of Alexander's invasion have bequeathed to the posterity invaluable accounts of the countries, peoples and monarchs with whom the great Macedonian conqueror came into contact. They describe not only the numerous battles that he had to fight with the Indian rulers, but also furnish a wealth of information about the

practices, beliefs and superstitions of the people at large: Their observations, when studied in a historical perspective and interpreted in the light of the clues afforded by Indian literature, will prove to be of great help in reconstructing a fuller picture of the political, social, religious and economic conditions of those bygone days. This chapter attempts at a critical examination of one such statement made by Quintus Curtius (1st century B.C.) on the basis of the historians of Alexander.

Referring to the army of Porus (Paurava) as it advanced against the Greek invader, Q. Curtius makes the following observation—

“An image of Hercules (Herakles) was borne in front of the infantry, and this acted as the strongest of all incentives to make soldiers to fight well. To desert the bearers of this image was reckoned a disgraceful military offence, and they had even ordained death as penalty for those who failed to bring it back from the battle-field, for the dread which the Indians had conceived for the god when he was their enemy had been toned down to a feeling of religious awe and veneration.”¹

There is a difference of opinion with regard to the identification of the Herakles spoken of in the above passage of Q. Curtius. E. R. Bevan thinks that the image may have been of Kṛṣṇa or Indra;² Ananda K. Coomaraswamy suggests that it was an image of Śiva or of a Yakṣa³ and J.N. Banerjea is inclined in favour of Kṛṣṇa.⁴

In order to arrive at a correct solution, the problem will have to be discussed at some length. Nobody would trust that the Greek god Herakles was ever worshipped in India. The Greeks were in the habit of discerning their own divinities in the gods of the lands visited by them. Now, the question that poses itself first is : Who was the Indian counterpart of Herakles? Megasthenes, the Seleucid envoy at the court of Candragupta Maurya, as quoted by Arrian, tells us that “Herakles is held in especial honour by the Sourasenoi (Śūrasenas), an Indian tribe who possesses two large cities, Methora (Mathurā) and Cleisobora (Kṛṣṇapura), and through whose country flows a navigable river called the Iobares (Yamunā).”⁵ The Śūrasena country was, as is well known, closely associated with the origin and growth of the theistic cult centring on the historical god Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. The Indian Herakles is, therefore, usually identified with him.

But there are good grounds to doubt the correctness of this identification. The Greeks must have discerned some resemblance between their own god Herakles and his Indian counterpart. How could they equate the two otherwise? In Greek mythology, club and lion's skin are closely connected with Herakles. They have no place whatever in

Viṣṇu's iconography. Śiva, on the other hand, is often styled *kṛttim vasānaḥ* or *kṛttivāsaḥ*, i.e., 'wearing hide'. As regards the other emblem, the club, on some early Indian coins Śiva is portrayed as holding a staff;⁶ and the *triśūla* or trident-battleaxe is one of his constant emblems.

The classical writers describe a people called the Sibae who lived near the junction of the river Hydaspes (Jhelum) and Akeshines (Chenab) in the Punjab. They are evidently the same as the Śiva or Śibis of Indian literature. According to Megasthenes they "were descended from those who accompanied Herakles on his expedition, and they preserved badges of their descent for they wore skins like Herakles and carried clubs and branded the mark of a cudgel on their oxen and mules."⁷ It will appear from the manner of their description that these so-called descendants of Herakles and his followers were probably worshippers of Śiva. The Śivapura or Śaivapura mentioned as an *udicyagrāma* (a northern village) by Patañjali (on Pāṇini IV. 2. 104)⁸ is evidently identical with the town of Śibipura referred to in an early inscription and rightly identified with Sharkot in the Jhung District of the Punjab.⁹ The Buddhist text *Mahāmāyūrī* (before the 4th century A.D.)¹⁰ informs us that Śiva was the principal cult-object of the *āhāra* (district) of Śivapura which S. Lévi¹¹ has rightly taken to be the same as the homonymous town named by Patañjali. There can be no doubt that at least in this particular case Herakles, whose descendants the Sibae were supposed to have been, can be none else than Śiva.

What has been said above is not intended to challenge the general opinion about the equation of Indian Herakles with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, or to propose a new identification, but only to demonstrate that the identity of Herakles with Kṛṣṇa is not quite certain. While the Herakles of the Śūrasenas was the Vṛṣṇi god, that of the Sibae was undoubtedly Śiva. It seems that classical writers have given the name of Herakles to different prominent gods in different regions. We need not, therefore, be dogmatic regarding the Indian counterpart of Herakles being identical with one or other Indian god.^{11a}

Once the incertitude about the identity of the Indian Herakles is conceded, the question arises as to who the divinity is whose image was held aloft in front of the army of Porus. This question can be answered only by some relevant evidence from indigenous literature. If so, is there any reference in Indian literature to the practice of carrying the image of some deity in front of a marching army? We have consulted G.T. Date's *The Art of War in Ancient India*,¹² V. R. Dikshitar's *War in Ancient India*,¹³ and P.C. Chakravarti's *The Art*

of War in Ancient India.¹⁴ In the first two works the statement of Curtius is left unnoticed. P. C. Chakravarti quotes the above statement of Curtius, but observes, "so far as we know, the practice is nowhere referred to in ancient Sanskrit literature."¹⁵

But in the course of our studies, we have come across a very useful reference which sheds welcome light on the question under discussion. The Dikpālas or the divine guardians of the quarters were amongst the numerous deities worshipped before proceeding on a military expedition. According to the *Viṣṇudharmottara* (II. 176) and the *Agni-purāṇa* (236. 1-18), a king was required to perform several religious rites covering one full week before actually launching on a campaign of victory. These rites included worship and offerings to the regents of the quarters.¹⁶ Varāhamihira (505 A.D.) in his *Bṛhad-yātrā*¹⁷ and the *Ṭikaṇikā-yātrā*¹⁸ requires the king not only to offer worship to the images of the regents of the quarters prior to launching on a campaign but also exhorts him to meditate upon the lord of the particular quarter in which he is proceeding actually at the time of the march itself.¹⁹

Indra, Agni, Yama, Nirṛti, Varuṇa, Vāyu, the Moon or Yakṣa (ie., Kubera) and Śiva were regarded as the rulers of the east, south-east, south, south-west, west, north-west, north and north-east respectively.²⁰ The honour of protecting the directions was also shared by the eight planets, Ketu being excluded from the list. Thus the Sun, Venus, Mars, Rāhu, Saturn, Moon, Mercury and Jupiter were coupled with Indra, Agni, Yama, Nirṛti, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Yakṣa (Kubera) and Śiva respectively, in their regency of the various regions.^{20a} In his *Yoga-yātrā*,²¹ Varāhamihira gives detailed instructions regarding the iconography of the Lokapālas and planets and about the materials from which their images should be fashioned. He further states that the images of the Lokapāla and the planet associated with the direction in which the army is marching should be properly decorated, worshipped and carried in front of the army—

☉ Puruhūta-Hutāśa-Yamā Nirṛti-Varuṇānila-Yakṣa-Śivāś ca diśām,
☽ Punar Arha-Sitāra-Tamo Ravijāḥ Śaśi-Saumya-Bṛhaspatayaḥ
patayaḥ.

Śacyā sah'Airāvaṇagaḥ savajro haimo'thavā dārumayo

☽ Vicitra-mālya-dhvaja-raktacandanaiḥ Saumyopahāreṇa sa
pūjanīyaḥ.

Atha mantram Abhiṣuṇaḥ sakhinām iti japtvā purataḥ

Purandarasya,
Puruhūtadiśām nṛpo'bhiyuñjyāt Puruhūtaṁ hṛdaye niveśya samyak.

Tāmrajā pratikṛtiḥ Sahasrago raktacandanakṛtānulepanā,
 Raktavastra-kusuma-dhvajārcitā sūryakāntamañibhir vibhūṣitā.
 Ākṛṣṇapūrvam yadi vāpy'Udutyam mantram samāvartya Ravçḥ
 purastāt,
 Kṣīraudanena pratipūjya yāyāt prācīm puraskṛtya Dineśa-Śakrau.
 Agnes tanuḥ kanakenaiva kāryā rakto dhvajaḥ kusumam
 candanam ca,
 Ājyam balim Hutabhug-dig-jigīṣor mantram Ghṛtam ghṛtayoneḥ
 paṭhec ca.

Kāryaś citro Ditisutagurur vā Yamo vārdhakāyo,
 Nānārūpāḥ kusuma-balayas tatra citro dhvajaś ca,
 Śukrajyotiḥ prabhṛti ca japen mantram asyāgratas tau,
 Kṛtvā yāyād Bhṛguja Dahanau jetum icchus tad āśām.
 Ayomayam prodyata-daṇḍa-hastam Yamam sakṛṣṇa-dhvaja-
 puṣpa-gandhais,
 Tilaudanair arcya samāmsa-madyair Yamena dattam ca japo'
 sya kāryaḥ.
 Mūrtiḥ syād rudhirākṣasañjñā-maṇinā Bhaumasya raktāḥ
 srajo,
 Raktāni dhvaja candanāni kusumaiḥ pakvānna-māmsair
 baliḥ,
 Agnir Mūrdhapadaiḥ stutiḥ Kṣitisutasyaivam Yam'
 Āṅgārakau.

Diñnāthau gamane'grato narapatiḥ kṛtvā vrajed dakṣiṇam.
 Bhairavā pratikṛtiḥ paṭe kṛtā sarva-gandha-phala-puṣpa-pūjitā,
 Eṣa te Nirṛti-mantra-codanā kṛṣṇa-rakta-kusuma-dhvājāmbarā.
 Suradāruṇayaḥ Śaśānka-sātruḥ kusumādyair asitaiḥ kṛtopahāraḥ,
 Nirṛti-sahitaḥ svadikprayāṇe stuti-mantro'sya ca kirtitaḥ
 Kayā naḥ.
 Paścād vrajed rajatamayam Jaleśvaram pāśānvitam saha gadayā
 ca pūjitam,
 Kṛtvaudanair balim api Pāvakānvitam Ye te śatam Varuṇa iti
 stuyād dvijaḥ.
 Saṅger arcā nīlakācā kṛṣaṅgi pūjyā kṛṣṇair vastra-mālyopahāraiḥ,
 Śanno devityeṣa manthro'parāśām jetum yāyāt tau puraskṛtya
 devau.
 Vāyor mūrtiḥ śvetamṛdbhir vidheyā pūjyā śvetaiḥ puṣpa-vastra-
 dhvajādyaiḥ,
 Manthro Vāto vā Mano veti japyā Vāyavyāśām
 prasthitasyeśvarasya.
 Mantraḥ Somasyā'pyāyasavety anyac chvetam srag-vastradyam,
 Vāyum Somam cāgre kṛtvā yāyād rājā Vāyçḥ kāṣṭhām.

Hātaka-mūrtim kuryād Dhanadasya vibhūṣitām ratnaiḥ.
 Sarvaiḥ sagadām ca pūjitām srag-vastrādyaiś ca vicitraiḥ.
 Sauvarṇam rajatāsane nṛmithunam Candrātma-jasyeṣyate,
 Hāridraudanam iṣṭa-gandha-kusumair vastraiś ca sampūjitam,
 Udbudhyasva japaś ca tasya kathitaḥ syād Brahmajñādinā,
 gacched uttarato Dhaneśvara-Budhau dhyāyan puraskṛtya ca.
 Go-tvag-jā pratibhairavā praktikṛtir bhasmotkaṭā Śūlino,
 Dadhnā caudana-saṃyutena balibhir mantrō Namaḥ Śambhave,
 Mūrtiḥ syān maṇito Guror vimalakāt pītam tu vastrādikam,
 Mantraś cāsya Bṛhaspater iti tayor yāyād diśam pūjya tau.

—YY, VI. 1-18.

It is obvious from these extracts quoted at length that the images of the Lokapālas and planets²² concerned were taken in front of an army while on march. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the image carried in front of the infantry of Porus must have been that of the Dikpāla or of the planet connected with the direction in which it was marching. Although the antiquity of the practice of worshipping planets is very doubtful, the Dikpāla concept has a very high antiquity. Though there are differences with regard to the list of the Lokapālas, the antiquity of the concept as such goes back to the later Vedic period.^{22a} It seems, therefore, more probable that the image carried by the soldiers of Porus was that of a Lokapāla.

Owing to the vagueness of the classical accounts it is difficult to ascertain the particular Dikpāla whose image was borne by the soldiers of Porus. We know it for certain that the Paurava ruled in the Punjab over a region between the rivers Hydaspes (Vitastā=Jhelum) and Akecines (Asikni or Candrabhāgā=Chenab). However, there is no certainty as to the locality where Alexander crossed the Jhelum, and conflicting classical accounts have led historians to different conclusions on this question.

The classical authors are almost unanimous on one point: the camp of Alexander was originally pitched at a lower point on the western bank of the Hydaspes opposite the camp of the enemy on its eastern bank, and he had to move a little upwards in order to find a crossing point where his movements could not be seen by Porus' men. Beyond this Alexander's historians are silent, leaving modern scholars free to build their own theories. And as this is a strategic point, military men naturally come into picture. This question was discussed by Sir Alexander Burnes²³ and Monsieur Court,²⁴ a French general of Māharaja Ranjit Singh, who concluded that Alexander had pitched his camp at the town of Jhelum. They were followed by Gen. Sir James Abbott,²⁵ who conjectured that from Taxila Alexander mar-

ched down' to Jhelum via the route where the G. T. Road is now situated; at Jhelum, the river makes a considerable bend, but there is no head or deep nullah, and consequently from there he marched about ten miles upstream to Bhuna and crossed the river, and the battle between him and Porus was fought between its eastern bank and the Pabbi Hills. Gen. Alexander Cunningham propounded another theory according to which Alexander marched south of the G. T. Road over the Salt Range and reached the river at Jalalpur, about thirty miles south of the town of Jhelum, from where he advanced eight miles upstream to Dilawar; here there is an island and the river takes a bend; but there is no headland or a deep nullah; at this place he crossed the river and fought his battle on its eastern bank at a spot not far from his camp on its western side.²⁶ This theory with some important modifications was adopted by Sir Aurel Stein who, after a close examination of the evidence and the terrain, came to the conclusion that in Alexander's days the most practicable of the routes from Taxila over the Salt Range was via Chakwal, Ara and the Nandana pass to Haranpur, the site where the railway bridge now covers the Jhelum, and it was this route that Alexander followed. A point in support of this view is its agreement with Strabo's statement that from Taxila Alexander had advanced towards the south and with the distance (from Taxila to the Hydaspes) of $110\frac{1}{2}$ English miles given by Pliny, whereas by G.T. Road it comes to about 80 miles. According to Stein, Alexander pitched his camp at Haranpur where the river flows in a single channel with a well-defined bend of some half a mile in width. He marched about $17\frac{1}{2}$ miles upstream to Jalalpur which, by all considerations, was his most probable crossing point. Here, though the river makes only a slight bend, there is a well-defined headland, Mangal Dev, rising to a little over 1100 ft. above the river bed. Immediately to its east is situated the wide winding mouth of the nullah called Kandar Kas, which, according to Stein, is identical with the deep ditch mentioned by Curtius. It flows into the Halkiwani nullah, the northern offshoot of the Jhelum, which is unfordable during April-August, and skirts the island of Admana, the largest in the whole course of the Jhelum in this area. Thus, as shown by Stein, the location of the crossing point at Jalalpur meets all the conditions described by the classical writers.²⁷

V.A. Smith tried to revive the older theory locating Alexander's camp close to the city of Jhelum. Opposite to him, but a little below, was encamped the army of Porus on the eastern bank. Alexander dared not cross the river in the open view of the enemy. Therefore, he looked for a safe place for crossing and found an island in the middle

of the river, where the thick jungle concealed him from being seen. He moved some of his forces a little to the north of his original camp, and at night, when a storm drowned the din of the march, he crossed over to the eastern bank, arriving near the village of Sirwali in the well-known plain of Karri. Porus, getting the news of this development, moved from his original position to be able to face his enemy. His army reached Pakral, and the battle was fought between the villages of Sirwali and Pakral on the eastern bank of the Jhelum.²⁸

Now, whichever view were to be accepted, this much can be definitely averred that the army of Porus must have been marching towards the north-west, to meet Alexander, coming from the west. The deity whose image was carried by the army, therefore, must have been that of the lord of the north-western quarter, viz., Vāyu, after whom the direction is called Vāyavya. Vāyu's iconography is given differently in different texts. Stag is generally mentioned as his mount, but some texts give him a *simhāsana* (lion-throne) and speak of a banner and a staff in his right and left hands respectively.²⁹ The *daṇḍa* or staff was perhaps the attribute that led to his confusion with Herakles, which, like Dionysus, appears to have been employed as a generic name for different divinities in different contexts.

However, we must remember in this connection that originally the army of Alexander was encamped immediately to the north of Porus' camp on the northern bank of the Jhelum. Porus apparently could have no advance idea of Alexander's tactical move upstream further north-west, and he must have expected to give a fight to his enemy at the point where he was encamped or just opposite it where Alexander had pitched up his camp. Accordingly, he would have conceived the idea of marching northward and, therefore, must have kept ready the image of the lord of the northern quarter, i. e., Kubera. It would have been very difficult, if not impossible, to change it over in favour of Vāyu, the lord of the north-west, at the spur of the moment on knowing Alexander's changed crossing point, which was quite sudden and unexpected. In view of this the possibility of the army of Porus carrying in its front the image of Kubera cannot be ruled out. Not only that, it appears most probable, nay certain. Now, according to some iconographic texts, *gadā* or mace was one of the attributes held in one of his hands by Kubera. Thus, the *Yoga-yātrā* (VI. 16) mentions *gadā* as one of the *āyudhas* held by him. And in some Kuṣāṇa figures of Kubera from Mathurā the deity is often represented with a mace-like object shown under his left arm-pit.³⁰ In certain four-armed Kubera reliefs from Khajuraho datable to the early medieval period *gadā* is shown as one of his emblems.³¹ This must have led to his identifica-

tion and confusion with Herakles.

Footnotes

- 1 J.W. McCrindle, *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, pp. 208-209.
- 2 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I (S. Chand & Co., Delhi, 1955), p. 328. The identification with Vedic god Indra, which was generally discarded earlier, has recently been sought to be reinforced by Allan Dahlquist (*Megasthenes and Indian Religion*, (Uppsala, 1962), pp. 80ff.). But his arguments are far from convincing. For a critical examination of his view, see S.R. Goyal, *Kauṭilya and Megasthenes* (Mcerut, 1985), pp. 124-130.
- 3 A.K. Coomaraswamy, *HIA*, p. 42, fn. 5.
- 4 *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II (Calcutta, 1957), p. 383; *Paurāṇic and Tāntric Religion* (Calcutta, 1966), p. 25. See also A.D. Pusalker, *Studies in the Epics and Purāṇas of India* (Bombay, 1955), p. 65, where it is averred with reference to Magasthenes that "he definitely states that Kṛishṇa was regarded as an incarnation of Vishṇu." The identification of the Indian Herakles with Kṛṣṇa was first suggested by Christian Lassen owing to his association with Śūrasenas, Mathurā and the river Yamunā. And since then it has been generally accepted by scholars unquestioningly.
- 5 McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian* (Calcutta, 1926), p. 206.
- 6 J.N. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 117. See also A. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India* (Indian reprint, Varanasi, 1963), pp. vii-viii.
- 7 McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 11.
- 8 Udṣeyagrāmāc ca bahu aco'ntodāttād añ bhavattī asy'āvakāśaḥ—Śivapura—Śivapuraḥ, *Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. IV (Nirnaya Sagar Press, 1942), p. 187.
- 9 J. Ph. Vogel "Shinkot Inscription of the Year 83," *EI*, Vol. XVI, pp. 15-17.
- 10 It was first translated into Chinese in the fourth century A.D.
- 11 *Journal Asiatique*, 1915, pp. 37, 70.
- 11a S.R. Goyal has recently given cogent reasons in support of his view which is similar to ours. He has argued that the personality of Indian Herakles as described by the classical writers was a composite one to the formation of which not only Śiva and Kṛṣṇa but Vaivasvata Manu had also contributed. The last element finds general support from a broad agreement between the number of generations from Herakles to Candragupta Maurya mentioned by

- Megasthenes and those between Vaivasvata Manu and Caṅdra-gupta Maurya as found in the Paurāṇic accōunts. See his *Kauṭilya and Megasthenes*, pp. 114-123; *A Religious History of Ancient India*, II, (Mēerut, 1986), pp. 180-187. Likewise the personality of the other Indian god described by the classical writers, Dionysus, was a combination of the elements drawn from the Vedic god Indra, king Pṛthu, myths surrounding Saṅkarṣaṇa-Balarāma and Śivā. Vide, *Kauṭilya and Megasthenes*, pp. 101-113.
- 12 Oxford University Press, 1929.
- 13 Second edition. Macmillan & Co., 1948.
- 14 University of Dacca, 1941.
- 15 P.C. Chakravarti, *The Art of War in Ancient India*, p. 121, fn. 3.
- 16 Cf. *Pūjantiyo Hariḥ Sambhur modakādyair Vināyakaḥ, Dvītiye'hanī dikpālān sampūjya śāyanam caret. Tṛtīye'hanī dikpālān Rudrāṁstān dikpatin yajet*, (*Agni-purāṇa*, 236. 2, 6).
- 17 References are to an unpublished edition prepared by my friend the late V.R. Pandit: It has since been edited by David Pingree in the *Bulletin of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library*, Madras, Vol. XX (1972). However, it is not dependable.
- 18 Edited by V.R. Pandit in the *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. XX, Pt. 2, pp. 40-63.
- 19 *Dukūla-muktā-maṇibhṛn narendrah samantri-daivajña-purohitotaḥ, Svadevatāgāramanupraviśya nivedayet tatra digiśvarārcān. Vrajed digiśam hṛdaye nidhaya yathendram Aindryām aparāṁśca tadvat*, (*BY*, IV. 1 & XX. 1). *Hutvānalaṁ namaskṛtya devatāḥ svastivācyā viprāṁś ca, Dhyāyan digiśam avilambitāṁ vrajed bhūpatiḥ sumanāḥ*. (*TY*, IX. 2). Vide also *YY*, VI. 3 cited below.
- 20 Cf. *BS*, LIII. 3; *LXXXV*. 75; *YY*, VI. 1. In the first work Indu or the Moon is named as the regent of the northern quarter, while in the other text its position is assigned to Yakṣa, that is, Kubera, the lord of the Yakṣas. It seems that the list of the Dikpālas was not yet stereotyped in the sixth century when Varāhamihira lived.
- 20a Cf. *YY*, VI. 1; *BJ*, II. 5-7. Cf. P.V. Kane, *HDS*, Vol. V, part I, p. 573; *ISBM*, pp. 161-163.
- 21 Edited by Jagdish Lal Shastri, Lahore, 1944.
- 22 This reference indicates the prevalence of this practice during the Gupta and post-Gupta periods. And in view of the continuity of religious practices in India there is nothing surprising if this practice had come down from an earlier period and was current in the fourth century B.C. as well.
- 22a For details see J.N. Banerjea's *DHI*, p. 519-522.
- 23 *JASB*, 1836, pp. 387ff.

- 24 *Ibid.*, 1839, p. 304.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 1848, pp. 619ff.
- 26 *ASR* II, 1863-64, pp. 175ff.
- 27 *The Geographical Journal*, LXXX (1932), pp. 31-46; *Archaeological Reconnaissances in North-Western India and South-Eastern Iran*, pp. 1-8, 36.
- 28 V.A. Smith, *Early History of India* (third revised ed., Oxford, 1914), p. 78. See also the *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 323, fn. 5.
- 29 This follows the *Amśumadbhedāgama* as cited by T.A. Gopinatha Rao in his *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part II. p. 261. For a comprehensive account of his iconography, see Bhagwant Sahai, *IMHBD*, pp. 51-52.
- 30 V.S. Agrawala, *BIMA*, pp. 41, 83 (Nos. 613 and 2520). For photographs, see *JISOA*, V, Pl. XIV.2; *ASI, AR*, 1916-17, Pt. I, Pl. VII. d.
- 31 Ramashraya Awasthi, *Khajurāho ki Deva-pratimāem*, I, Agra, 1967, pp. 232-233.

Chapter 7

Nagnajit and His Citralakṣaṇa

[The earliest references to Nagnajit, king of Gandhāra, are met with in the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* which speak of him as having received instructions from some sages and quote his opinion regarding the construction of the sacrificial altar which is ultimately rejected because of his belonging to the ruling class. Some early Buddhist and Jaina works and the *Mahābhārata* also refer to him in various contexts. It is generally believed that all these Nagnajits were one and the same. But really speaking there were more than one personages bearing this name. A certain Nagnajit is mentioned in the *Matsya-purāṇa* and Varāhamihira's writings in connection with architecture, iconography and iconometry, and Bhaṭṭotpala quotes his works on these topics besides mentioning his *Citralakṣaṇa* which dealt with, *inter alia*, weapons. While the Sanskrit original of the *Citralakṣaṇa* is lost, a certain work of this name is now available in its Tibetan version which has been translated into German by B. Lausler. From a critical analysis of its contents it appears that either the Tibetan version is different from the *Citralakṣaṇa* known to Bhaṭṭotpala or is incomplete,

Nagnajit is also widely quoted as an authority on medical science, and from an analysis of the relevant references it appears that some works on Āyurveda passed current in his name at least till the early medieval period. From his description as a king of Gandhāra it would follow that this Nagnajit was identical with one of the Nagnajits known to the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Mahābhārata*, and Buddhist and Jaina literature.]

Nagnajit seems to have enjoyed an important position in the political, religious and art history of ancient India. Tradition remembers him as a great monarch, leader of a religious movement, an epic hero and an author of treatises on architecture, iconometry, painting and other kindred subjects. In a passage of the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*,¹ Nagnajit, a king of Gandhāra, together with kings Somaka Sāhadevya, Sahadeva Sārṅjaya, Babhru Daivavṛdha and Bhīma Vaidarbha, is represented as having received instructions from the seers Parvata and Nārada regarding the substitute of the Soma juice. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (VIII. 1, 4, 10) refers to the Gandhāra ruler Nagnajit and his son Svarjit (*Atha ha smāha Svarjin Nāgnajitah, Nagnajid vā Gāndhārah*) and quotes their opinion with regard to the construction of the

sacrificial altar (*caṣyana nirūpaṇa*) which is ultimately rejected because of their belonging to the ruling class (*rājanyabandhu*). In the Buddhist and Jaina literature he is represented as an ardent believer in their respective religious systems. According to the *Kumbhakāra Jātaka*, Naggaji or Naggati, whose kingdom comprised Gandhāra and Kashmir and had its capital at Takṣaśilā, embraced Buddhism together with his contemporaries, Dummukha of Uttara-Pañcālarāṣṭra, Nimi of Videha, Karaṇḍu of Kaliṅga and Bhīma of Vidarbha.² The Jaina *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra*, which also makes these monarchs, except Bhīma of Vidarbha, contemporaries, states, on the other hand, that Naggai, who was otherwise known as Siharaha, and ruled at Puṇḍravardhana in Gandhāra, renounced the world and attained final emancipation.³ Another Naggai, who ruled at Puruṣapura (Peshawar), is mentioned in the *Āvaśyaka-cūṇi*.⁴ These references probably indicate nothing more than that Nagnajit was not very favourably disposed towards certain Brāhmanical practices, a suggestion which seems to be reinforced by the aforesaid reference in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.

The *Mahābhārata* acquaints us with different facets of Nagnajit's eventful life. Thus Nagnajit, probably also known as Subala, is said to have been a disciple of Prahlāda. He had a son named Śakuni and a daughter Gāndhārī, wife of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and mother of Duryodhana.⁵ At another place in the same Epic he is described as an incarnation of the demon Iṣupād or Iṣupa.⁶ In course of his *digvijaya*, Karna is said to have gone to Girivraja (evidently in the north-west) and inflicted a defeat on Nagnajit and others.⁷ Again, all the sons of Nagnajit had to suffer a defeat at the hands of Kṛṣṇa.⁸ According to the *Harivaṃśa-purāna*, regarded as an Appendix (*Khila*) of the Great Epic, Nagnajit-Subala sided with Jarāsandha in his combat with Kṛṣṇa and suffered discomfiture.⁹ At another place in the same *Purāna*, Satyā, a daughter of Nagnajit, is said to have been one of the seven wives of Kṛṣṇa.¹⁰

In a paper entitled "Nagnajit and the Antiquity of the Indian Art and Architecture" published in the *Indian Culture* (Vol. VI (1939-40), pp. 347-351), the late Mr. J.C. Ghosh treated Nagnajit referred to in all these works as one and the same person. Although in the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to arrive at a definite conclusion on this question, a close scrutiny of some of the references cited above will suffice to reveal the absurdity of this suggestion. Thus, according to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Svarjit was the name of Nagnajit's son, while the *Mahābhārata* gives the name as Śakuni.¹¹ The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* represents Nagnajit as a pupil of the sages Parvata and Nārada, whereas the Nagnajit of the *Mahābhārata* was a disciple

of Prahlāda. It is evident, therefore, that there was no connection whatsoever between the Nagnajit known to the *Brāhmaṇas* and his namesake mentioned in the Great Epic. On the other hand, there is good reason to hold that Nagnajit referred to in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, *Kumbhakāra Jātaka* and *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra* was one and the same individual.¹² According to the first two texts, Bhīma of Vidarbha and Nagnajit of Gandhāra were contemporaries, whereas in the last two works they are represented as contemporaneous with another king, Nimi, who, according to the *Nimi Jātaka* (No. 541), was the penultimate king of Videha. Now, as monarchy in Videha was replaced by a republic late in the seventh or early in the sixth century B.C., Nagnajit of the Buddhist, Jaina and *Brāhmaṇa* works may be placed early in the seventh century B.C. or earlier. Moreover, there is no need of stretching our imagination too far in order to identify Nagnajits known to the different texts. At least three different Nagnajits can be distinguished from one another, viz., (1) the Epic hero mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, (2) the one known to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, *Kumbhakāra Jātaka* and *Uttarādhyayana*, and (3) the ruler of Puruṣapura named in the *Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi*. It is thus clear that there were more than one person bearing the name Nagnajit.

Another Nagnajit is known to have written works on temple architecture, painting and sculpture. In the *Matsya-purāṇa* he is referred to as one of the eighteen *vastuśāstro-padeśakas*, others being Bhṛgu, Atri, Vasiṣṭha, Viśvakerman, Maya, Nārada, Viśālākṣa, Purandara, Brahmā, Nandiśa, Śaunaka, Garga, Vāsudevā Aniruddha, Śukra and Bṛhaspati.¹³ In the concluding stanza of the *Prāsāda-lakṣaṇādhyāya* (Ch. 55) of his *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, Varāhamihira mentions extensive works on temple architecture by Garga, Manu and others.¹⁴ While commenting on his verse, Bhaṭṭa Utpala refers to the *Prāsāda-lakṣaṇa* of Nagnajit (*Manvādibhir Manu-Vasiṣṭha-Maya-Nagnajidbhir viracitāni kṛtāni prāsāda-lakṣaṇāni*). This reference, which is noticed here for the first time, confirms the tradition recorded in the *Matsya-purāṇa*. *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, LVII. 4 states that according to the Draviḍa measure given by Nagnajit the face of an image should be 14 *aṅgulas* long,¹⁵ whereas in LVII. 15 Nagnajit is said to have opined that the length of the face inclusive of hair-line should be 16 *aṅgulas*.¹⁶ In his gloss on these verses, Utpala actually quotes pertinent stanzas from Nagnajit, and on the last mentioned verse he refers to another work of Nagnajit, the *Pratimā-lakṣaṇa*. It follows that at least two works passed current in Nagnajit's name in the ninth century A. D. when Utpala lived.¹⁷

Another treatise on painting entitled *Citralakṣaṇa*, *Nagnajiccitralakṣaṇam* or *Nagnavratam*, ascribed to Nagnajit, is available in its

Tibetan version and has been edited with a German translation and Introduction by B. Laufer.¹⁸ Its first chapter gives the legend about the origin of painting; the persons in the first chapter are : a Brāhmaṇa king, a Brāhmaṇa, Yama and Brahmā. The second chapter, wherein Viśvakarman is the main figure, deals with the early mythical origin of painting under the gods in heaven and its advent on the earth. Technique of painting claims the closing chapter. Throughout we find ourselves in the midst of a pure Brāhmaṇical or a non-Buddhistic Indian atmosphere. The learned editor informs us that the first chapter alone was compiled by Nagnajit,¹⁹ the remaining two chapters being ascribed to Viśvakarman and Prahlāda.²⁰

Unfortunately, the Sanskrit original of the Tibetan version is no more extant in consequence of which it is impossible to check the authenticity of this work. Till now no reference to Nagnajit's *Citralakṣaṇa* in any Indian work was known to exist. But there is a very important reference to his work in Bhaṭṭotpal's commentary on the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* of Varāhamihira, which has so far escaped the attention of the scholarly world. In *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, XLV. 19, blazing of a *praharaṇa* is said to forebode a sanguinary war and the same statement is made in XLV. 23 regarding an *āyudha*. Now, as *praharaṇa* and *āyudha* are usually treated as synonymous, there is possibility of duplication in order to avoid which Utpala cites the authority of Nagnajit's *Citralakṣaṇa* according to which *āyudha* is a general term used to denote weapons as a whole while *praharaṇa* is a kind—

ननु 'जलमांसाद्रज्ज्वलने नृपतिवधः प्रहरणे रणो रौद्र' इत्यस्य निर्देशस्य 'आयुधज्वलनसर्पणस्वनाः केषानिर्गमनवेपनानि वा । वैकुण्ठानि यदि वायुधेष्वराण्याशु रौद्ररणसङ्कुलं वदेत्' इत्यनेन मह केचिद् दिरुक्त्वा चोदयन्ति यथा यत् प्रहरणज्वलने फलमुक्तं तदेवायुधज्वलने न च प्रहरणानामायुधानां च भेदोऽस्तीति । अत्रोच्यते । नग्नजिता चित्रलक्षणे आयुधानां त्रयो भेदा अभिहिताः । प्रहरणानि । पाणिमुक्तानि । यन्त्रमुक्तानि चेति । तत्र प्रहरणानि खड्गादीनि । पाणिमुक्तानि चक्रादीनि । यन्त्रमुक्तानि अश्वशरास्त्रदण्डादचेति । योऽयमायुध इति संज्ञा सा सर्वव्यापिनी । यस्मादायुधानामेते प्रहरणादयो भेदाः ।

This statement, first noticed here, demonstrates that the recension of the *Citralakṣaṇa* current in Utpala's time dealt, among other things, with various kinds of weapons. Now, as the Tibetan version in question does not contain any account of weapons, there can be no doubt that it represents a version different from the one which Utpala had before him. It would thus appear that there were more than one version of the *Citralakṣaṇa* that passed current in the name of Nagnajit. It is equally probable that the extant Tibetan work is a translation of only a small portion of the original text, the remaining part, containing the treatment of weapons, having been lost.

It is difficult to say as to whether all the three works, *Pratimāla-*

lakṣaṇa, *Prāsādalakṣaṇa* and *Citralakṣaṇa* formed parts of an extensive treatise or were independent works, though the second alternative appears to be more probable in the light of the references from Bhaṭṭotpala cited above.

Mr. J.C. Ghosh identifies the Nagnajit who wrote on fine arts with his namesakes mentioned in the *Brāhmaṇas*, the Great Epic and Buddhist and Jaina works. And as Parvata and Nārada, who, according to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, were instructors of Nagnajit, are the seers of the *Ṛgveda* hymns VIII. 12 and 13, Mr. Ghosh has 'no hesitation in taking Nagnajit to be a Ṛgvedic king.' This, in his view, is the proof of Indian art and architecture being in existence in the Ṛgvedic period or earlier still. He further suggests that there existed in the Ṛgvedic age three schools of 'culture' (art), viz., 1. Gāndhāra or Āsura, 2. Madhyadeśīya or Sura, and 3. Drāviḍa, and that Nagnajit was an exponent of the first school.²¹ In the light of what we have seen so far, Mr. Ghosh's view appears to be quite untenable. Firstly, as we have shown above, there were several persons bearing the name Nagnajit. Secondly, there is nothing to indicate any relationship between the Nagnajit who composed works on fine arts and the homonymous royal personages. And lastly, Nagnajit named by Varāhamihira and quoted by Utpala had no connection whatsoever with the Gāndhāra school of Indian art. Varāhamihira refers to him in connection with the Drāviḍa or South Indian school of sculpture. In all probability he was not a royal personage; otherwise Varāhamihira would not have maintained reticence about it. When the latter referred to some writing of a monarch, he did emphasise his royal descent.²² The only reasonable inference we can draw from Varāhamihira's statements is that this Nagnajit lived before the sixth century A. D. and composed a treatise on Dravidian sculpture. The reference contained in *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, LVII. 4 possesses an additional value in that it proves the existence of an independent Dravidian school of Indian art at such an early date.

The foregoing discussion clearly brings out the following points—

(i) There were more than one personage of the name Nagnajit which was probably a family-name borne by the rulers of Gandhāra and adjoining regions.

(ii) A Nagnajit, who flourished before the 6th century A. D. composed independent works on temple architecture, sculpture and painting or a large compendium comprising independent section on these topics. He was either an authority on Dravidian school of sculpture or prepared a compilation dealing with contemporary schools of Indian sculpture.

(iii) The *Citralakṣaṇa*, now extant in its Tibetan version only, either represents a recension different from the one Utpala had before him, or is incomplete. Another possibility is that the Tibetan version is not really a work of Nagnajit and that in later times it was erroneously ascribed to him.

* * *

Some Āyurvedic writers would like us to believe that Nagnajit was an authority on medical science also. Thus, a tradition recorded in the *Bheda-saṃhitā* mentions him as a saintly king (*rājarṣi*) of Gandhāra and represents him as putting a question to Punarvasu regarding the effects of poison (*viṣa-yoga*).²³ In the *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya* of Vāgbhata also he is referred to along with some other well-known authorities on Āyurveda in connection with the same subject (*viṣa-vega*).²⁴ Indu, in his commentary on the *Aṣṭāṅga-saṅgraha*, referring to Nagnajit's opinion in connection with this subject, speaks of him as Dāruvāhin,²⁵ which would indicate that Dāruvāhin was another name or appellation of Nagnajit. Another authority called Dāruvāha is spoken of in the *Kāśyapa-saṃhitā* as the inspirer of Vṛddha-Jivaka,²⁶ and his opinion on the causes of diseases is quoted in the same text subsequently. At the latter place he is styled *rājarṣi*.²⁷ The region where *rājarṣi* Dāruvāha was ruling is not specified. It has been suggested by some scholars including Paṇḍita Hemarāja Śarmā that the difference between Dāruvāhin and Dāruvāha is only that of the suffix *in* which is not so significant and that the two names have been employed for the same person who is again proposed to be identified with Nagnajit.²⁸ The commentary on the *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya* cites Nagnajit's view on food, blood and flesh also²⁹ which should suffice to show that he was regarded as an authority, a reputed one, not only regarding poison but Āyurveda as a whole. In an old manuscript (copied in Vikrama 1525) of Hemādri's *Lakṣaṇa-prakāśa* a certain Vinagnajit is cited as an authority on Āyurveda,³⁰ and it is not impossible that it is an error and that he is identical with Nagnajit.³¹ This would also support the view that Nagnajit was treated as a great authority on medical science.³² Obviously there must have been in existence some works on medicine going under the name of Nagnajit right up to the early medieval period.

Who this Nagnajit was is difficult to say. But his association with Gandhāra whose king he must have been as seen from the above-mentioned reference from the *Bheda-saṃhitā* should lead us to hold that he was one of the three personages of this name known from the *Aitareya* and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas*, and Buddhist and Jaina literature mentioned above.

Footnotes

- 1 एतमु ह्यैव प्रोचतुः पर्वतनारदो सोमकाय सहदेवाय साहदेव्याय साऽऽर्जयाय वञ्चवे दैवद्वधाय भीमाय
वैदर्भाय नग्नजिते गान्धाराय..... —AB, VII. 34.
Also cf. Keith and Macdonell, *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 432.
- 2 R.N. Mehta, *Pre-Buddhist India*, p. 40.
- 3 A romantic tale in the *Uttarādhyayana-ṭikā* tells us that Siharaha
once went to a mountain and married a beautiful damsel residing
there in a mansion. He visited his spouse every fifth day on the
hill as a result of which he came to be known as Naggai (*jamhi
nage aii*). Later, he built a city and erected Jaina shrines on the
mountain. Vide J. C. Jain, *Life in Ancient India as Depicted in the
Jain Canon*, p. 393.
- 4 *Ibid.*
- 5 प्रह्लादशिष्यो नग्नजित् सुवलश्चामवत् ततः ।
तस्य प्रजा धर्महन्त्री जज्ञे देवप्रकोपनात् ॥
गन्धारराजपुत्रोऽभूच्छकुनिः सौवलस्तथा ।
दुयोधनस्य जननी जज्ञातेऽर्षेविशारदी ॥ —Ādiparvan, 63. 111-112.
Subala is usually taken to be another name of Nagnajit. Cf. Soren-
sen, *Index to the Proper Names in the Mahābhārata*, p. 494; *Mahā-
bhārata ki Nāmānukramaṇikā* (Gītā Press, Gorakhpur), p. 173.
But from a perusal of the extract it seems equally possible that
Subala was his son's name. In that case Śakuni-Saubala must be
regarded as his grand-son. But the *Harivaṃśa* line cited below
supports the general view.
- 6 इधुपान्नाम यस्तेषामसुराणां बलाधिकः ॥
नग्नजिन्नाम राजासौदं भुवि विद्ययातविक्रमः । —Ādiparvan, 67. 20-21.
- 7 कर्णं राजपुरं गत्वा काम्बोजा निजितास्त्वया ॥
गिरिव्रजगताश्चापि नग्नजित्प्रमुखा नृपाः । —Droṇaparvan, IV. 6-7.
At another place Nagnajit appears to be the name of a *Gaṇa*—
नग्नजित्प्रमुखाश्चैव गणाञ्जित्वा स पाथिवः । —Vanaparvan, CCLIV. 21.
In *Kaṇaparvan*, LXXIX. 47, '*Nāgnajitāḥ*' or '*Nagnajitāḥ*' appears
& to be the name of a people who are distinguished from the Gān-
dhāras—
वैदेहाम्बष्ठकाम्बोजास्तथा नग्नजितस्त्वया ।
गान्धाराश्च यथा धृत्या जिताः संख्ये सुदुर्जयाः ।
तां धृतिं कुरु राधेय ततः प्रत्येहि पाण्डवम् ॥
- 8 अयं गान्धारस्तस्मात् सत्प्रमथ्य जित्वा पुत्रान् नग्नजितः समग्रान् ।
बद्धं भुमोच विनदन्तं प्रसह्य सुदर्शनं वै देवतानां ललामम् ॥
—Udyogaparvan, XLVIII. 75.
- 9 गन्धारराजस्सुबलो नग्नजिच्च महाबलः । —Viṣṇuparvan, XXXIV. 20.
- 10 महिषीः सप्त कल्याणीस्ततोऽन्या मधुसूदनः ।
उपयेमे महाबाहुर्गुणोपेताः कुलोद्भवाः ॥

- कालिन्दी मिनविन्दा च सत्या नामनजितोमपि । --Viṣṇuparvan, LX. 40-41.
- 11 Cf. note 5 above.
- 12 Also vide H.C. Raychaudhuri's *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 82, where this synchronism is sought to be supported on another ground, viz. Vāmadeva's son Bṛhaduktha was a priest of the Pāñcāla king Durmukha; Vāmadeva was a contemporary of Saha-deva's son Somaka who was related to Bhtma of Vidarbha and Nagnajit of Gandhāra.
- 13 भृगुरत्नर्वसिष्ठश्च विद्वककर्मा मयस्तथा ।
नारदो नग्नजिच्चैव विशालाक्षः पुरन्दरः ॥
ब्रह्मा कुमारो नन्दीशः शौनको गर्ग एव च ।
वासुदेवोऽनिरुद्धश्च तथा शुक्रवृहस्पती ॥
अष्टादशैते विख्याता वास्तुशास्त्रोपदेशकाः । --*Matsya-purāṇa*, CCLII. 2-4.
- 14 प्रसादलक्षणमिदं कथितं समामाद्
गर्गेण यद् विरचितं तदिहाभित्त सर्वम् ।
मन्वादिभिर्विरचितानि पृथुनि यानि
तत् संस्पृशन् प्रति मयात्र कृतोऽधिकारः ॥ --*BS*, LV. 31.
- 15 स्वैरङ्गुलप्रमाणैर्द्वादश विस्तीर्णमायतं च मुखम् ।
नग्नजिता तु चतुर्दश दैर्घ्येण द्वाविडं कथितम् ॥ --*BS*, LVII. 4.
Cf. Utpala--तथा च नग्नजित् । विस्तीर्णं द्वादश मुखं दैर्घ्येण च चतुर्दश । अङ्गुलानि तथा कार्यं तन्मानं द्वाविडं स्मृणम् ॥
- 16 आस्यं मकेशनिचयं षोडश दैर्घ्येण नग्नजित्प्रोक्तम् ।
श्रीवा दश विस्तीर्णा परिणाहाद विशतिः सैका ॥ --*BS*, LVII. 15.
Cf. Utpala--नग्नजित्प्रोक्तं प्रतिमालक्षणे आस्यं मुखं मकेशनिचयं केशरेखया सहितं षोड-
शाङ्गुलानि । मुखं दीर्घं चतुर्दशाङ्गुलानि केशरेखा द्वे अङ्गुले एवं षोडश । तथा च नग्नजित् ।
द्वयङ्गुला केशरेखीवं मुखं स्यान् षोडशाङ्गुलम् ।
- 17 On the basis of a verse occurring at the end of his commentaries on the *Bṛhaj-jātaka* and the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, Utpala is generally placed in the later half of the tenth century A.D. But as a passage from his gloss on the *Bṛhaj-jātaka* is quoted by Abu Ma'shar' who died in 886 A.D., Mm. Kané places him before 850 A.D. We have discussed this question elsewhere in this volume.
- 18 *Dokumente Der Indischen kunst Das Citralakṣaṇa* edited by Berthold Laufer, Leipzig, 1913. My sincere thanks are due to Dr. P. S. Sastry of Nagpur University who helped me in understanding it.
- 19 Laufer suggests that the word Nagnajit may be a symbol of Jain art. But the work is predated by a Brāhmanical atmosphere and later came in the hands of Buddhists. There is no basis for connecting the name with Jain art.
- 20 In the Introduction the learned editor deals with such interesting questions as the classical influence on Gāndhāra art and the reli-

gious elements in Indian painting.

21 *IC*, VI (1939-40), pp. 349-351.

22 In *BS* LXXXV. 2, Varāhamihira refers to Mahārājādhirāja Dravyavardhana of Avanti who wrote a work on Śākuna.

23 *Gāndhāra-bhūmīau rājarsir Nagnajit svarṇa-mārga-daḥ* |
Saṅgrhīya pādaḥ papraccha Cāndrabhāgam Pīnarvasum ||
Evam uktas tathā tasmai maharṣiḥ pārthivarṣaye |
Viṣa-yogeṣu vijñānam provāca vadatān varah ||

Rājarsir Nagnajit svarṇa-mārga-daḥ is the reading suggested by Mr. Yadavaji on the basis of a Tanjavur manuscript (see Preface to the 2nd Nirnaya Sagar Press edition) instead of the reading *rājarsir Magnajit svarga-mārga-daḥ* found in some other manuscripts.

24 *Duṣyati prathame raktam dvitiye svayath-ūdbhavaḥ* | ...

Saptame maraṇam vega iti Nagnajito matam |

25 *Nagnajito Dāruvāhino*’py atra *duṣyati prathame raktam ityādi-krameṇa sapta vegā iti matam*, —Indu’s commentary, p. 314.

26 *Upāsyantānam ṛṣibhiḥ Kaśyapaḥ Vṛddha-Jivakaḥ* |

Codito Dāruvādena vedanārthe bhyacodayat ||

Bālakānām avacasām vividhā deha-vedanāḥ |

Prādurbhūtāḥ katham vaidyo jānīyāl lakṣaṇārthataḥ ||

—*Kāśyapa-saṁhitā*, Sūtrasthāna, XXV. 3-4.

27 *Pañca rogā āgantū-vāta-pitta-kapha-tridoṣa-jā itī Dāruvāhō rājarsih*, —*Ibid.*, Sūtrasthāna, XXVII. 3.

28 Hemarāja Śarmā (ed.), *Kāśyapa-saṁhitā* (Kasi Sanskrit Series, Varanasi, 1953), Introduction : Sanskrit, p. 50; Hindi, p. 51. Dāruvāha’s opinion is also cited by Cakrapāṇidatta in his commentary on the *Caraka-saṁhitā* : *Yad āha Dāruvāhaḥ*—

Sūkṣma-sūkṣmatarāsyēṣu dūra-dūratareṣu ca |

Doṣo raktādi-mārgēṣu sanair alpam cireṇa yat ||

—Cited in *ibid.*, Sanskrit Introduction, p. 50, col. 2, fn. 3.

29 *Nagnajidapyāha*—

Tatrāhāra-rasāt pūrvam rasa-dhātur vivardhate |

Raktam dhātu-rasaś c-aiva raktākhyān māmsam eva ca ||

—Cited in *ibid.*, Sanskrit Introduction, p. 50, col. 2, fn. 6.

30 See *ibid.*, Sanskrit Introduction, p. 12, col. 2, fn. 1 for the original verses.

31 See *ibid.*, Sanskrit Introduction, p. 51, col. 1.

32 The above references to Nagnajit as an authority on Āyurveda have been drawn from Paṇḍita Hemarāja Śarmā’s Sanskrit Introduction to his edition of the *Kāśyapa-saṁhitā* published in the Kashi Sanskrit Series in 1953. I am very grateful to Professor V. S. Pathak for drawing my attention to it and lending the book itself.

Chapter 8

Iconological Data in Varāhamihira's Works

[Varāhamihira's writings, more especially the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, the *Yoga-yātrā* and the *Bṛhad-yātrā*, are extremely rich in iconographical material which affords us an excellent idea of the formative stage of Indian iconology. In the present state of our knowledge, these are the oldest datable works dealing with iconography and in so far as the texts are concerned they furnish us with the earliest dependable evidence. In most cases the information is extremely brief and sketchy, but it proves to be of great interest inasmuch as when studied in the context of earlier and later plastic art it gives us some very interesting traits which developed from the earlier icons and led to certain later iconic proliferations and developments. These works, thus, afford an intermediate stage of iconological development in so far as the plastic art is concerned and are, therefore, of inestimable value for the study of Indian iconography.]

This material, though sketchy in the extreme, is of great value for the religious history of ancient India as well. It clearly indicates that the earlier important Vedic gods like Indra and Varuṇa had sunk into insignificance, and their place was taken by the comparatively insignificant gods like Viṣṇu, Śiva and Sūrya and some post-Vedic divinities like Ekānamśā and the cults centring round them had come to command greater popularity in so far as the Brāhmaṇical religion was concerned. Among the non-Vedic systems, Buddhism and Jainism commanded respect even from the adherents of Brāhmaṇical religious systems as Varāhamihira undoubtedly was, but were definitely on the decline, and the process of their assimilation with Brāhmaṇical Hinduism, already appears to have been set into motion by the sixth century A.D.]

The works of Varāhamihira (cir. 550 A.D.) offer rich materials for an important chapter in the cultural history of ancient India. They furnish us with highly valuable information on various aspects of contemporary life. These writings form a veritable encyclopaedia dealing with a variety of subjects. One of these topics is iconography which is particularly dealt with in the last twenty-seven stanzas¹ of Ch. LVII of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* captioned *Pratimā-lakṣaṇam*,² and the data contained in these verses is, in some cases, supplemented by occasional references found in his other writings, especially the *Yātrā*

works. Although brief, the information supplied by these writings is invaluable iconologically as would be revealed by the discussion that follows. Chronologically, this account is very important inasmuch as while the iconography of various deities is dealt with in detail in a number of works, Purāṇas as well as professional texts, they suffer from an uncertainty about their date or even general period. On the other hand, we know definitely about the date of Varāhamihira, and, in the present state of our knowledge, his works afford the earliest datable account of iconology. We propose to deal with the deities in the order in which they are described in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* except Buddha and Jina who would be discussed at the end for the sake of convenience.

Viṣṇu

Viṣṇuism was the most popular Brāhmaṇical system in the Gupta age. It was patronised by the Gupta emperors, and Varāhamihira, though himself a follower of the Sun-cult, naturally accords Viṣṇu the highest place in keeping with the general trend during his period. It is with god Viṣṇu that he begins his iconographical account. Referring to his iconology, our author avers that his chest should bear the mark of *Śrīvatsa* and be decked with the *Kaustubha* gem;³ in complexion, he should be yellowish green like a lotus flower; he should be donned in yellow garments, his countenance being placid; he should be shown wearing *kuṇḍalas* and *kirtita*, his neck, chest, shoulders and arms being full and fleshy; the worshipful god may be shown eight-, four- or two- armed. In the case of an eight-armed figure, three of his right hands should grasp a sword, a mace and an arrow, the fourth one being depicted in the *sāntida* posture;⁴ the hands on the left should hold a bow, shield, discus and conch.⁵ In case one wishes to show him four-handed, one of his right hands should carry a mace while the other should be shown in the *sāntida* attitude, and the left ones should be shown holding a conch and discus. In the case of two-armed image, the right hand should be represented in the *sānti-mudrā* and the left one should carry a conch-shell.⁶ The *Yoga-yātrā* also describes Viṣṇu as holding aloft in his hands a mace (*gadā*) and a wheel: *Viṣṇor-iv-odyata-gadā-ratha-pāda-pāṇeh*, IV. 30.

As regards the eight-armed image, an earlier reference is met with in the Nagarjunakonda inscription of the time of Ābhīra Vasuṣeṇa, dated year 30, probably of the Ābhīra (later Kalacuri-Cedi) era and thus referable to the eighth decade of the third century A.D., which mentions the installation of god Aṣṭabhujaśvāmin on the Setāgiri.⁷ That Aṣṭabhujaśvāmin was an image of god Viṣṇu endowed with eight arms is indicated clearly by the invocation, in the beginning, of

Lord Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) who is described as the supreme god among gods (*deva-parama-deva*) and the primordial male (*purāṇa-purūṣa*).⁸ Another early Prakrit inscription on a conch-shell unearthed from the same site at Nagarjunakonda also refers to god (*bhagavat*) Aṣṭabhuja-śvāmin. The conch-shell evidently formed one of the attributes of god Viṣṇu.⁹

A couple of eight-armed Viṣṇu images are deposited in the Mathura Museum (Nos. M.M. 1010,¹⁰ M.M. 3550¹¹); but they are too much damaged, and the objects held in their remaining hands do not completely tally with our description. Another eight-armed figure, also originally hailing from Mathura, is now deposited in the State Museum, Lucknow (No. 47. 247), but it is also very much mutilated.^{11a} But they are all based on a common tradition, and the recognisable objects held in their hands are an arrow, sword and a conch-shell. These sculptures belong to the Kuṣāṇa period.¹² Yet another eight-armed figure, though datable to the Gupta age, is a Trivikrama figure from Pawaya now deposited in the Gwalior Museum. It also belongs to the same tradition.¹³ An eight-armed stone relief from Badami described as Vaikuṇṭha and published by T.A. Gopinatha Rao in his *Elements of Hindu Iconography* (Vol. I, Part I, p. 256, Pl. LXXV) has been rightly identified as Viṣṇu by Dr. J.N. Banerjea. In this figure Viṣṇu has a discus, an arrow, a mace and a sword in his four right hands while in three of the hands on left he carries a conch-shell, a shield and a bow, the fourth one being depicted in the *kañi-hasta* attitude. This partially agrees with the description given by Varāhamihira. As regards the four-armed Viṣṇu, V.S. Agrawala has shown that the earliest form is one in which he has his right natural hand in the *abhaya-mudrā* (the same as *sānti* or *sāntida* of our author) and carries an *amṛta-ghaṭa* (a jar of nectar) in the left hand, the extra hands holding a *gadā* and a *cakra*, and that this form evolved from that of Bodhisattva Maitreya.¹⁴ The form next to be evolved was that described by Varāhamihira, and the Archaeological Museum at Mathura has a few specimens illustrating this description (No. M.M. 933; Fig. 3).¹⁵ The Jhansi Museum also has a four-armed stone image of Viṣṇu showing *varada mudra* and carrying a *gadā*, a discus and a conch-shell in the other three hands.^{15a} The usual form with a conch-shell, a wheel, a mace and a lotus, which is most common in our times, evolved last and is illustrated by numerous examples of the subsequent period hailing from the different parts of the Indian sub-continent.¹⁶ It is noteworthy in this context that lotus, which is one of the commonest attributes of these figures, is absent in the Kuṣāṇa, Kuṣāṇa-Gupta and early Gupta specimens as well as early texts inclu-

ding the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* and other works of Varāhamihira.¹⁷ This is first noticed in some late Gupta figures. Two-armed images of Viṣṇu are extremely scarce. But at least some of the available specimens agree with Varāhamihira's description. An early half-executed and mutilated stone figure in the Mathura Museum (No. Surplus 950) shows a conch-shell in the god's left hand.¹⁸ Another early two-armed Viṣṇu image from Apshad shows the right hand in the *śāntida* attitude while the other hand carries a *śaṅkha*.¹⁹ An early Narasimha panel from Kondamotu in the Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh, datable to the third century A.D., includes, *inter alia* a standing figure of Kṛṣṇa, an incarnation of Viṣṇu, shown with his right hand in the *śāntida* attitude and the left hand holding a conch-shell and placed on the hip (*kaṭi-hasta*)²⁰ (Fig. 4), exactly corresponding to Varāhamihira's description of two-armed Viṣṇu. A two-armed colossal standing stone figure wrongly described as Buddha or Sūrya by Carlleyle²¹ has been rightly identified as Viṣṇu by J.N. Banerjea. It carries in its two hands a conch-shell and a discus and agrees only partially with our author's description.²²

Baladeva

The syncretic religion of the Bhāgavatas associated Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa very closely with Baladeva and other family members from the very start. A number of early inscriptions mentioning Saṅkarṣaṇa (Baladeva) and Vāsudeva together vouch for this fact. Our author, who devotes one full couplet to Baladeva as compared to some other divinities who are disposed of in a much shorter space evidently in view of his comparative importance and popularity, states that 'Baladeva should be shown with a ploughshare in his hand, eyes round and rolling due to inebriety, and wearing only one *kuṇḍala*, his complexion being as white as a conch-shell, moon or lotus-stalk.'²³ This description is very sketchy, and Baladeva's other well-known emblems like *musala* (pestle) and serpent-hoods are conspicuous by their absence. The characteristic feature of a single *kuṇḍala* finds mention in some other works including the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* (V. 25. 15) and the *Harivaṃśa* (Viṣṇupārvān, 26. 43-50; 41. 32). We start getting Baladeva images from the Śuṅga period, and some images answering our description have actually been reported from various parts of Madhyadeśa. The State Museum at Lucknow has in its collection a two-armed image of Baladeva dating from the Śuṅga age and originally hailing from the Kankali Tila site at Mathura which shows him standing under the canopy of snake-hoods and carrying a *musala* and *hala* in his right and left hands respectively. In this figure Balarāma wears a single *kuṇḍala* in his left ear only, the right one being left without any orna-

ment (Fig. 45). Curiously enough, no scholar has so far noticed this important iconographic feature, though this image has been referred to several times.²⁴ In the Kuṣāna art at Mathura Balarāma is frequently shown with a drinking cup in one of his hands evidently in allusion to his inebriety.²⁵ Mention must in this connection be made of an early image of Balarāma hailing from Tumain (ancient Tumbavana) in the Guna District of Madhya Pradesh wherein he is represented as standing under the canopy formed by seven snake-hoods, holding *musala* and *hala* in his right and left hands respectively and wearing *kuṇḍalas* in both the ears, but differing in form from one another, his eyes being represented rolling, obviously due to inebriety.²⁶ In later art, his constant emblems are *hala* and *musala*. A four-armed sand-stone figure from Paharpur (late Gupta age) represents him as standing under a canopy of a six-hooded snake, holding a drinking vessel (in which a female attendant on right is about to pour wine from a handled jug) in the lower right, while the lower left hand rests on his left thigh. He wears *kuṇḍalas* in both the ears, but they are of different designs: one being apparently fashioned from the conch-shell while the other is of the *makara-kuṇḍala* type (Fig. 6).²⁷ It appears that the artists modified the textual prescription of Baladeva wearing a single *kuṇḍala* to make it agreeable to their artistic notions and represented him with *kuṇḍalas* in both the ears, but fashioned from different materials and of different designs. The above-mentioned panel from Kondamotu, which depicts the five emanations or *vyūhas* in their proper order, shows Baladeva as holding a mace with the right hand and a ploughshare topped by a lion-face in the left and with *kuṇḍalas* in both the ears but of different designs. His inebriety appears to be represented by his facial expression and the half-closed eyes (Fig. 4).²⁸ The ploughshare is often depicted with a lion-head in early plastic art in keeping with the description in some early texts.²⁹

Ekanamsa

An account of the origin of the goddess Ekānāṁśā is found in the *Harivamśa* (Chs. 58-60) which avers how at the request of gods Viṣṇu resolved to take birth as Kṛṣṇa in the womb of Devakī, Vasudeva's consort, commanded the goddess Nidrā to be born as the daughter of Nanda Gopa and Yaśodā and told her that when struck against a rock by Kamsa (for killing her) she would escape to the sky assuming four arms carrying a trident, a sword, a drinking cup and a lotus. She is called Ekānāṁśā and represented as born from the particles of Prajāpati.³⁰ It would thus follow that she was intimately connected with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. The great popularity enjoyed by her in the sixth century A.D. is indicated by the fact that in the short iconogra-

phic section of just twenty-seven stanzas her description claims as many as three verses whereas such important gods as Indra, Brahmā, Skanda, etc. are allotted much less space. Her association with Baladeva is another interesting feature noticed first in the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*. In the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* (XCI. 4) she is styled Vaiṣṇavi Śakti,³¹ while in the *Kaumudī-mahotsava* she is identified with the goddess Vindhyavāsini.³² Varāhamihira describes as many as three varieties of her images, viz., two-, four- and eight-armed. According to him, Ekānamśā should be placed between Baladeva and Kṛṣṇa; (in case she is to be represented two-armed) her left hand should rest on her hip, while the right one should carry a lotus; if it is intended to show her with four arms, she should carry in her left hands a book and a lotus, one of her right hands being represented in the boon-granting (*vara*)³³ attitude and the other holding a rosary (*akṣa-sūtra*). In case she is to be shown with eight arms, her left hands should hold a *kamaṇḍalu* (water-vessel), a bow, a lotus and a book, while in her right hands she should carry an arrow, a mirror and a rosary, the remaining one being represented in the *varada* attitude.³⁴ The *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* (III. 85. 71-72) describes two-armed Ekānamśā in almost identical words.³⁵

Curiously enough, no image that can be definitely identified with Ekānamśā following the above description is known so far. Slab No. G. 58 in the State Museum, Lucknow³⁶ (Fig. 7), is somewhat interesting in the present context. It shows a two-armed female figure flanked on either side by a male figure with four arms which are indicative of the divinity of this composition. The female figure holds a lotus stalk in her left, whereas 'the open palm of the right bears a lotus mark and is let down in the boon-giving posture'. The central position accorded to the female figure should leave no doubt whatever about her divinity and the importance attached to her. The two male figures and the central female figure were tentatively indentified with Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā by Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal, the then Curator of the Museum.^{36a} This composition was proposed to be indentified as Baladeva, Ekānamśā and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa by J. C. Ghosh,³⁷ while D. P. Pandey was inclined to identify the images depicted on the slab as Balarāma, Rukmiṇī and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa respectively.³⁸ However, the identification of the central female figure with Ekānamśā appears to be almost definite. R. C. Majumdar and J. N. Banerjea invite our attention to a similar composition in bronze from Imadpur in Bihar which depicts the two-armed goddess standing on a lotus-seat with her right hand in boon-giving attitude and the left hand holding a mirror flanked by four-armed Balarāma and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa respec-

tively on her proper right and left.³⁹ Although the female figure in these compositions does not fully correspond to the description of the two-armed Ekānamśā set forth above, her identification with Ekānamśā appears quite probable, nay certain. Under the name Subhadrā, Ekānamśā along with Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa is the principal cult object in the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple at Bhubaneswar and in the Jagannātha temple at Puri.⁴⁰

Samba and Pradyumna

Śāmba and Pradyumna are the two other Vaiṣṇava divinities whose iconography is touched upon by Varāhamihira. As we have seen elsewhere,⁴¹ Śāmba played an important role in introducing the Iranian form of sun worship in northern India. It was evidently for this reason that he came to be expelled from the galaxy of Brāhmanical pantheon, and a majority of the Purāṇas do not describe his image. But being himself a Sun-worshipping Maga Brāhmaṇa, Varāhamihira accords him divine status and states that he should be represented with a mace in his hand (*Śāmbaś=ca gadā-hastah*, BS, LVII, 40). Utpala adds that he should be endowed with two arms (*divi-bhujā*). The *Viṣṇudharmottara* (Bk. III, Ch. 85) contains a similar prescription for making his image and adds that he should have a comely form (*Śāmbaḥ kāryo gadā-hastah surūpaś=ca viśeṣataḥ*). It is curious to note that nothing is said in these accounts about the object held in or the position of the other hand. An inscription of the time of Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa from Mathura contains reference to the five Vṛṣṇi heroes and a shrine with their images.⁴² These Vṛṣṇi heroes included Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa-Balarāma, Aniruddha, Pradyumna and Śāmba. However, these images have not yet been identified. But a slightly later Pañcavīra panel with Narasimha in the middle (after two figures on the left and before the three figures on the right) and datable about three centuries later has been found from Kondamotu in the Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh (Fig. 4).⁴³ This panel depicts the five heroes in order of their seniority, the significance of the Narasimha figure being presently indeterminable. In this panel Śāmba is shown as the fourth *vīra* and is endowed with two arms as laid down in the texts. But instead of *gadā* he is given a goblet in the right hand, the left one being in the *kaṭī-hasta* attitude. Possibly because of being a dear pupil of Balarāma, his emblem is given to Śāmba.⁴⁴ No independent image that can be definitely said to be Śāmba's has been reported so far. However, a sandstone figure from Mathura datable to the Kuṣāṇa age and holding a club in his right hand and a staff in the left one and riding a car which has been identified as Sūrya by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy⁴⁵ is taken to be an image of Śāmba by

J.N. Banerjea.⁴⁶ Likewise, another Mathura figure of the same period carrying a cup and a staff in his left and right hands respectively and flanked by two small female figures represents, according to Coomaraswamy, a Bacchanalian Yakṣa,⁴⁷ whereas Banerjea takes it to be a figure of Śāmba.⁴⁸

Varāhamihira describes Pradyumna simply as holding a bow and as being of handsome form, probably because he was treated as identical with Kāma, the god of love (*Pradyumnaś=cāpa-bhṛt surūpaś=ca*, BS, LVII. 40). No independent figure of Pradyumna is known so far, though we have a Kuṣāṇa terracotta figure of Kāmadeva from Mathura standing on the prostrate body of Śūrpaka and holding a bow and a sheath of arrows in his left and right hands respectively.⁴⁹ In the above-mentioned panel from Kondamotu Pradyumna is represented to the proper right of Śāmba as carrying a bow (in left hand) and arrow,⁵⁰ which partially corresponds to our description (Fig. 4).

Consorts of Samba and Pradyumna

The wives of some Vṛṣṇi heroes also appear to have been deified and popularly worshipped. Of these, our author describes the general features of the iconology of only two, viz., consorts of Śāmba and Pradyumna. We are told that they should be represented as holding a shield (*kheṭaka*) and a sword (*nistrimśa*): *anayoḥ striyau ca kāryau kheṭaka-nistrimśa-dhāriṇyau*, BS, LVII. 40. Their images are yet to be identified.

Brahma

Brahmā seems to have enjoyed considerable popularity during the Gupta period, and we have a reference to temples dedicated to him (*Brahmāyatana*, *ibid.*, XXXIII. 22). In later Brāhmanical (Hindu) pantheon he was the most prominent representative of Vedicism which had in the meantime lost much of its importance. This is proved by the fact that according to Varāhamihira his images could be installed only by the Brāhmaṇas well-versed in the Vedas.⁵¹

As regards his iconography, we get very few details. We are merely told that he has a water-vessel in his hand, is four-faced and seated on a lotus-seat (*Brahmā kamaṇḍalu-karaś=caturmukhaḥ paṅkaj-āsana-sthaś=ca*, *ibid.*, LVII. 41). Curiously enough, we do not get any detail regarding the number of his arms, the other objects held, his mount and consort, and the description is sketchy in the extreme.⁵²

Images of Brahmā are comparatively rare, and this is in keeping with the insignificant position to which he was reduced during historical times. Varāhamihira also seems to have been aware of this fact as he devotes to him just half a stanza while minor gods like Baladeva claim a full verse. Two-armed Kuṣāṇa stone figures are especially

noteworthy for their unique arrangement of his four heads : the difficulty of showing the fourth head was overcome by depicting three of them in one row, the central head being superimposed with the fourth one. In one of these images he holds in his left hand an *amṛtaghaṭa* (nectar vase).⁵³ A four-armed and four-headed figure of Brahmā seated on a lotus-seat is found in a *caitya*-window at the Śiva temple at Bhumara in Madhya Pradesh : two of his hands are broken, while the remaining right and left ones hold a lotus with stalk and a staff respectively.⁵⁴ While this figure belongs to the Gupta period, a slightly later stone relief from Aihole illustrates a beautiful three-headed (it being impossible to show the fourth back head in relief sculptures) and four-armed figure of Brahmā seated on lotus-petals. Three of his hands carry a rosary, a noose and a *kamaṇḍalu*, the left natural hand being depicted in the *varada* attitude.⁵⁵ Another four-armed Brahmā figure from Badami, seated on a lotus-seat, carries in his hands a rosary, a ladle and a pitcher, the remaining fourth hand being shown in the *varada* pose. An early Vākāṭaka sandstone figure from Mandhal shows Brahmā seated on a lotus-seat and four-headed. He is two-armed, one of his hands holding a *kamaṇḍalu*, the other hand being damaged.⁵⁶

Skanda

The worship of Skanda-Kārttikeya seems to have gained in popularity during the early centuries of the Christian era, more particularly in the Gupta age. However, only half a stanza is devoted to the description of his iconology. We are told that he has a boyish appearance, holds a *śakti* (spear) and has a peacock as his insignia (*Skandaḥ kumār-rarūpaḥ śakti-dhara barhi-ketuś=ca*, *BS*, LVII. 41). Elsewhere in the same text he is described as six-faced *ṣaḍ=vaktra*, *ibid.*, XCVIII. 1). It is strange that cock, which is another popular ensign of the god, is not mentioned. However, it is referred to in a couplet of Kāśyapa, quoted by Bhaṭṭotpala, which states that Skanda has a peacock for his mount, holds a spear and a cock in his hands and has a handsome and child-like form (*Mayūra-vāhauḥ Skandaḥ śakti-kukkuṭa-dhāraḥ/ Surūpa-deho vikrānto devaḥ senā-patiḥ*⁵⁷ *śiṣuḥ*!]⁵⁸). It is noteworthy in the present context that the Apsad stone inscription of the Later Gupta monarch Ādityasena⁵⁹ and the Alina copper-plate grant of the Maitraka chief Śīlāditya VII⁶⁰ mention peacock as an emblem of Skanda. The oldest anthropomorphic representation of Skanda-Kārttikeya is met with on a few uninscribed Ujjayinī coins where he is represented six-headed, with three front heads actually depicted and the remaining back heads left to be imagined as they could not be shown in relief, and holding a *śakti* in his right hand.⁶¹ Next he is shown on

the Yaudheya silver⁶² and some copper coins⁶³ dating from the second century A.D.⁶⁴ as six-headed, the heads being shown in two rows, each row showing three heads superimposed over each other, and a spear in the right hand, the left one resting on his hip. On Class 6 of their money, belonging to the third-fourth centuries A. D., we notice his peacock mount, which is met with here for the first time.⁶⁵ On a few coins of the Kuṣāṇa king Huiṣka, god Mahāseṇa is represented as carrying a standard surmounted by a bird which is taken as a peacock by J. N. Banerjea.⁶⁶ Coming to the Gupta age, we find on the reverse of a type of gold coins of Kumāragupta the god seated on the peacock mount and holding a spear in his left hand.⁶⁷ A cursory survey of the plastic art tells us the same tale. An image of Skanda-Kārttikeya from Gandhāra deposited in the State Museum, Lucknow, shows him seated on a peacock and holding a spear, which is mutilated in its upper part with only the lower portion of its staff remaining, in his right hand and a cock in his left hand.⁶⁸ Some early Kuṣāṇa sculptures in the Mathura Museum show him two-armed with the right hand shown in the *abhaya* attitude and the left one holding a spear (Nos. 1022, 1577, 2019). So far as the Madhyadeśa is concerned, it is in the Gupta art that his peacock mount makes its appearance felt. The same Museum has a beautiful sculpture illustrating the scene of Skanda's consecration by the gods at the head of the divine army (No. 466). Perhaps the most beautiful image of Skanda dating from the Gupta age is a red sandstone relief deposited in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi, which shows him holding a spear in his left hand and seated on a peacock whose outspread plumage forms his *prabhā-maṇḍala* (nimbus) and whose beak touches his right hand (Fig. 8).⁶⁹

Indra

The comparative decline in the status of Indra, who was in the Ṛg-vedic age the greatest god judging by the number of hymns addressed to him, is indicated by the fact that the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* chapter in question devotes to the description of his iconology just a single couplet as against Viṣṇu, Śiva and Ekānamśā who claim a much larger space. The verse under review simply states that the elephant (mount) of Mahendra is white and four-tusked; he holds a *vajra* (thunderbolt) in his hand, the horizontally placed third eye on his forehead being his ensign.⁷⁰ His *vajra* was known as *kuliśa* and consequently he is styled *kuliśa-bhṛi*^{70a} and *kuliśa-dhara*.⁷¹ His consort Śaci, the elephant mount called Airāvaṇa^{71a} and his attribute *vajra* are mentioned in a stanza of the *Yoga-yātrā* (*Śacyā sah-Airāvaṇa-gaḥ sa-vajro*, VI. 2), which prescribes that his image fashioned from gold or wood should be carried aloft along with that of the Sun while marching eastward.

As pointed out by J.N. Banerjea, representations of Indra on some Indo-Greek and Indo-Seythian coins partially agree with this description.⁷² In the Buddhist pantheon, Śakra, corresponding to Brāhmaṇical Indra and accompanying the Buddha in the Gandhāra and Mathura art, invariably holds a *vajra* in one of his hands.⁷³ Special mention in this connection should be made of a late Gupta grey sandstone relief from Paharpur showing him two-armed and holding an indistinct object, probably *vajra*, in his right hand. The third eye is represented horizontally on the forehead, while the elephant mount is depicted standing behind the god (Fig. 9). Kashinath N. Dikshit, who excavated at Paharpur and published this figure, described the third eye as a 'peculiar feature'.⁷⁴ evidently because he was unaware of the above-mentioned *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* evidence. A sixth-century stone head from Mathura shows the horizontally placed third eye. This head evidently belonged to an image of Indra, and not to that of Viṣṇu, as wrongly believed hitherto. Also datable to the same period is the Śeṣa-śāyin panel at the Daśavatāra temple at Deogarh in the Jhansi District of Uttar Pradesh which shows, *inter alia*, god Indra seated on the back of his Airāvata and holding thunderbolt in his raised right hand while trying to keep his drapery in position with his left hand which is placed on the thigh.⁷⁵ In a Śiva-Pārvatī marriage panel from Kanauj a number of divinities including Indra are represented as witnessing the scene. In this panel also Indra is represented as seated on the elephant Airāvata to right carrying in his slightly raised right hand an indistinct object, probably *vajra*, his left hand being placed on the head of his mount (Fig. 10).⁷⁶ These panels only partially correspond to our description.

Siva

Śiva now is one of the two most popular gods of Hinduism and with Brahmā and Viṣṇu forms the Hindu trinity of divinities. The great antiquity of the depiction and worship of Śiva in both anthropomorphic and phallic forms is indicated by the evidence of seals and sealings from the Harappan sites as well as by the coins issued by some of the indigenous and foreign ruling chiefs of India.⁷⁷ In subsequent times the *liṅga* came to be enshrined in the sanetum, while his anthropomorphic representations were placed as accessories in different parts of the shrine. Varāhamihira summarily describes his human form as follows: "Śambhu has a crescent on his head,⁷⁸ a bull for his insignia⁷⁹ and a vertically placed third eye (on his forehead);⁸⁰ (in his two hands) he holds a trident and the Pināka bow (*Śambhoḥ śiras-indukalā Vṛṣa-dhvajo=kṣi ca tṛtīyam=api c-ordhvam; Śulam dhanuḥ pinākau*, BS, LVII. 43).^{80a} Though all these emblems are well-known and

severally shown in sculptural art, it is difficult to pin-point a single piece fully meeting this account. This is evidently a description of a two-armed image, though it is not specifically stated. We have a number of Kuṣāṇa and Gupta two-armed representations, but the bow is conspicuous by its absence so far as known specimens are concerned. However, an image answering best, though not entirely, our description datable to early Gupta period hailing from the Balia District of Uttar Pradesh is now deposited in the State Museum, Lucknow (No. 56. 331). It is two-armed showing the right hand in the *varada* attitude and the left one holding a trident, his forehead being adorned with a vertically placed third eye.⁸¹ A beautiful Śiva head with Graeco-Roman influence deposited in the National Museum, New Delhi (No. 1. 668), and datable to the Late Kuṣāṇa period shows a crescent and vertically placed third eye,⁸² while the bull is common on the Kuṣāṇa coins. In fact, the mention of the crescent and the vertically placed third eye is chronologically important.⁸³

Śiva's androgynous form is also referred to, but only casually and very briefly. We are simply told that his 'left half may also consist of the half of the daughter of the mountain': *vān-ārdhe vā giri-sutārdham* (*ibid.*). This motif, which is apparently the same as that popularly known as *Ardha-nārīśvara*, is called *Ardha-Gaurīśvara* by Utpala. A number of *Ardha-nārīśvara* figures of the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta periods executed by the Mathura artists are now extant (Fig. 11).⁸⁴

The fact that during Varāhamihira's period the human image of Śiva had become less important than the *liṅga* becomes evident from a statistical analysis: the former including the *Ardha-nārīśvara* form is described only in a single stanza while the latter claims as many as full three verses.

As stated above, Varāhamihira supplies us with interesting information regarding the shape and proportions of the phallic emblem also. Thus we are told that one should divide the periphery of the circular (uppermost) portion of the *liṅga*, measured lengthwise, into three parts; the lowermost portion should be square, the middle one eight-sided and above that round. The square (lowermost) section should be inserted in the hole dug out in the earth and the middle one into that (made) in the pedestal (only the round portion being seen; in extent or diameter) the pedestal on all the four sides of the hole should be equal to the height of the visible (topmost cylindrical) portion.⁸⁵ A *liṅga* that is lean and long beyond proportion hits the country, that shorn of its sides destroys the town, and that injured at the top spells ruin of its master (*viz.*, the person who got it fashioned and consecrated).⁸⁶ This description is applicable only to plain *liṅgas*, and a total

reticence is maintained about other features like the face or faces on its sides of which some beautiful examples have come down to us.⁸⁷ These instructions appear to have been followed generally.

Surya

The worship of the Sun-god had been prevalent in India from very ancient times. He was originally represented symbolically as a disc, sometimes with radiating rays, which is generally found on the oldest coins of India, viz., punch-marked coins. The so-called six-armed symbol (*ṣaḍara-cakra*), also often met with on these coins, also probably stands for the sun. During the Maurya-Śuṅga period, when the images of the divinities came to be fashioned the Sun-god was also represented anthropomorphically, and we have beautiful examples dating from the second-first centuries B.C. at Bodh Gaya⁸⁸ in Bihar and Bhaja in the Pune District of Maharashtra.⁸⁹ However, in northern India it passed through an important transformation in the early centuries of the Christian era under the impact of the East Iranian Sun cult. This form with foreign influence^{89a} is illustrated by a number of Sūrya figures from Mathura datable to the Kuṣāṇa period, the most important being no. 12.269 of the Mathura Museum which shows him seated on a low throne, with a fire-altar shown on the pedestal,⁹⁰ wearing a flat cap, long coat, tight trousers and high boots and holding a lotus-petal in his right hand and a dagger in the left one. Besides, he has pointed moustaches and long hair passing from under the cap and falling on shoulders (Fig. 12).⁹¹ That his alien form continued up to the late Gupta period is vouched for by Varāhamihira who was himself a Magi priest.⁹² He prescribes that the Magas were the proper persons to consecrate the Sūrya image (*BS*, LIX. 19) and furnishes the following description of his icons which also is a pointer in the same direction⁹³: "the nose, forehead, shanks, thighs, cheeks and chest of the Sun should be shown elevated; one should represent him dressed in the northerner's attire, being concealed from feet to the chest;⁹⁴ grasping with his two arms two lotus flowers born of his own hands (viz., with their stalks);⁹⁵ he dons a crown and his countenance is decked with ear-rings; he wears a long necklacc and a girdle known as *riyadga*⁹⁶ round his waist; his face possesses the lustre of the inside of a lotus and is smiling and pleasant, his body being covered by a *kañcuka*; his nimbus is radiant with gems; the Sun image fashioned in this manner brings blessings to its maker." The *kañcuka* is evidently the close-fitting long coat noticed in Sūrya images, and the long boots, though not specifically mentioned, are implied in the northerners' dress. Strangely enough, we get no details about Sūrya's chariot, his charioteer, Aruṇa, his attendants, Daṇḍa and Piṅgala,

and his consorts, Uṣā and Pratyūṣā, who are not uncommonly depicted in sculpture and painting. The Mathura Museum has several specimens dating from the Gupta period answering our description.⁹⁷ Reference may also be made to a lithic relief figure of Sūrya, carved in a caitya-window of the famous Śiva temple at Bhumara, showing the god with a tall cylindrical head-dress (*mukuṭa*) and a plain halo behind his head, holding lotus flowers in both the hands which are raised upto shoulders, and donned in a long cat (*kañcūka*) tied on the waist with a sash (*vīyadga*) and long boots fashioned from soft leather. He is attended by a couple of similarly dressed male figures, probably Daṇḍa and Piṅgala.⁹⁸

It may be recalled that in the Kuṣāṇa sculpture Sūrya is often represented with a cluster of lotuses in the right hand and a dagger in the left as in the figure described earlier, and sometimes seated in a chariot driven by either two or four steeds.⁹⁹ However, while our author is silent about these features of the Kuṣāṇa art, it is interesting to find them mentioned in a stanza from Kāśyapa, evidently belonging to an earlier, probably Kuṣāṇa, period, cited by Utpala, which refers to all these features except only the chariot. This verse states that Āditya should be shown youthful and lustrous, wearing a garland, a mail and a crown and holding in his hands a sword and lotuses (*Ādityas=taruṇaḥ sragvī kavaci khaḍga-bhṛt tathā| Tejasvī pañcakakraḥ ṣaḍ-vargaś = kirttavān||*).

Divine Mothers

The Mother Goddess cult was once current throughout West Asia and India. In India it was so popular that all the different religious systems were compelled to grant it recognition in some form or other. According to Hindu mythology, Divine Mothers (*Mātṛkās*) are personified energies of principal gods. Their number was not fixed, though seven mother goddesses are often mentioned. As regards their depiction in sculpture, our author merely observes that they should be provided with the emblems of the gods corresponding to their names (*Mātṛ-gaṇaḥ kartavyaḥ sva-nāma-dev-ānurūpa-kṛta-cilmaḥ*, BS, LVII. 56). We find a similar statement regarding their sculptural representation in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* (LXXXVII. 12-13) which prescribes that the *śaktis* of individual gods should be provided with the same form, ornaments and vehicles as of their respective consorts.¹⁰⁰ Bhaṭṭotpala cites extracts from the earlier and following stanzas dealing with the iconological features of corresponding gods and then observes that 'they (the mother goddesses) should be endowed with beautiful breasts, slender waist and heavy hips in order to impart feminine beauty' (*kintu tāsāṃ stana-śobhā madhva-kṣāmatū nitamba-vaipulyam*

kāryam yena prakāreṇa strirūpasya śobhā jāyata iti). We get collective as well as separate representations of the mother goddesses. The oldest specimen of the seven mothers belonging to the early Kuṣāṇa period is No. F. 38 (also No. 126) of the Mathura Museum. This forms the simplest depiction in which the goddesses are represented 'without any distinguishing vehicles, faces or attributes'. Later on, various kinds of distinctions make their appearance even in the Kuṣāṇa age. For instance, relief no. 552 in the Mathura Museum depicts a row of seven divine mothers each with a child in the left arm; the first is Brāhmī shown with three heads (it being impossible to depict the fourth head in relief sculpture) and holding a ladle in her right hand, her mount being swan; Māheśvarī is shown standing with a trident, leaning against her bull mount; Kaumārī holds a spear and has for her vehicle a peacock; Vaiṣṇavī is represented as holding a mace with kneeling Garuḍa for her vehicle; Vārāhī is depicted holding a broken staff and standing against her mount, a buffalo; Indrāṇī recognisable by her elephant mount, holds an object which is now broken but may have been, in all probability, a *rajra*; and lastly, we have Cāmuṇḍā wearing a garland of skulls (*muṇḍa-mālā*) and with emaciated body and sunken belly and shown seated on her *pretavāhana*. On the proper right of the row is shown Virabhadra and on the left Gaṇapati,¹⁰¹ both of whom replaced the *āyudha-puruṣas* found in earlier representations.¹⁰² Numerous Sapta-mātṛkā panels as well as images of individual mother goddesses of a later date are known,¹⁰³ which it is neither possible nor necessary to describe in these pages.

Revanta

Revanta was a solar divinity, and the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* perhaps provides the earliest datable reference to him. According to Paurāṇic mythology, which was responsible for his creation, he was one of the sons of Sūrya by his consort Sañjñā born in the second phase of their association. According to the Purāṇas in the first phase were born three children: Vaivasvata Manu, Yama and goddess Yamī (or the river Yamunā). But Sañjñā was unable to bear Sūrya's heat and left for forest and assumed the form of a mare. On coming to know about it Sūrya also metamorphosed himself into a horse and united with Sañjñā and from this union were born three sons including the divine physicians Aśvins and Revanta.¹⁰⁴ This probably explains his association with horses and hunting. His worship appears to have been especially popular among ruling chiefs and nobles if we were to judge from the *Kālikā-purāṇa* and the *Prthvirāja-vijaya* of Jayānaka.¹⁰⁵ He was regarded as the god of horses and was also credited with the authorship of a treatise on horse-lore on which, *inter alia*, the Kan-

nada author Abhinavacandra (c. fourteenth century A.D.) based his work *Aśvavidya*.¹⁰⁶ Numerous epigraphic records of the medieval age hailing from Karnataka,¹⁰⁷ Andhra Pradesh and the eastern part of Madhya Pradesh use it as a title of honour for knights and generals skilled in managing even unruly horses.¹⁰⁸ In medieval period his worship was especially popular, and we have epigraphic evidence to indicate that some temples, victory pillars (*raṇa-stambhas*) and pavilions (*maṇḍapas*) were also erected in his honour in Central and Western India. Thus, we learn from the Akaltara inscription of the reign of the Kalacuri king Ratnadeva II that his vassal Vallabharāja erected a temple of Revanta at Vikarṇapura, identified with modern Kotgarh, where its remains still exist.¹⁰⁹ The Ratanpur stone inscription of the time of Pṛthvīdeva II also refers to this temple.^{109a} The Vanthali inscription of v.s. 1346 (1290 A.D.), which records the erection of a *raṇa-stambha* bearing a Revanta image and a *maṇḍapa* containing his image at Vāmanasthali (modern Vanthali),^{109b} indicates his popularity in Gujarat. The extant epigraphic and art evidence is enough to indicate the great popularity enjoyed by this god not only throughout the Indo-Pakistan-Bangladesh sub-continent but also in Central Asia, though, going by the available evidence, in Tamil Nadu it was not so popular.^{109c}

As to Revanta's iconographic representation, our author simply tells us that he should be shown seated on horse-back and accompanied by attendants engaged in hunting and sport : *Revanto = śvārūḍho niṣṭayā-kriḍ-ādi-parivāraḥ*, *BS*, LVII. 56. The commentator, Utpala, adds that the party of his attendants should be represented as engrossed not only in hunting and sport but also in the examination and search of the horses and vehicles which are, though not specifically mentioned, implied by the use of the word *ādi* (*yaḥ parivāraḥ saḥ niṣṭayā-yuktaḥ kriḍā-yuktaḥ ādi-grahaṇād = aśva-vāhane tat-parikṣaṇam tad = anveṣaṇ-ādi*). The *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa* (III. 70. 5) states that the god should be shown riding a horse in the manner of his father Sūrya (*Prṣṭhe = śve Sūryavat kārye Revantaś = ca tathā prabhūḥ*), while the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* (LXXXIX. 78) implies his equestrian character by averring that he should be represented like his father the Sun (*Revanto nāma yo = rkasya rūpeṇ-ārka-samaḥ sutaḥ*).

Artistic representations of Revanta dating from the late Gupta age to the medieval period were available in several museums and temples even earlier, but they were not recognised as Revanta due to their erroneous identification with Kalki, the future incarnation of Viṣṇu or with Bhairava or as the scene of great renunciation of the would-be Buddha Siddhārtha (*mahābhiniṣkramaṇa*), when he left

Kapilavastu on his horse Kanṭhaka preceded by his charioteer Chandaka. The credit of first correctly identifying these figures as those of Revanta is due to Bidya Binod who, while publishing an image from an unknown provenance in Bihar, invited attention to the above-cited passage of the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* which led him to its correct identification as Revanta.^{109d} Once this was done, the figures, which were hitherto wrongly identified, came to be recognised as Revanta.

The above description of Revanta in the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* finds full or partial corroboration from the numerous figures of the late Gupta and medieval periods found in the different parts of the country. The earliest panel is probably one sculpted on the granite surface of the Jahangira Hill at Sultanganj in the Bhagalpur District of Bihar. Though weather-worn, it is quite clear in its contents. It shows the god seated on horse-back and wearing a conical crown and top-boots and accompanied by hunting attendants. Two of them are blowing trumpets while the third is shown as beating a drum. It is an excellent example of the classical Gupta idiom datable to about the fifth century A.D.^{109e} (Fig. 13). Another sculpture dating from about the same period now deposited in the Patna Museum hails from Pachar in the Gaya District of the same state. Revanta, who is shown as a horseman, holds the reins of the horse by his left hand and a goblet in the right. An umbrella of a peculiar type with tassels held by an attendant standing behind the horse and head-dress with hair falling in curls over the shoulders are particularly interesting. We notice another attendant before the horse carrying aloft a lighted torch by both hands, suggesting thereby the intention to represent the god as returning after hunting late in night. A hound is also shown running along the horse (Fig. 14).^{109f}

Reference may be made to another beautiful high relief sculpture of light grey stone, with the face somewhat damaged, from an unrecorded provenance in Central India and datable to about sixth-seventh century A.D., now deposited in the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin. Represented as a horse-rider proceeding left, the god is accompanied by his usual retinue. In his right hand he carries flower, while with the damaged left hand he holds a bowl and reins of the horse. A hound with its head raised up is shown below the horse. There are three figures behind Revanta, shown vertically: the upper one holds a parasol (upper part is now damaged) over the god; the middle one carries a *behṅgi* (*vihaṅgikā*) with a couple of pots hanging from it on his shoulders, while the lowest one carries on his left shoulder a bag and with his raised right hand holds an animal or bird by its leg. In front of the god are shown four attendants in a

similar fashion : two upper ones carry an animal, which is not clear but may be a pig, on their shoulders; the third one is holding an up-raised sword and a round shield; while the lowest one is a drummer. There are some figures of the Guhyakas too. The scene is intended to represent the god returning after hunt (Fig. 15).^{109g}

Bidya Binod published another interesting image of Revanta from somewhere in Bihar and datable to early medieval age presently housed in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The god is shown as a horseman holding reins in his left hand; he is followed by a couple of dogs, one running under the horse and the other chasing a deer; two drummers, two cymbal-players, a parasol holder, two pole-bearers, a water-carrier, and another one carrying some kind of game, probably a boar,^{109h} while a number of armed attendants are marching in front (Fig. 16).¹⁰⁹ⁱ

Yama

Yama, the god of death and lord of manes, was worshipped with fear. About his iconographic features, the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* simply tells us that he holds a staff and rides a buffalo : *Daṇḍī Yamo mahiṣagaḥ*, *BS*, LVII. 57. In his *Yoga-yātrā* also Varāhamihira refers to Yama as holding aloft a *daṇḍa* in his hand (*prodṛyata-daṇḍa-hastaḥ*, VI. 8). Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita* mentions canvas paintings showing Yama seated on a ferocious buffalo. We have several images of Yama with a staff or club in one of his hands, but early images of Yama with a buffalo mount are extremely rare. From Paunar, in the Wardha District of Maharashtra, has been found a *pañcāyatana Śivaliṅga* belonging to the Vākāṭaka period showing the guardians of quarters (*dikpālas*) in different quarters including Yama on the southern side seated on a buffalo and holding a staff in his right hand.¹¹⁰ In a medallion on the Śiva temple at Bhumara the god is represented as holding an indistinct round object in his right hand, staff in the left and attended by a flywhisk-bearing female attendant on either side; however, he is shown seated not on a buffalo, but on a throne or bedstead.^{110a} Reference must be made here to a beautiful Yama figure on the Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Bhubaneswar (seventh century A.D.) where he is shown seated on a buffalo, holding a club-like staff in his left hand, as in the Bhumara example, and a *bija-pūṛaka* in his right hand.¹¹¹ One such figure is also found in the Brahmeśvara temple at the same site (Fig. 17). A sculpture from the Śiva temple at Chidambaram depicts him holding a noose in the right hand, the left one being placed on a club-like staff; but his mount here is a bull.¹¹²

Varuna

In the *Ṛgveda* Varuṇa along with Indra was the greatest of gods and was regarded as the upholder of the physical and moral order and as

the regulator of waters. However, in later Hindu mythology he sank to the position of an Indian Neptune and the guardian of the western quarter. About his icons, the *Brhat-samhitā* simply states he rides a swan and holds a noose (*haṁs=ārūḍhaś=ca pāśa-bhṛd=Varuṇaḥ*, LVII. 57). The *Yoga-yātrā* mentions *gadū* as another attribute of Varuṇa (*jaleśvaran̄ pāśānvitam saha gadayā ca pūjitan̄*, VI. 12). This is too sketchy a description indicating the insignificant position to which he was reduced by the Gupta period.¹¹³ While the attributes in his hands are quite common and frequently represented in sculpture, he is commonly depicted standing on a crocodile instead of a swan which is extremely rare and is so far noticed only in a figure from the Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Bhubaneswar belonging to about the seventh century A.D. In this sculpture he is shown seated on a low couch and holding a noose in the left hand and a *bija-pūraka* in the right. A swan walking to the right is depicted on the pedestal.¹¹⁴ Reference may also be made to a side-piece on the Rajarani temple at Bhubaneswar representing the two-armed divinity standing on a crocodile and carrying a looped noose by its end in the right hand, the left one being shown in the *varada* attitude.¹¹⁵ Special importance in this connection attaches to figure 39 from the basement wall of the temple at Paharpur depicting a two-armed god standing in the *samapada mudrā*, holding by his two hands the ends of a noose passing round his head, and attended by a male and a female figure (Fig. 18). The late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit was inclined to identify him as Yama;¹¹⁶ however, while the absence of a staff (*daṇḍa*), which is a characteristic weapon of Yama, is conspicuously against this identification, the *pāśa*, invariably associated with Varuṇa in iconological texts, is strongly in favour of his identification with the latter. But there is another strong possibility which must be kept in mind. The identification of the object going round the head of the deity as noose cannot be regarded as certain. On some coins of the Kuṣāṇa emperor Huviṣka we find the representation of Oado (Vāta) who is shown as running to his proper right with a scarf the ends whereof are held by his two hands exactly in the same manner as on the image just mentioned.¹¹⁷ That this manner of the representation of the wind god continued till the early medieval period is indicated, *inter alia*, by a stone relief of the Gurjara-Pratihāra period (ninth century A.D.) from Kanauj representing the scene of the wedding of Śiva and Pārvatī to witness which numerous gods and other celestial beings had assembled. One of these deities was Vāyu who is shown exactly in the manner of the Kuṣāṇa coins under reference.¹¹⁸ The god from Paharpur bears a close resemblance to these figures, and the possibility of

Vāyu being intended cannot be ruled out.

Kubera

A comparatively minor divinity, Kubera was credited with the overlordship of wealth and the governance of the northern quarter, which consequently came to be known as *Kauberi*. The *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* (LVII. 57), in keeping with this low status, devotes only half a stanza to his icons which are summarily described as follows : Kubera has a man for his mount, the *kiriṭa* (crown) is placed on his head as slanting to left, and he is big-bellied¹¹⁹ (*nara-vāhanaḥ Kubero vāma-kiriṭt bṛhat-kukṣiḥ*). A variant reading (*khara-vāhanaḥ*) would have us believe that his mount is a donkey. The *Yoga-yātrā* (VI. 16) refers to a *gadā* as an emblem held by him. Man is mentioned as his vehicle in some other texts including the *Lalita-vistara*,¹²⁰ *Harivaṃśa*,¹²¹ *Matsya-purāṇa*,¹²² and the *Pūrva-karaṇāgama*¹²³ also. Another South Indian iconographic text, the *Śilpa-ratna*, describes Kubera as riding a chariot driven by men.¹²⁴ In the Jaina iconographic tradition also he is conceived as riding a man.¹²⁵ This is obviously an allusion to the palanquin borne by human beings even now, especially in the Himalayan region where Kubera is believed to have his abode in Kailāsa. According to the *Paramatthajotikā* commentary on the *Sutta-nipāta*, on the other hand, Kubera rides a woman (*nārti-vāhana*).¹²⁶ Surprisingly, this too sketchy account of the iconography of Kubera is reticent regarding his purse or money-bag, his *nidhis*, *śaṅkha* and *padma*, (sometimes all the eight *nidhis*) and his consorts, Bhadrā and Hārītī, who are frequently represented in association with him in contemporary sculpture. Man as a vehicle of the god is, however, extremely rare though the number of Kubera images is quite large. The earliest representation of Kubera is datable to the Śuṅga period and comes from the famous Buddhist site of Bharhut. This is an inscribed figure called Kupira (Kubera) Yakṣa. Here the divinity is shown standing over a malformed dwarfish male figure sitting on haunches and reeling under the weight of the god, with his hands in the salutation pose; he is slightly pot-bellied and his head-dress aslant on his left (Fig. 19)¹²⁷ This figure fully satisfies the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* description. We find some terracotta figurines of Śuṅga and Kuṣāṇa periods showing *nara-vāhana* Yakṣas and Yakṣīs in the Mathura art.¹²⁸ His corpulent body, symbolising wealth, makes its appearance in a prominent manner during the Kuṣāṇa period at Mathura which has yielded a large number of Kubera figures either by themselves or in association with some others. The same is true of the Gandhāra art. Particular reference in this connection may be made to the famous Bacchanalian scene in which Kubera is shown as an extremely fat man, nude, seated on a heap of stones representing a

mountain (Kailāsa) and drinking from a goblet which a male attendant is ready to replenish, being watched by another man, a woman and a small boy, all under a tree (*kalpa-vṛkṣa*).¹²⁹ Some Kuṣāṇa figures of Kubera from Mathura show him standing with his right hand held in the *abhaya* attitude, indicating his divine status, and holding a purse, symbolising riches, in the left one and a mace-like object under his left arm-pit.¹³⁰ The above-mentioned Śīva-Pārvatī marriage panel of the Gurjara-Pratihāra period from Kanauj shows, *inter alia*, the figure of Kubera, identifiable not only by his pot-belly and the purse and the wine-cup in his hands, but also by, and that is more important, the human figure serving as his mount and supporting him by his uplifted hands (Fig. 10).¹³¹ That his original Yakṣa association was not forgotten till a fairly late period is shown by his mention as Yakṣa in the opening stanza of the sixth chapter of the *Yoga-yātrā*.

Buddha

The only non-Brāhmaṇical cult deities (or images) whose *dhyānas* are given by Varāhamihira are the Buddha and the Jinas. It is simply inexplicable as to why he mixed up their description with the Brāhmaṇical divinities¹³² instead of treating them separately at the end. It may be that the process of assimilation of Buddhism and Jainism with Paurāṇic religion, which reached culmination in later times, had commenced by the sixth century A.D. when our author flourished.

A man of liberal religious attitude, Varāhamihira seems to have had profound reverence for the Buddha whom he characterises (as if he were) 'the father of the world' (*pit=eva jagato bhavati Buddhaḥ*, BS. LVII. 44), 'benevolent to all' (*sarva-hita*) and as endowed with 'serene mind' (*śānta-manas*, *ibid.*, LIX. 19). Moreover, he gives one full stanza to an account of Buddha's iconology, whereas many a Brāhmaṇical deity are disposed of in a much shorter space. Varāhamihira gives us a very sketchy description of the seated Buddha, the reference to the standing figure being conspicuously absent. He simply states that the Buddha should be depicted with his palm and soles marked with the figure of lotus, a placid appearance, very short hair (short curls) and seated on a lotus-seat (*Padm-āṅkita-kara-caraṇaḥ prasanna-mūrtiḥ suvī ca-keśaś=ca| Padm-āsan-opaviṣṭaḥ*, *ibid.*, LVII 44). This description is too general, and nothing is stated about the hand poses which play so important a role in the Buddha figures, seated or standing. But even in this sketchy account we get a fairly good idea of the post-Kuṣāṇa and Gupta images of the Buddha as regards their general features. Late Kuṣāṇa and post-Kuṣāṇa figures are noteworthy for the representation of auspicious marks including lotus on the palms and soles which were, by and large, replaced by

geometric marks in the Gupta and post-Gupta images. The Buddha images of the Gupta period are marked by very short, sometimes curly, hair and the tranquillity becomes an important characteristic of the Buddha figures. The famous Sarnath seated figure is especially noteworthy in this connection.¹³⁴

Jina

Varāhamihira describes the iconographical features of the Tīrthānkara images as follows : "The god of the Arhats (*viz.*, a Tīrthānkara) should be shown with his arms long enough to reach the knees and the *śrīvatsa* for his emblem (*i.e.*, on the chest), serene in appearance, nude, youthful and handsome" (*Ā-jānu-lamba-bāhuḥ śrīvats-āṅkaḥ praśānta-mūrtiś = ca | Digvāsās = taruṇo rūpavānś = ca kāryo-rhatām devaḥ || ibid.*, LVII. 45). This is apparently a *dhyāna* of the standing Jina images. In iconographic texts this posture is called *khaḍgāsana* or *kāyotsarga mudrā*.¹³⁵ These features are of such a general nature as to be illustrated by any Jina image, and the description of the numerous Tīrthānkara images illustrating them need not detain us.

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We now come to an end of our account. It would follow that the foregoing discussion gives a fairly good idea of the religious conditions obtaining during the late Gupta period. Brāhmaṇical Hinduism was on the ascendance. Although a number of Brāhmaṇical gods and goddesses were worshipped, Viṣṇuism, Śaivism and the Saura system appear to have enjoyed a greater popularity. Buddhism and Jainism were the only prominent non-Brāhmaṇical systems followed by a fairly large section of the populace, but the process of their assimilation with Brāhmaṇical religious systems appears to have made a beginning.

Appendix

Ganesa, Rasis and Grahas

Verse LVII. 58 of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* describing the iconography of the elephant-headed god Gaṇeśa^{135a} is met with only in one or two manuscripts and its authenticity has been reasonably doubted by the editors of the text. H. Kern includes this stanza within parenthesis,¹³⁶ but he regarded it as an interpolation. Sudhakara Dvivedi drops it altogether, and it has not been commented upon by Bhaṭṭotpala which is sufficient to prove it to be a later interpolation.¹³⁷ In view of this *Ṭikaṇika-yātrā*, I. 2, which contains the author's obeisance to Gaṇeśa and other deities may as well be spurious. It is interesting to note in this connection that this verse is met with only in a single manuscript.¹³⁸ The spuriousness of these stanzas is also indicated by the

fact that in the chapter dealing with the installation of the cult divinities where persons specially suited to consecrate their images are mentioned there is absolutely no reference to either the image of Gaṇapati or to the Gāṇapatyas. This is, however, not to deny that in the Gupta age the images of Gaṇapati had been developed¹³⁹, but only to indicate that his worship had yet to become sufficiently popular to merit his inclusion in the short iconographic section of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*.

Ancient Indians, like their modern counterparts, believed in the strong influence exerted on mundane life by the *rāśis* or zodiacal signs and *grahas* or planets and propitiated them in various ways. They made their images as well, and it would look quite strange if an astrological writer like Varāhamihira, who dwells upon the iconography of other divinities, did not dilate on the iconological features of these heavenly bodies. And we are not altogether disappointed, particularly as regards the *rāśis*.

A stanza of the *Bṛhaj-jātaka* deals with the iconic features of the *rāśis*. We are told that the Pisces (*Mīna*) should be shown as a pair of fish with their bodies laterally apposed and facing opposite directions; the Aquarius (*Kumbha*) as a man with an empty jar on his shoulders; the Gemini (*Mithuna*) as a couple with the man holding a mace (*gadā*) and the woman carrying a lyre (*viṇā*); the Sagittarius (*Dhanus*) as a man with the portion below the hip being that of a horse (*viḥ.*, quadruped); the Capricorn (*Makara*) as a crocodile with the face of a deer; the Libra (*Tulā*) as a man holding a balance; the Virgo (*Kanyā*) as a virgin on a boat and carrying food-grains and fire, and the rest as indicated by their names and residing in their own places.¹⁴⁰ Utpala explains the last statement by stating that the Aries (*Meṣa*) has to be shown as a ram; the Taurus (*Vṛṣabha*) as a bull; the Cancer (*Karkaṭa*) as a crab; the Leo (*Siṃha*) as a lion, and the Scorpio (*Vṛṣcika*) as a scorpion.¹⁴¹

From Gupta period onwards we get the representations of the *rāśis* in sculpture. They are, in the beginning, shown with the Sun and are known to have been represented in a symbolic form later.¹⁴² The value of this description lies chiefly in the fact that this happens to be the oldest extant datable account of the zodiacal signs.

It is, however, astonishing that Varāhamihira maintains an intriguing reticence regarding the iconology of the *grahas* even though he was quite aware of the various ways of propitiating them including *graha-sānti* and *graha-yāga* and the practice of carrying their images along with those of the Dikpālas or guardian deities of the quarters at the time of military march.¹⁴³ Probably this strange feature has to

be explained as due to the fact that their iconic details were too well-known to require any detailed treatment. But he describes the materials from which their images were made for the purpose of propitiating them by offering them *yāga* (sacrifice) in the *Bṛhād-yātrā*. Thus the image of the Sun was to be fashioned from copper, of the Moon from crystal, of the Mars from (red) sandal-wood, of the Mercury from oyster-shell or iron, of the Jupiter from gold, of the Venus from silver, of the Saturn from iron, of the Rāhu from *nāga* which is explained in the dictionaries variously,¹⁴⁴ and of the Ketu from bell-metal.¹⁴⁵ In the *Yoga-yātrā* also we get details regarding the practice of carrying the icons of the Dikpālas (guardian deities of directions) as well as the planets and the materials from which they were to be carved.¹⁴⁶ We are informed that the image of Indra (along with his consort Śacī) was to be fashioned from gold or wood and that of the Sun from copper, of Agni also from gold while the material from which the Venus image was to be carved is left unspecified and we are simply told that it should be variegated in colour, of Yama and the Mars from iron and the Rudhirākṣa gem respectively, of Varuṇa and the Saturn from silver and black glass respectively, of Vāyu from white clay while the material from which the Moon's icon was to be made is not specified, of Kubera and the Mercury from gold (the latter was to be placed on a silver seat), and of Śiva and the Jupiter from cow-skin and the Vimalaka gem respectively. Only in the case of the Mercury icon we are told that it was to be in the form of a human pair.¹⁴⁷

This, again, is the earliest known description of the iconic materials and, in the case of the Mercury, of iconological details.

Footnotes

- 1 The earlier verses of the chapter deal with iconometry.
- 2 References pertain to Sudhakara Dvivedi's edition with Utpala's commentary published as Vol. X of the Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series, Banaras.
- 3 For an epigraphic allusion to *Kaustubha* gem, vide *CII*, III, No. 18, p. 83, line 22.
- 4 Bhāṭṭotpala explains this attitude as 'the hand facing the visitor (turned to the front) with the fingers raised upwards : *draṣṭur = abhīmukha ūrdhva-āṅgulih karaḥ*. This is obviously the same as the *abhaya-mudrā* with which the students of Buddhist art are well acquainted.
- 5 Some of these *āyudhas* are referred to in contemporary inscriptions. *Nandaka* is the name of Viṣṇu's sword. Cf. Apsad inscription of Ādityasena, *CII*, III, No. 42, p. 203, lines 13-14 : *Cakraṁ pāṇi-ta-*

lena so=py=udavahat tasy-āpi Śārigaṃ dhamaḥ|Nāsāy-āsulīḍām suk-
khāya sulīḍām tasy-āpy=asir=nandakaḥ|| A Gupta epigraph speaks
of him as carrying *cakra* and *gadā* (*cakra-gadā-dhareṇa*, *ibid.*, III,
No. 17, p. 75, line 26); he is styled the 'wielder of discus (*cakra-
bhṛt*, *ibid.*, No. 4, p. 61, lines 26-27; *cakra-dhara*, *ibid.*, No. 47,
p. 220, line 2; *cakra-pāṇi*, *ibid.*, No. 55, p. 237, line 13; No. 56, p.
248, line 12). His bow was known as *Śārīga* in consequence of
which he was designated *Śārīga-pāṇi* (*ibid.*, pp. 146 and 176, line
32) and *Śārīgin* (*ibid.*, p. 54, line 17; p. 83, line 22). For the men-
tion of four-armed Viṣṇu, see *ibid.*, No. 19, p. 89, lines 1-2. The
recently discovered Mandhal grant of Vākāṭaka Rudrasena II also
refers to Viṣṇu as carrying a conch-shell (*śaṅkha*), wheel (*cakra*)
and sword (*asi*). *Vide* Ajay Mitra Shastri and Chandrashekhar
Gupta in *Saṃsodhanāci Kṣitije* (Marathi, Dr. V.B. Kolte Felicita-
tion Volume), ed. B.L. Bhole (Nagpur, 1985), p. 227, line 2.

6 कार्याऽष्टभुजो मगवांश्चतुर्भुजो द्विभुज एव वा विष्णुः ।

श्रीवत्साङ्कितवक्षाः कोस्तुममणिभूपितोरस्कः ॥

अतसोकुसुमदयामः पीताम्बरनिवसनः प्रसन्नमुखः ।

कुण्डलकिरीटवारी पीनगलोरःस्यलांसभुजः ॥

स्रग्गदाशरपाणिर्दक्षिणतः शान्तिदश्चतुर्यंकरः ।

वामकरेषु च कार्मुकतेटकचक्राणि शङ्खद्वयं ॥

अथ च चतुर्भुजमिच्छति शान्तिद एको गदाधरश्चान्यः ।

दक्षिणपार्श्वे त्वेवं वामे शङ्खश्च चक्रं च ॥

द्विभुजस्य तु शान्तिकरो दक्षिणहस्तोऽपरश्च शङ्खधरः ।

एवं विष्णोः प्रतिमा कर्तव्या भूतिमिच्छद्भिः ॥ —BS, LVII, 31-35.

Cf. श्रीवत्साङ्क कोस्तुममणिकिरणोद्भासितोरस्कम् ॥ —*Ibid.*, XLII, 3.

7 D.C. Sircar, "Nagarjunakonda Inscription of the Time of Ābhira Vasuṣeṇa, Year 30", *EI*, XXXIV pp. 197-204.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 202, line 1.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 197. For a different view identifying Aṣṭabhujaśvāmin with Śiva, see I.K. Sarma, "Epigraphical and Icono-Plastic Delineations of Aṣṭabhuja Aghoramūrti Śiva", *Vidarbhā Saṃsodhana Maṇḍala Vārṣika*, 1970, pp. 193-203. However, this suggestion lacks plausibility.

10 *JISOA*, V, p. 124; *JUPHS*, XXII, p. 106.

11 *Ibid.*, N.S., II, Part II, pp. 17-19.

11a N. P. Joshi, *PBMV*, p. 85.

12 *Ibid.*

13 *Ibid.*, p. 86.

14 V. S. Agrawala, *BIMA*, p. VII. See also Nos. 87, 912, 933, 1229; *JISOA*, V, p. 124, pl. XIV (2).

15 Also *cf.* Nos. 512, 956, 2007, 2052, 2487; *JUPHS*, January, 1932,

Pl. 2, Fig. 3.

- 15a S. D. Trivedi, *Sculptures in the Jhansi Museum*, p. 41, Fig. 1.
- 16 This provides an important evidence for fixing the lower limit of the flourishing period of Varāhamihira. The type of four-armed Viṣṇu described by Varāhamihira is illustrated by numerous Kuṣāṇa figures and a few specimens from the Gupta period. This form went entirely out of vogue after the Gupta age. Even in the Gupta period the *sāntida* motif was slowly making room for another characteristic feature, the lotus. It indicates that Varāhamihira could not have lived long after the close of the Gupta age.
- 17 N. P. Joshi has made statistical analysis of the epic and Purāṇic accounts of Viṣṇu's iconography and demonstrated that the references to the form with conch-shell, wheel and mace far exceed those to that with these and lotus (108/37) and the former are definitely earlier. *Vide* his *PBMV*, p. 79.
- 18 *Ibid.*, p. 85.
- 19 C. R. P. Sinha, *Early Sculptures of Bihar* (Patna, 1980), p. 90, fn. 1.
- 20 Md. Abdul Waheed Khan, *An Early Sculpture of Narasiṃha* (A. P. Govt. Archaeological Series, No. 10, Hyderabad, 1964), p. 3 and plate.
- 21 Cunningham, *ASR*, VI, p. 20.
- 22 J. N. Banerjea, *DHI*, pp. 400-441, fn. 1.
- 23 बलदेवो हलपाणिर्मदविभ्रमलोचनश्च कर्तव्यः ।
बिभ्रत् कुण्डलमेकं शङ्खेन्दुमृणालगौरतनुः ॥—*BS*, LVII. 36.
- 24 V. S. Agrawala, *BIMA*, p. VIII; *JISOA*, 1937, Pl. XIV. Fig. 4; J. N. Banerjea, *DHI*, Pl. XXII, Fig. 4.
- 25 Mathura Museum Nos. C. 19, D. 36, etc.
- 26 G. H. Khare, *Mūrti-vijñāna*, (Marathi), Pl. XI.
- 27 *MASI*, No. 55, p. 45, Pl. XXII (b).
- 28 Md. Abdul Waheed Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 3 and plate. *PBMY*, p. 90.
- 29 See *Harivaṃśa*, Viṣṇuparvan, 120. 100. For description of his iconography, See N. P. Joshi, *Iconography of Balarāma*; *BMS*, pp. 73-76.
- 30 For the relevant text of the *Harivaṃśa*, see *JRASB*, Third Series, 1936, pp. 41-42.
- 31 The *Viṣṇu-* and *Brahma-Purāṇas* describe her as Yoganidrā, Mahāmāyā and Vaiṣṇavi.
- 32 A. Ghosh, "A Note on Ekānamśā", *IC*, IV, pp. 271-272.
- 33 Utpala (on *BS*, 38) defines *varada* as the attitude in which the palm is shown inside-out with the fingers pointing downwards (*uttāno=dho=ṅgulir=ḥasto varadaḥ*).

- 34 एकानंशा कार्या देवी बलदेवकृष्णयोर्मध्ये ।
 कटिसंस्थितवामकरा सरोजमितरेण चोद्धृती ॥
 कार्या चतुर्भुजा या वामकराभ्यां सपुस्तकं कमलम् ।
 द्वाभ्यां दक्षिणपार्श्वे वरमणिवक्षसूत्रं च ॥
 वामेऽपाटभुजाभ्याः कमण्डलुश्चापमन्वुजं शास्त्रम् ।
 वरशरदर्पणयुक्ताः सव्यभुजाः साक्षसूत्राश्च ॥
 —BS, LVII. 37-39.
- 35 एकानंशापि कर्त्तव्या देवी पद्मकरा तथा ।
 कटिस्थवामहस्ता सा मध्यस्था रामकृष्णयोः ॥
- 36 It belongs to the post-Gupta period.
- 36a *JUPHS*, 1935, Part II.
- 37 *JRASB*, Third Series, II (1936), pp. 41-46.
- 38 *JBORS*, XXVII (1941), pp. 50-60.
- 39 *JRASB*, Letters, XVI, No. 2, 1950. pp. 247-251, Pl. XII.
- 40 *JRASB*, New Series, 1936, pp. 43 ff For a Balarāma-Ekānamśā-Vāsudeva panel from Devangarh (District Nawadah), Bihar, see C.R.P. Sinha, *op. cit.*, p. 75, Fig. 26. For some Kuṣāṇa figures of Ekānamśā, see N. P. Joshi, *PBMV*, pp. 123-124.
- 41 *Supra*, Ch. I, *ISBV*, pp. 139ff.
- 42 H. Lüders, *Mathura Inscriptions*, ed. K. L. Janert, Gottingen, 1961, p. 154.
- 43 Md. Abdul Waheed Khan, *op. cit.*
- 44 See *Harivaiśā*, Viṣṇuparvan, 110.2, p. 631. This figure had been wrongly identified as Balarāma by Md. Abdul Waheed Khan. A few other figures of the panel have also been erroneously identified. N.P. Joshi, *PBMV*, pp. 90-91; *BMS*, pp. 60-61, 77, Fig. 7.
- 45 *Catalogue of the Indian Collection in the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, Vol. II (Sculpture), p. 46.
- 46 *JISOA*, XII, pp. 129 ff.
- 47 A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 58.
- 48 *JISOA*. XII, pp. 129-134.
- 49 V. S. Agrawala, *Indian Art*, p. 316, Fig. 241.
- 50 Md. Abdul Waheed Khan, *op. cit.*
- 51 *BS*, LIX. 19 and Utpala's commentary.
- 52 Kāśyapa, as cited by Bhaṭṭotpala at p. 785, describes him as four-faced and carrying a staff, skin of black antelope and a gourd : *Brahmā caturmukho daṇḍī kṛṣṇājina-kamaṇḍalī*. This description, which evidently alludes to four-armed images, appears to lay stress on the *brahmacārin* aspect wherein he wears the hide of a black antelope and holds a staff and a water-vessel in his hands.
- 53 Mathura Museum Nos. 382, 2134. However, recently this identification has been doubted. See R. C. Agrawala, "Four-faced Śiva

- and Four-faced Viṣṇu at Mathura," *VIJ*, III (Part I), pp. 107-108.
- 54 *MAJ*, No. 16, p. 12, Pl. XII (b).
- 55 T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol II, Part, II, Pl. CXLVI. For another Brahmā figure from the same place, see *ibid.*, Pl. CXLIV; G. H. Khare, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8, Pl. 1.
- 56 Now deposited in the archaeological museum of the Dept. of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Nagpur University, Nagpur.
- 57 It may be suggested that *devasenā-patiḥ* would be preferable instead of *devaḥ senāpatiḥ* as *devasenā* is supposed to be his consort. *Devasenā* literally means divine army with Skanda as its general (*senā-pati*).
- 58 *BS*, Vol. II, p. 786.
- 59 *CII*, III, No. 42, p. 203, line 6 : *Hara iva śikhi-vāhauam tanayam.*
- 60 *Ibid.*, No. 39, p. 177, line 49 : *śikhaṇḍi-keṭana.* No. 10, p. 79, describes him as war-god.
- 61 Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Religious Study of the Symbols on the Local Coins of Central India," *Seminar Papers on the Local Coins of Northern India, C. 300 B. C. to 300 A.D.* (ed. A. K. Narain, J. P. Singh and N. Ahmad, Varanasi, 1968), pp. 76-77, Fig. 8 at p. 86.
- 62 J. Allan, *BMC, AI*, pp. cxlix, 270, Pl. XXXIX. 21.
- 63 *Ibid.*, pp. cl, 270-271, Pl. XXXIX. 20, XL. 10-12.
- 64 He is referred to as Brahmaṇyadeva and Kumāra on these copper coins while simply as Brahmaṇyadeva on the silver coin which still remains unique. On some copper coins of a recently discovered hoard also, which is under study by the present author, he is represented with six heads and a long spear in his right hand sometimes topped by a trident. For a preliminary account of this hoard and discussions on some problems, see Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Interesting Kuṇḍa and Yaudheya Coins", *ND*, VIII, pp. 24-36; "Some Observations on the Mandī Hoard of Yaudheya and Kuṇḍa Coins", *ibid.*, XI, pp. 41-43.
- 65 John Allan, *BMB, AI*, p. cl Pl. XL. 1-9. For a full discussion of the representations of Kārttikeya on Yaudheya coins, see Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Symbols on Tribal Coins : An Interpretative Study", *Seminar Papers on the Tribal Coins of Ancient India* (ed. J. P. Singh and N. Ahmad, Varanasi, 1977), pp. 92-94.
- 66 For a learned discussion of the numismatic evidence, see J. N. Banerjea, *DHI* pp. 41-46. Some coins of Huviṣka give us two types which shed welcome light on the Skanda worship : one of these types bears two figures on the reverse which are labeled Skanda-Kumāra and Viśākha, while the other has three divine fig-

- ures called Skanda-Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsenā. See Gardner, *BMC, Scythians and Parthians*, Pl. XXVIII. 22-23 (Skanda and Viśākha), 24 (Skanda, Viśākha and Mahāsenā). The position of the word *kumāra* in these legends and the iconographic texts should leave no doubt that it is only an adjective of Skanda and does not represent an independent god. This is also indicated by the fact that on the first type where there are three words, viz., Skanda, Kumāra and Viśākha, we have only two figures, and on the second type where there are four words, viz., these three and Mahāsenā, we find only three divinities. Moreover, the position of the word *kumāra* is also noteworthy : it occurs only after Skanda and before Viśākha, and in the light of the textual evidence it is evident that *kumāra* qualifies Skanda. D. R. Bhandarkar's statement that on these coins we have representations of three and four gods respectively is apparently due to oversight.
- 67 Allan, *BMC, GD*, Pl. XV. 5-14; A. S. Altekar, *Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, Pl. XIII. 11-14.
- 68 N. P. Joshi and R. C. Sharma, *Catalogue of Gandhara Sculptures in the State Museum*, (Lucknow, 1969), Fig. 71.
- 69 J. N. Banerjea, *DHI*, Pl. XVI. 2. For some beautiful early figures of Kārttikeya from South India, see I. K. Sarma, *The Development of Early Śaiva Art and Architecture* (Delhi, 1982), Figs. 68, 70 (bronze) 72 (Nagarjunakonda), 84 (Chejarla). For an early medieval beautiful figure of Kārttikeya on peacock from the Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Bhubaneswar, see K.C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, Fig. 103.
- 70 शुक्लश्चतुर्विपाणो द्विपो महेन्द्रस्य वज्रपाणित्वम् ।
तिर्यंगलाटसंस्वं तृतीयमपि लोचनं चिह्नम् ॥ —BS, LVII. 42.
- 70a *TY*, I. 17.
- 71 *BS*, XXXII. 28.
- 71a The name is also spelt as Airāvata. Cf. *BS*, LXXX. 20. For an epigraphic allusion to it, vide *CII*, III, No. 17, p. 74. line 1.
- 72 *DHI*, p. 149.
- 73 A. Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, pp. 49ff.
- 74 K.N. Dikshit, *Excavation at Paharpur, MASI*, No. 55, p. 46.
- 75 M.S. Vats, *The Gupta Temple at Deogarh, MASI*, No. 70, pp. 15 and 31, Pl. X.
- 76 Bhagwat Sahai, *IMHBD*, p. 17, Fig. 1.
- 77 For an exhaustive discussion of the numismatic and sigillographic evidence, see J.N. Banerjea, *DHI*, Chs. IV-V. See also Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Religious Study of the Symbols on the Local Coins of Central India," *Seminar Papers on the Local Coins of Northern*

- India, pp. 71-76; "Symbols on Tribal Coins : an Interpretative Study," *Seminar Papers on the Tribal Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 88-92.
- 78 For an epigraphical reference to the crescent on Śiva's forehead, see *CII*, III, No. 18, lines 22-23; No. 37, line 8.
- 79 *BY*, XVI. 6, calls Śiva *Vṛṣa-vāhana* (with bull as his mount). Also cf. *CII*, No. 33, line 1 for a reference to bull.
- 80 Cf. *YY*, IX. 6, where Śiva is called *trinetra* (three-eyed). *BY*, XVI. 3 also refers to him as *trinetra*.
- 80a Cf. his styles *sūla-bhṛt* (*BS*, XCVII. 4) and *sūla-dhṛk* (*BY*, XVI. 6).
- 81 N.P. Joshi, *PBMV*, p. 33, Fig. 20. Pl. VIII.
- 82 *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34, Pl. IX.
- 83 Both these features begin in the late Kuṣāṇa period and get crystallised in the Gupta age. See *ibid.*, pp. 29 and 34. This goes against the traditional view that Varāhamihira flourished in the first century B.C. in the court of the traditional Vikramāditya not to speak of a still earlier date.
- 84 This head obviously belonged to an image of which the lower portion is now missing. For another beautiful Ardhanārīśvara head from Mathura belonging to about the fifth century A.D., see N.P. Joshi, *Mathura Sculptures* (Mathura, 1966), Pl. LXXXII. For its two sides (right-Śiva and left-Pārvatī), see *ibid.*, Pls. LXXX and LXXXI. For some other Ardhanārīśvara figures from Mathura, see V.S. Agrawala, *BIMA*, Nos. 362, 800, 874. A few years ago a partly mutilated life-size *Ardhanārīśvara* figure of the late Gupta period was found at Sagar and is now deposited in the Sagar University Museum. *Vide* K.D. Bajpai, *Sagar Through the Ages*, Pl. VI.
- 85 लिङ्गस्य वृत्तपरिधि दैर्घ्येणसूत्र्य तत् त्रिधा विभजेत् ।
मूले तच्चतुरस्रं मध्ये त्वष्टाश्रि वृत्तमतः ॥
चतुरस्रमवनिखाते मध्यं कार्यं तु पिण्डिकाश्वभ्रात् ।
दृश्योच्छ्रायेण समा समन्ततः पिण्डिका श्वभ्रात् ॥ —*BS*, LVII. 53-54.
Cf. Bhaṭṭotpala's commentary : श्वभ्रात् पीठविवरात् समन्ततः सर्वासु दिक्षु पीठिका दृश्योच्छ्रायेण समा कार्या । दृश्यभागस्य परिवर्तुलस्य लभ्यो य उच्छ्रायस्तत्समः । एतदुक्तं भवति । यावत्प्रमाणं वृत्तभागस्य दैर्घ्यं तावत्प्रमाणं समन्ततः पीठिकापृथक् कार्यमिति । J. N. Banerjea's translation of the last line of the second verse, i.e., "the height of the visible (i.e., topmost cylindrical) section from the pedestal hole should be equal to its periphery" (*op. cit.*, pp. 588-589), is not supported either by the text or its commentary by Bhaṭṭotpala.
- 86 कृशदीर्घं देशघ्नं पार्श्वविहीनं पुरस्य नाशाय ।
यस्य क्षतं भवेन्मस्तके विनाशाय तल्लिङ्गम ॥ —*BS*, LVII. 55.
- 87 For an account of some single-faced and multiple-faced *liṅgas* from

North India, see N.P. Joshi, *PBMV*, pp. 50-57, Figs. 28-46; for some single-faced and multiple-faced *liṅgas* from South India, see I.K. Sarma, *The Development of Early Śaiva Art and Architecture*, Figs. 4-6, 20, 24, 33 (Gudimallam). 43-44 (Amaravati), 46-47 (Virinchipuram). These belong to the Kuṣāṇa-Sātavāhana-Gupta period.

88 A.K. Coomaraswamy. *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (Dover Publication, New York, 1965), Pl. XVII. 61.

89 *Ibid.*, Pl. VII. 24.

89a The possibility of foreign influence is altogether denied by some (L.P. Pandey, *Sun Worship in Ancient India*, pp. 177-186), though not quite justifiably.

90 This was probably an ingenious device to indicate the superiority of the Sun-god over Fire-god due to the rivalry between the worshippers of the two gods in Iran which led to the exodus of the Sun-worshippers.

91 A.K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Pl. XVIII. 64, where it is wrongly described as 'Kuṣāṇa King'.

92 Iranian Sun-worshipper. In India they came to be called Maga under which name they are referred to by Varāhamihira and Alberuni (E. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, I, p. 21).

93 नासाललाटजङ्घोखवक्षांसि चोन्नतानि रवेः ।

कुर्यादुदीच्यवेपं मूढं पादादुग्रे यावत् ॥

विभ्राणः स्वकररुहे बाहुभ्यां पङ्कजे मुकुटधारी ।

कुण्डलभ्रूपितवदनः प्रलम्बहारो वियद्गवतः ॥

कमलोदरचुत्तिमुखः कञ्चुकगुप्तिः स्मितप्रसन्नमुखः ।

रत्नोज्ज्वलप्रभामण्डलश्च कर्तुः शुभकरोऽर्कः ॥ — *BS*, LVII. 46-48.

With some differences these and the following four stanzas are quoted in the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*, CXXXII. 24-30.

94 The reading *uro (uras)* is sometimes proposed to be amended to *ūrū* which is taken to mean 'thigh' and the expression *gūḍham pādād=urū yāvat* to yield the sense 'covered from feet to the thigh'. See B.C. Deb, 'Śākadvīpa', *ABORI* XXXVI. pp. 358ff.; N.P. Joshi, *PBMV*. p. 160; S.R. Goyal, *A Religious History of Ancient India*, II, p. 337 and fn. 1. However, the antiquity of the reading *uro* is at least as old as the ninth century A.D. when Utpala wrote his commentary on the *BS*, for he not only had no difficulty in accepting this reading but explained the expression in question as *pādāt prabhṛtyuro vakṣo yāvat/gūḍham colaka-guptam* which would have no reference to the shoes but would mean that what is intended is the *colaka* (tunic) which extended up to the feet. There is absolutely no difficulty in accepting this interpretation which is

backed by tradition.

- 95 Cf. Bhaṭṭotpala – *sra-kararuhe sva-nakhe bāhubhyām pañkaje kamale bibhrāṇaḥ sahaja-nakhasya kara-lagnatvāt sa-patra-bhāgasya bahor = nālatrāc = ca kamale bibhrāṇaḥ*.
- 96 Sanskritised form of Persian *Aiwiyaonghen* which a follower of Zoroaster has to wear.
- 97 V.S. Agrawala, *BIMA*, Nos. 595, D. 3, D. 15 D. 33, 890, 1200, 1208, 2339, D. 16.
- 98 *MASI*, No. 16, p. 13, Pl. XIV(a).
- 99 V.S. Agrawala, *BIMA*, etc., Nos. 269, D. 46; also see his remarks.
- 100 ब्रह्मेशगुहविष्णुनां तथेन्द्रस्य च शक्तयः ।
शरीरेभ्यो विनिष्क्रम्य तद्रूपैश्चण्डिकां ययुः ॥
यस्य देवस्य यद् रूपं यथा भूषणवाहनम् ।
तद्देव हि तच्छक्तिरसुरान् योद्धुमाययो ॥
- 101 The Bihar stone inscription of the reign of Skandagupta, however, mentions Skanda as the chief of divine mothers (*Skanda-pradhār air = bhuvi mātybhiḥ = ca*, J. F. Fleet, *CII*, III, No. 12, line 9).
- 102 Mathura Museum Nos. F. 38-39, G. 57, 126, 1179 and others.
- 103 For a late but beautiful Saptamātrikā panel from Haveri in the Dharwad District of Karnataka commencing with Virabhadra and ending with Gaṇeśa, vide G. H. Khare, *op. cit.*, Fig. 76. J. N. Banerjea (*op. cit.*, Pls. XLII-XLIV) has also illustrated some beautiful separate reliefs from Puri and some other places in Orissa.
- 104 The story of his birth is narrated somewhat differently in the *Viṣṇu* and *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purānas*. See B. N. Sharma, *Iconography of Revanta*, pp. 26-28. For the depiction of this scene in art, see *ibid.*, Fig. 1.
- 105 *Kālikā-pnrāna*, LXXXV. 46-49; *Prthvirāja-vijaya*, canto 1. Cited in *ibid.*, pp. 28-29 and notes 9 and 11.
- 106 *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department*, 1916, p. 92. The *Āśva-sāstra* (p. 7, verse 1) also mentions him as Raivata.
- 107 The largest number of epigraphical references are from Karnataka and relate to practically all the ruling families.
- 108 For these references, see B. N. Sharma, *op. cit.*, 35-37.
- 109 V. V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era*, *CII*, IV, No. 84, line 26.
- 109a *Ibid*, No. 95, line 24.
- 109b D. R. Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India in Brāhmī and its Derivative Scripts from about 200 A. D.*, p. 89, No. 624.
- 109c This probably explains the exclusion of this god from T. A. Gopinatha Rao's monumental treatise entitled *Elements of Hindu*

Iconography.

- 109d. Bidya Binod, "An Illustrated Note on an Indian Deity called Revanta", *JASB*, 1909, pp. 391-392, Pl. XXX.
- 109e Bhagwant Sahai, "A Rare Sculpture of Revanta from Sultan-ganj", *JBRs*, XLVII, pp. 211-213. Earlier this figure was wrongly identified with Kalki by A. Cunningham.
- 109f Patna Museum Arch. No. 10648; B. Sahai *IMH.BD*, p. 93.
- 109g L. Ashton, *The Art of India and Pakistan*, p. 50, Pl. 31, Fig. 208.
- 109h Generally the animals represented as games are boars.
- 109i For reference, see note 109d above. For some more Revanta images, *vide* N. B. Sanyal, "A New Type of Revanta from Dinajpur District", *IHQ*, III, 469-472; N. K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, p. 177, Pl. LXX(a); *MASI*, No. 23, Pl. XLVI(a); *ASI, AR*, 1928-29, Pl. LIV(b); B. Sahai, *IMHBD*, pp. 91-97.
- 110 I owe this information to Dr. Chandrashekhar Gupta.
- 110a *MASI*, No. 16, p. 12, Pl. XIIc. This figure is presently housed in the Municipal Museum, Allahabad.
- 111 K. C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, p. 71, Pl. 35A.
- 112 T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 527, Pl. LIII.
- 113 This is also indicated by the comparative rarity of Varuṇa images in Northern India. For some other iconographic descriptions of Varuṇa, see Bhagwant Sahai, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-48. The view of B. C. Bhattacharya that the *pāśa* of Varuṇa should not be properly taken as a noose, but a net or a rope for a seaman, a fisherman or a pearlman, pointing to his marine association (*Indian Images*, I, p. 29), is not well-based.
- 114 K. C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, p. 70.
- 115 J. N. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 527, Pl. XLVI. 1. For another figure from Bhubaneswar, see Panigrahi, *op. cit.*, Fig. 66.
- 116 K. N. Dikshit, *Excavations at Poharpur*, *MASI*, 55, p. 50, Pl. XXXII(a). This view was based on the placement of this figure on the southern basement wall.
- 117 R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore, I: Indo-Greek Coins* (Reprint, Varanasi, 1971), Pl. XIX, 155.
- 118 K. M. Munshi, *Saga of Indian Sculpture* (Bombay, 1957), Pl. 68.
- 119 Corpulent belly is actually in allusion to his mal-formed body suggested by his name Kubera which means deformed (*kṛi*) body (*bera*).

- 120 Cited by B. Sahai, *op. cit.*, p. 62.
- 121 Harivaṁśaparvan, XLIV. 16-19.
- 122 *Matsya-purāṇa*, CCLX. 20-21.
- 123 T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, II, p. 265.
- 124 *Ibid.*, p. 264.
- 125 B. C. Bhattacharya, *Jaina Iconography*.
- 126 *Suttanipāta* with *Paramatthajotikā* commentary, II, p. 370.
- 127 H. Lüders (Ed.), E. Waldschmidt and M. A. Mehendale (revisors), *Bharhut Inscriptions, CII*, Vol. II, Part II, Pl. XXIX B1 A 58.
- 128 I owe this information to Professor K. D. Bajpai.
- 129 V. S. Agrawala, *BIMA*, No. C. 2, pp. 93-95.
- 130 *Ibid.*, pp. 41, 83 (Nos. 2520 and 613); for illustrations, see *JISOA*, V, Pl. XIV. 2; *ASI, AR*, 1916-17, Pt. I. Pl. VII.d.
- 131 Bhagwant Sahai, *op. cit.*, p. 70, Fig. 1.
- 132 Their images are described (*BS*, LVII. 44-45) between those of Śiva (*ibid.*, LVII. 43) and Sūrya (*ibid.*, LVII. 46-48).
- 133 Bhaṭṭotpala notes the variant *sumita* which, according to J. N. Banerjea (*op. cit.*, p. 587), refers to the short curls on Buddha's head turning from left to right, *dakṣiṇāvarta-mūrdhaja*, an important characteristic of the Buddha. Even *sumica*, as pointed out by the commentator, refers to short hair. He must have seen Buddha images with short curly hair.
- 134 For this figure. see A.K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Pl. XLII. For a line-drawing, see V.S. Agrawala, *Studies in Indian Art* (Varanasi, 1965), p. 204, Fig. 120.
- 135 N.P. Joshi, *BMS*, p. 338 and note.
- 135a *Pramath-ādhipo gaja-mukhaḥ pralamba-jaṭharaḥ kuṭhāra-dhārī syāt/ Eka viṣṇo bibhrau mūlaka-kaudam̐ sumīla-dala-kandan̐/*
- 136 *Bibliotheca Indica*, ed., Ch. LVIII, V. 58.
- 137 Bhaṭṭotpala was to Varāhamihira what Mullinātha was to Kālidāsa. V. Subrahmanya Sastri has indiscriminately included this stanza in his edition of the *BS* (Ch. 58). M.K. Dhavalikar bases his theory that Gaṇeśa iconography had been developed by the fifth century A.D. ("Gaṇeśa in Central Asia", *Giridharaśrī, Essays on Indology*, p. 38), *inter alia*, on this verse and to this extent it is untenable.
- 138 V.R. Pandit, "Tikaṇika-yātrā of Varāhamihira", *Journal of the University of Bombay*, XX, p. 47, fn.
- 139 See V.S. Agrawala, *BIMA*, p. 37. A.K. Narain finds the representation of the elephant-headed god on a copper coin of the last Indo-Greek king Hermaeus, but it has been questioned by J. Cribb, the keeper of the numismatic section of the British Museum

where the coin in question is deposited. See the *Numismatic Digest*.

- 140 *Matsyau ghaṭi nṛ-mithunan sa-gadain sa-viṇam*
Cāpi naro = śva-jaghano makaro mṛg-āsyah|
Tauli sa-sasya-dahanā plavagā ca kanyā
Śeṣāḥ śva-nāma-sadṛśāḥ śva-carāś = ca sarve|| —BJ, I. 5.
- 141 See Utpala's commentary on *ibid*.
- 142 *BMS*, p. 287.
- 143 *ISBV*, pp. 166ff.; *YY*, Ch. VI.
- 144 Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 533, gives a number of meanings.
- 145 *BY*, XVIII.
- 146 *YY*, VI.1-18. For quotation, see *supra*, Ch. VI.
- 147 *YY*, VI.17.

Chapter 9

Varāhamihira's Reference to the Ājvikas

[In one of the stanzas of his *Bṛhaj-jātaka* Varāhamihira mentions the Ājvikas along with, *inter alia*, the Śākya or Buddhist monks and Nirgranthas or Digambara Jaina ascetics in an astrological context. However, there has been some controversy regarding the connotation of Ājivika among ancient commentators as well as modern scholars. Utpala, following the *Kālaka-saṁhitā*, equated Ājivika with the Ekadaṇḍins devoted to Nārāyaṇa which led some modern scholars to propound the existence of Brāhmaṇical Ājvikas. Some other modern writers have taken Ājivika to denote the Digambara Jainas. But Varāhamihira and Bhaṭṭotpala were separated from one another by a long gap of about three centuries during which the Ājvikas had lost their identity. Varāhamihira, it has been pointed out, had in his mind the well-known Ājivika sect which is known to have played an important role in the religious history of India from about the sixth to about the third century B.C. and may have continued to exist till about the sixth century A.D.]

Though the canonical works of the Ājvikas, whose leader Makkhali Gosāla was a contemporary of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra and Gautama Buddha, are altogether lost to us, there can be no two opinions that they were a force to be counted from the sixth to the third century B. C. Our knowledge regarding their history in subsequent times becomes more and more meagre and therefore the value of any reference to them can be hardly overestimated. It is from this point of view that we propose to discuss the opening verse of chapter 15 of the *Bṛhaj-jātaka*¹ of Varāhamihira who is known to have flourished in the beginning of the sixth century A. D.

A critical analysis of this reference is rendered difficult by the fact that a regular controversy has raged round it and Utpala's interpretation of the stanza under consideration.² This verse lays down that a man born under the influence of four or more powerful planets occupying a single sign of the zodiac becomes an ascetic, the ascetic order to which he will belong being determined by the most powerful planet of the group. Thus we are told that a person born when four or more strong planets occupy a single zodiacal division turns an ascetic of the order of *Śākya*, *Ājivika*, *Bhikṣu*, *Vṛddha*, *Caraka*, *Nirgrantha* or

Vanyāśana according as the strongest planet of the group is Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, the Moon, Venus, Saturn or the Sun. If, however, such a planet be one that has suffered defeat in conjunction at the time of birth, the ascetic will, after a time, revert to his previous condition of life.³ According to Utpala, *Śākya* is an ascetic bearing red robes; *Ājīvika*, an ascetic of one-staff (*Ekadaṇḍin*); *Bhikṣu*, a *Samyāsin*, i.e., a Brāhmaṇical ascetic of the fourth order; *Vṛddha-śrāvaka* (the word *śrāvaka* being omitted for fear of violating the metre), a skull-bearing Śaiva ascetic; *Caraka*, an ascetic carrying a wheel; *Nirgrantha*, a nude Jaina monk without robes, etc.; and *Vanyāśana* an ascetic subsisting on what is grown in the forest, i.e., eater of fruits and roots, or a Brāhmaṇical recluse belonging to the third order.⁴ Utpala informs us that these definitions of his are based on the opinion of Kālakācārya supposed to be the same as the Jaina pontiff of that name who is variously assigned to a date ranging from the middle of the second century B. C. to the middle of the fifth century A. D.⁵ and then proceeds to quote 1½ stanzas in Prākṛta from Kālaka according to which according as the Sun, the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus or Saturn is the most powerful planet of the group, one becomes a *Tāpasika Kāpālika*, *Raktapaṭa*, *Ekadaṇḍin*, *Yati*, *Caraka* or *Kṣapaṇaka*.⁶ He again defines the terms *Vṛddha-Śrāvaka* and *Ājīvika* thus, "Here the use of the word *Vṛddha-śrāvaka* is indicative of those seeking refuge with Mahēśvara, and that of *Ājīvika*, of those seeking refuge with Nārāyaṇa." This is also based on a verse from the *Kālaka-saṃhitā* which states that the Moon and Mercury are the 'presiding influences' of initiation into the orders of Hara and Keśava respectively. Utpala rightly takes the latter to denote a Bhāgavata.⁷ It will appear from what has been said above that Utpala very closely follows Kālakācārya's statements and that he is at great pains to explain the word *Ājīvika*.

H. Kern, who was the first to comment on this passage, thought that the words '*Bābhanesu Ājīvikesu*' occurring in lines 4-5 of Aśoka's Pillar Edict VII should be taken to stand for the '*Brāhmaṇical Ājīvikas*' and not '*Brāhmaṇas and Ājīvikas*' and combining his interpretation with the above statement of Utpala opined that the *Ājīvika* formed a Vaiṣṇava ascetic order.⁸ This view was supported by G. Bühler who justified Kern's reliance on Utpala's statements 'because the latter are supported by so ancient a writer as Kālakācārya'.⁹ As these views were expressed by eminent scholars at a time when our knowledge about the *Ājīvikas* was extremely meagre and as they are no more held by any scholar of renown, they need not be discussed here.

Hoernle, writing on the *Ājīvikas* in the *Encyclopædia of Religion*

and Ethics, refers to Utpala's interpretation of the word 'Ekadaṇḍin' and points out the discrepancy between it and the view of Śīlānka, the celebrated commentator of the *Sūtra-kṛtāṅga*, who regards 'Ekadaṇḍins' as devotees of Śiva, and suggests that 'what these two commentators had in their mind was the class of ascetics who are still known as *Daṇḍins* or 'men of staff'. These ascetics are usually classed as belonging to the Śaivite division of the Hindus; but they are rather eclectic in that they invoke not only Śiva but also Viṣṇu as Nārāyaṇa. He regards *Ājīvika* as another name of the *Digambara Jaina* monks and arrives at the startling conclusion that *Ekadaṇḍin* is a general term for a class of ascetics which includes two sub-divisions, the orthodox Śaivite *Daṇḍins* and the heterodox *Jaina Ājīvikas* or *Digambaras*. The Jaina writer Kālakācārya, of course, meant to indicate the latter by the word *Ekadaṇḍin*; and Varāhamihira, therefore, to preclude misunderstanding substituted the more definite term *Ājīvika*. The orthodox commentator, Bhaṭṭotpala, misunderstanding the position, confused the heterodox *Ājīvika* with the orthodox *Daṇḍin*.¹⁰ Hoernle's views are untenable for several reasons. Firstly, the assumption that Varāhamihira replaced Kālaka's *Ekadaṇḍin* by the more definite term *Ājīvika* in order to preclude misunderstanding is baseless, for there is nothing to show that Varāhamihira had before him the above verse of Kālaka.¹¹ Secondly, the assertion that Kālakācārya used the word *Ekadaṇḍin* to denote the so-called 'Jaina *Ājīvikas* or *Digambaras*' also lacks support. On the contrary the two statements of Kālaka mentioned above show that Kālaka intended *Ekadaṇḍin* to denote a *Vaiṣṇava* ascetic: according to the first stanza a man born under the influence of Mercury becomes an *Ekadaṇḍin* while according to the second verse he turns a devotee of Keśava. Hence there can be no question of 'misunderstanding the position' on the part of Utpala; and his criticism by Hoernle is thus undeserved. If, however, it is erroneous to take the *Ekadaṇḍin* as an orthodox *Daṇḍin* or *Vaiṣṇava*; the mistake lies with Kālaka whom Utpala blindly follows and confounds Varāhamihira's *Ājīvika* with a *Vaiṣṇava*. Moreover, had Varāhamihira employed the word *Ājīvika* in the sense of a *Digambara Jaina* ascetic, the word *Nirgrantha*, which denotes the latter, would be redundant and we shall get only six instead of the seven ascetic orders intended.

D.R. Bhandarkar draws our attention to the *Jānaki-haraṇa* of Kumāradāsa where Rāvaṇa intending to abduct Sītā approaches her under the disguise of a pseudo-*Ājīvika* (*mithyājīvika*), a *Maskarin* with the matted locks of the hair piled on his head (*Dambhājīvikam uttuṅga-jaṭā-maṇḍitamastakam, Kañcin Maskariṇam Sītā dadarsā'sramam āga-*

tam; X. 76). In the *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya* (V. 61-63) Rāvaṇa is said to have approached Sītā simply as a *Maskariu* who is also represented as *Sikhin*. Mallinātha contends that he was a *Tridaṇḍin* (bearer of a trident) and not an *Ekadaṇḍin*, for the latter has no matted hair. Taking *Ājivika* and *Maskariu* as synonymous and relying on Mallinātha's statement, Dr. Bhandarkar thinks that both the poets had an *Ājivika* ascetic in view and suggests that *Ājivika* was really a *Tridaṇḍin* and not an *Ekadaṇḍin* as Utpala supposes (*IA*, XLI, p. 290).¹² As against this it must be pointed out that right from the time of Pāṇini (VI. I. 154, *Maskara-naskariṇau veṇu-parivrājakayoḥ*) the word *Maskariu* has been used in a much wider sense, denoting a staff-bearing ascetic irrespective of the order to which one might belong. Thus the view of Bhandarkar, which is based on the assumption of the words *Ājivika* and *Maskariu* being synonymous, loses all force. And even if we suppose that the two words are synonymous, it is unjustified to accept Mallinātha's statement in preference to Bhaṭṭotpala's unless it is backed by some independent evidence.

The latest scholar to write on this question is Dr. A.L. Basham to whom all those interested in Indological studies are indebted for a comprehensive treatment of the '*History and Doctrine of the Ājivikas*'.¹³ He rightly points out that Utpala arrived at the identification of the *Ājivikas* with the *Vaiṣṇavas* probably 'after the rule of thumb equation of Varāhamihira's *Ājivika* with Kālaka's *Ekadaṇḍin*' (*Ibid.*, p. 174). It is, however, difficult to agree with some of his suggestions. As we have seen above, Kālaka definitely employs the term *Ekadaṇḍin* for a class of *Vaiṣṇava* ascetics. In view of this Dr. Basham's belief that Kālaka intended by *Ekadaṇḍin* the whole class of ascetics bearing single staff¹⁴ has nothing to stand upon. Similarly his suggestion that 'Varāhamihira probably used the term *ājivika* in preference to *ekadaṇḍin* for the simple reason that the latter term would not fit well into the metrical scheme of the *Śārdūla-vikrīḍita* stanza with the handling of which he seems to have experienced some difficulty'¹⁵ lacks plausibility. Varāhamihira, it must be remembered, was one of those Sanskrit writers who have exhibited great proficiency in using an unusually large number of meters. He has employed at least sixty-three meters with equal authority. Chapter 103 of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, which is composed in about sixty different meters whose names are skilfully inserted in the relevant verses, is especially noteworthy in this connection. Even as regards *Śārdūla-vikrīḍita*, 42 stanzas of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* and 74 verses of the *Bṛhaj-jātaka* are composed in it.¹⁶ Similar is the case with his supposition that Utpala may have possibly heard something of the Dravidian *Ājivikas* some of whom had by his time

become theistic in their outlook,¹⁷ which suffers from the want of any reliable evidence.

It is thus clear that the suggestion that Ājivikas were *Digaṃbara Jainas* or *Vaiṣṇava* ascetics is entirely untenable. Similarly, there is no need to assume that Varāhamihira had to use the word Ājivika under the compulsion of metrical devices. Varāhamihira, we may conclude, intended by the term Ājivika member of the ascetic order of that name only which, though not quite popular, was probably not unknown in his time. The difficulty experienced by Utpala in explaining the term probably indicates that the sect had become extinct in northern India in his time (middle of the ninth century A.D.).

Footnotes

- 1 Cf. *Laghu-jātaka*, IX. 12 which contains an identical statement.
- 2 For discussion on this verse see H. Kern, *Der Buddhismus und seine Geschichte in Indien*, I, pp. 17ff.; G. Bühler, *IA*, XX, pp. 361-363 and *EI*, II, pp. 272, 274; A.F.R. Hoernle, "Ājivikas" in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, I, pp. 259ff.; D. R. Bhandarkar, *IA* XLI, pp. 286-288; B. M. Barua, *Journal of the Department of Letters*, II, pp. 71-73; A. L. Basham, *History and Doctrine of the Ājivikas*, pp. 168-174.
- 3 एकस्यैश्चतुरादिभिर्वलयुतैर्जिताः पृथग्वीर्यगैः
याक्याजीवीकभिक्षुवृद्धचरका निग्रन्थवन्द्याशनाः ।
माहेयज्ञगुरुक्षपाकरसितप्राभाकरिणैः क्रमात्
प्रज्ज्या वलिभिः समाः परजितैस्त्वस्वामिभिः प्रच्युतिः ॥—*Bṛhaj-jātaka*. XV. 1.
- 4 *Caturādīnām ekasthānām madhyād yadā balavān māheyo bhavati tadā Śākya bhavati, Śākya rakta-pataḥ: atha caturādīnām madhyād, yadā jño Budho balavān bhavati tadā Ājiviko bhavati, Ājivika-saīkadauḍḍi; evaṃ Jivo balavān yadā bhavati tadā Bhikṣur bhavati, Sainyāsī jñeyah; yadā Candro balavān bhavati tadā Vṛddha-śrāvako bhavati, vṛtta-bhaṅga-bhayāt śrāvakaśabdo lupto draṣṭavyah, Vṛddha-śrāvakaḥ Kapāli; Śukre balavati Carako bhavati, Carako cakradharaḥ; Saure balavati Nirgranthaḥ, Nirgrantho uagnaḥ kṣapaṇako vastra-prāvaraṇādi-rahitaḥ; Āditye balavati vanyāśano bhavati, vane bhavaṃ vanyeṃ tad aśnāti'ti vanyāśanaḥ, tapasvī mūla-phalāśanaḥ; evaṃ kramāt pravrajyā-paryāyah.*
- 5 The reading of printed editions and Mss. is Vaṅkālaka. The Ms. of Utpala's commentary in the Bombay Branch of the Asiatic Society consulted by MM. P. V. Kane gives in some places Baṅkālākācārya and in others Bāṅgālākācārya (*JBBRAS*, 1948-49, p. 28). I think the reading Vāṅkālaka or Bāṅgālaka is due to the error of scribes who were not always great Sanskrit paṇḍitas.

Thus the edition of the *Bṛhaj-jātaka* with Utpala's gloss published by Vishnu Vasudeva Godbole at the Silāyantra Press, Bombay (Śaka 1786) gives on folio 8I(a), 1.4—एते एवं कालकमताह्, व्याख्याताः तथा च वंकालकाचार्यः तावसिओ.. तथाच वकलके संहितांतरे. Thus at least once in line 4 the reading is Kālaka. तथा च वंकालकाचार्यः and तथा च वंकलके संहितांतरे should be corrected as तथा चैवङ्कालकाचार्यः and तथाचैवङ्कालके संहितान्तरे. Similarly the Ms. of the *Bṛhaj-jātaka* with Utpala's com. in the Nagpur University Library (Accession No. 2024. copied Śaka 1777) gives on folio 124 (a), 1.8 एते एं कलिमताद् व्याख्याताः...तथा च वंकलाचार्यः and in 1. 10 तथा च वंकलके संहितांतरे पद्यते. In 1. 8 Kali can be only an error for Kālaka. The last two sentences should be corrected in the above manner. Scholars from Keru to Basham have taken the name to be Kālaka. It is not impossible that the Mss. consulted by them might give Kālaka instead of Vaṅkālaka. The suggestion of Dr. U.P. Shah ('सुवर्णभूमिं कालकाचार्य' published by the Jain Cultural Research Society, Varanasi, p. 5) that the name Vaṅkālaka probably refers to Kālaka's mission to Suvarṇabhūmi including to Bay of Baṅkā as described in some Jaina works and supported by some external evidences is ingenious but not quite convincing.

Scholars are also divided in their opinion regarding the date of Kālaka. The Jaina tradition knows more than one Kālaka. But Dr. Shah in his interesting work mentioned above tries to show that the Kālaka who went to Suvarṇabhūmi, the Kālaka who wrote the *Mūlaprathamānyoga* including his writings on *Nimitta-śāstra* and the Kālaka who extirpated Gardabhilla are one and the same, that he was a contemporary of a Sātavāhana king, and that he flourished in 192-151 B.C. or 132-91 B.C. For his latest position on this question, see U. P. Shah, "The Jaina Monk Kālaka-cārya, a Historical Figure," *Brahma-vidyā*, Vol. 38 (1974), pp. 84-101; "Jaina Anuśrutis about Kālaka and Some Recent Discoveries in Jaina Art", *Journal of Indian Museum*, Vol. 34 (1978), pp. 3-33. It must be remembered, however, that the Kālaka question is inseparably linked with the Vikrama era problem which is still an unsolved riddle. There are others who believe that the Kālaka cited by the Utpala is the last Jaina teacher of that name who changed the date of the Pajjusana festival in the year 993 after Vira, or A.D. 466 (Bühler in *IA*, XX, p. 363). Moreover, now nobody believes in such an early date for Sātavāhanas who, according to general consensus amongst scholars, rose to power about the middle of the first century B.C. For a detailed discussion, see my *Early History of the Deccan: Problems and Perspectives*, pp. 3ff.

A. N. Upadhye "Vaṅkālākācārya : a Forgotten Author on Astrology," (*P.K. Gode Commemoration Volume*, pp. 203-204) however, thinks that the Vaṅkālākācārya of Utpala is the same as the Vaṅgālarisi, possibly the author of an unknown astrological treatise called *Vaṅgāla-jāyaga* mentioned in Udyotanasūri's Prakrit Campū *Kiivalayamālā* (completed Śaka 700 or March 21, 779 A.D.). If this identity is accepted, Vaṅkālaka must have flourished some time before 779 A.D. But unless the work of his author is discovered and the verses cited by Utpala are traced in it, the identity cannot be regarded as established. Moreover, it must be noticed that while Utpala calls the work as *Samhitā*, Udyotanasūri names it as 'Jāyaga'. Whether Vaṅgālarisi was simply an astrologer or also an author of an astrological treatise is not quite certain. Dr. Upadhye himself does not seem to be sure that Vaṅgāla-Jāyaga was the name of a treatise.

6 *Ete ca Kālaka-matād vyākhyātāḥ. Tathā ca Kālākācāryaḥ:—*

Tāvasio diṇanāhe caṁde Kāvāliam tahā bhaṇiam|

Ratta-vaḍo bhūmi-suve soma-suve Ea-daṇḍia|

Deva-guru-Śukka-koṇā kaveṇa jai-Caraka-khavaṇai|

Asyārthaḥ-Tāvasio Tāpāsikaḥ; diṇanāhe dinanāthe; caṁde candre; Kāvāliam Kāpālikaḥ; tahā bhaṇiam tathā bhaṇitaḥ; ratta-vaḍo raktapaṭaḥ; bhūmisuve bhūmisute; somasuve somasute; ead-aṇḍi-a ekadaṇḍi ca; devagurur Bṛhaspatiḥ; Śukkaḥ Śukraḥ; koṇaḥ Śauṇḍi; kaveṇa krameṇa; jai yatiḥ; Caraka Carakaḥ; khavaṇai kṣapaṇakaḥ.

7 *Atra vṛddhaśrāvaka-grahaṇena Maheśvarāśritānām pravrajyānām upalakṣaṇam; Ājivika-grahaṇam ca Nārāyaṇāśritānām; tathā ca Kālaka-samhitāyām paṭhyate—*

Jalaṇa-Hara-Sugaa-Keśava-Sui-Brahma-ṇagga-ṇaggesu dikkāṇam|

Ṇāvavā Surāi-gahā-kameṇa nāha gaum|

Āsyārthaḥ:—jalaṇaḥ jvalanaḥ; sāgnika ity'arthaḥ; Hara Īśvara-bhaktaḥ, Bhaṭṭārakaḥ; Sugaa Sugataḥ, Bauddha ity'arthaḥ; Keśava, Keśava-bhaktaḥ, Bhāgavata ity'arthaḥ; Sui Śruti-mārgarataḥ, Mīmāṃsakaḥ; Brahma Brahma-Bhaktaḥ, Vānaprasthaḥ; ṇaggaḥ ṇagnaḥ, kṣapaṇakaḥ; ṇaggesu mārgesu; dikkāṇam dikṣāṇam; ṇāvavā jñātavyāḥ; Surāi-gahā Sūryādi-grahāḥ, kamena krameṇa; nāha-gaum nātha-gataḥ.

8 Kern, *Der Buddhismus und seine Geschichte in Indien*, I, p. 17.

9 *EI*, II, pp. 272, 274; *IA*, XX, pp. 361-363.

10 *ERE*, I, pp. 266, 277. It has been rightly pointed out by A. L. Basham (*History and Doctrine of the Ājivikas*, p. 170, fn. 5) that actually there is no discrepancy between the statements of Bhaṭṭot-

pala and Śīlāṅka for the latter in his gloss on the *Sūtra-kṛtāṅga* II. 6 refers to the *Ekadaṇḍins* as performing *Vrateśvara Yoga*, but a few lines later he describes them as having undertaken the restraints and injunctions of Pāñcarātra, a Vaiṣṇava sect.

- 11 Utpala clearly states that he (Utpala, not Varāhamihira) explained these terms following the opinion of Kālaka or Vaṅkālaka.
- 12 For Bhandarkar's hair-splitting arguments on the word 'upalakṣaṇam' used by Utpala, *vide JA*, XLI, pp. 286-288. He is supported by B.M. Barua, *JDL*, II, pp. 71-73.
- 13 Luzac & Co., London, 1951.
- 14 Basham, *op. cit.*, p. 171.
- 15 *Ibid.*
- 16 *JBBRAS*, 1948-49, p. 64.
- 17 Basham, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

Chapter 10

Varāhamihira's Place in the History of Vāstuvidyā

[It is believed by some scholars that the Vāstuvidyā sections of the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* of Varāhamihira are later than and indebted to the *Mānasāra*, the *Matsya-Purāṇa* chapters dealing with the topics coming within the purview of Vāstuvidyā and the *Viśvakarma-prakāśa*. After a searching examination of the relevant portions of these works it has been shown below that these views are totally baseless and full of erroneous statements and that, so far as we know at present, Varāhamihira was the earliest datable authority on Vāstuvidyā. It is not denied that there were older authors and works on Vāstuvidyā. In fact, Varāhamihira himself acknowledges his indebtedness to them. Unfortunately, however, these works are no longer extant and consequently Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* stands out as the oldest available datable work dealing, *inter alia*, with Vāstuvidyā.]

Varāhamihira (505 A.D.) gives a brief but very erudite account of residential and temple architecture,¹ sculpture,² plasters,³ and furniture⁴ in his *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*. Varāhamihira was, however, not the first to write on these topics; he himself acknowledges the debt he owed to earlier authorities. The opening verse of the chapter on residential architecture (Ch. 52) tells us that the rich store of architectural knowledge had come down from Brahmā through a succession of sages.⁵ In the chapter on Prāsāda-lakṣaṇa (LV 29) there is a reference to the difference of opinion between Maya and Viśvakarman regarding the height of *bhūmikā* (storey) and in the following verse an attempt is made to reconcile differences. The chapter itself ends with the candid confession on the part of Varāhamihira that he had therein summarised the contents of Garga's work and had also consulted elaborate treatises of Manu and others.⁶ In Ch. LVI, a chemical preparation named Vajrasaṅghāta used in plastering temples, mansions, phallic emblem, sculptures, wells and walls is said to have been prescribed by Maya.⁷ Nagnajit (LVII. 4, 15) and Vasiṣṭha (LVII. 8) are referred to in connection with iconometry the former belonging to the *Drāviḍa* school.⁸ Viśvakarman's view on the dimensions of sleeping couches is also quoted (LXXVIII. 10). However, the works of all these authors except the fragments of the *Gārgī-saṁhitā* are lost. The aforesaid chapters of the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, therefore, form the oldest datable text

on architecture, sculpture and furniture, all included in the *Vāstuvidyā* as defined in later times. In order that this thesis is finally established, we have to scrutinise the views of some scholars that the *Mānasāra*, the *Viśvakarma-prakāśa* and the *Matsya-purāṇa* chapters on these topics are older than our work and that the latter has copiously drawn upon them.

I. *Brhat-samhita* versus *Manasara*

After considering certain evidences, Dr. Prasanna Kumar Acharya comes to the conclusion that "there appears to have been a relation of indebtedness between the *Mānasāra* and the other works, both architectural and non-architectural,"⁹ and that "the *Brhat-samhitā* and the later Āgamic and Paurāṇic works, in respect of architectural and sculptural matters, as well as most of the avowedly architectural manuscripts are debtors to the *Mānasāra*."¹⁰ In his notes to the English translation of the *Mānasāra*, he repeatedly describes the *Brhat-samhitā* as based on that work.¹¹ As regards the age of the *Mānasāra*, Dr. Acharya places it close to the *Matsya-purāṇa* and before the *Brhat-samhitā* and observes, "In view of these facts we venture to expect that the reader may be inclined to consider more seriously the other evidences which are undoubtedly more authenticated and substantial, including those regarding the connection of the *Mānasāra* with *Matsya-purāṇa* (450 A.D.) on the one hand and the *Brhat-samhitā* on the other. On this assumption we shall perhaps be justified in placing the *Mānasāra* before the *Brhat-samhitā* and somewhere close to the *Matsya-purāṇa*. In any event, we venture to hold that the evidences submitted above would warrant the extension of the period of the *Mānasāra* from 500 to 700 A.D."¹²

We now propose to subject the opinion of Dr. Acharya to a critical examination. For this purpose we must institute a comparison between the *Brhat-samhitā* and the *Mānasāra* regarding those points which may have any bearing on their relative chronological position. First, it would be our attempt to show that no relationship whatsoever can be established between the two works.

(1) Dr. Acharya tries to find out a connecting link between the *Mānasāra* and the *Brhat-samhitā* by stressing the fact that of the thirty-two schemes of ground plan contained in the *Mānasāra*¹³ only two—the eighth and ninth consisting of sixty-four and eighty-one squares respectively—are described in detail in the *Brhat-samhitā*. These are the only two site-plans mentioned by Varāhamihira.¹⁴ Both mention buildings of different shapes. One would have normally expected them to give corresponding site-plans also. But they describe only square ground-plans. This makes Dr. Acharya jump to the conclusion that

“in matter of such a striking omission also Varāhamihira seems to have faithfully followed the *Mānasāra*”.¹⁵ As against this, it may be argued that Varāhamihira could not in the short space at his disposal elaborate all the thirty-two plans. Moreover, probably only two plans were well evolved by the time of Varāhamihira, and the very large number of plans, viz., thirty-two, must indicate, if anything, a very late date for the composition of the *Mānasāra*.

(2) According to Dr. Acharya, Meru and Vṛtta of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* are improved versions of Merukānta and Vivṛta respectively mentioned in the *Mānasāra*.¹⁶ But Meru and Vṛtta in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* are temples with twelve and one storey respectively,¹⁷ whereas Merukānta and Vivṛta are three and nine-storeyed temples respectively.¹⁸ Kailāsa in *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* LV. 21 is the name of an eight-storeyed temple, but in the *Mānasāra* (XXI. 50-52) it is a three-storeyed building. Thus, while some of the building-types described in the two works under consideration have identical or similar names, they differ in architectural details. So the proposed similarity between the building-types is only illusory.

(3) Dr. Acharya's statement that two names of the mouldings of columns, viz. *ghaṭa* and *hāra*, are common to the *Mānasāra* and the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*,¹⁹ is misleading; for the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* nowhere mentions *hāra* as a moulding of the column. The other name, *ghaṭa*, is of course, mentioned. The use of such identical names might be due to their currency throughout the length and breadth of the country. But Dr. Acharya is unable to explain the difference as regards the names of the five types of columns.²⁰ The similarity regarding the contents of the two works, to which Dr. P.K. Acharya draws pointed attention,²¹ must be due to the universal architectural traditions on which they are based.

Thus, the differences between the two works far outweigh the similarities. Lastly, it is a recognised practice with Varāhamihira to acknowledge his indebtedness to the earlier authorities on whose works he drew. The non-mention of the *Mānasāra* by him, therefore, fully demonstrates how untenable Dr. Acharya's contention of postulating a relationship of indebtedness between the two works is. Moreover, if we accept Dr. Tarapada Bhattaacharyya's view that the *Mānasāra* is concerned with the south Indian school of architecture,²² there can be no question of any relation between it and the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, which, like the *Matsya* and other *Purāṇas*, deals with the north Indian architecture.

Dr. Acharya's view regarding the priority of the *Mānasāra* to the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* is equally untenable. The latter was composed about

550 A.D.²³ It is, therefore, a strange contradiction to extend 'the period of the *Mānasāra* from 500 to 700 A.D.' and yet to place it before the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*. A much later date for the *Mānasāra* is also suggested by the following comparison between it on the one hand and the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* and the *Matsya-purāṇa* on the other.

(1) *Authorities*—As we have seen above, Varāhamihira names seven authorities including Brahmā on architecture and sculpture.²⁴ The *Matsya-Purāṇa* refers to eighteen authorities. viz., Bhṛṅgu, Atri, Vasiṣṭha, Viśvakarman, Maya, Nārada, Nagnajit, Viśālākṣa, Purandara, Brahmā, Nandīśa, Kumāra, Garga, Vāsudeva, Aniruddha, Śukra, Bṛhaspati and also mentions Manu.²⁵ This gradually increasing number reaches thirty-two in the *Mānasāra* which names Viśvakarman Viśveśa, Viśvasāra, Prabodhaka, Vṛtta, Maya, Tvaṣṭṛ, Manu, Mānavid, Mānakalpa, Mānasāra, Mānabodha, Mahātāntra, Vāstuvidyāpati, Parāśarīyaka, Prasatra, Viśvabodha, Naya, Ādisara, Viśāla, Viśva-kāśyapa, Vāstu-bodha, Kālayūpa, Caitya, Citraka, Āvarya, Sādhakasāra-saṁhitā, Bhānu, Indra, Lokajña and Saura.²⁶ There seems to prevail some confusion in the *Mānasāra* list which mixes up names of the authors and those of the treatises. The four names beginning with Māna also point in the same direction. It seems that the *Mānasāra* was composed at a time when real names of authorities on Vāstuvidyā were forgotten and it was no more possible to make a distinction between the names of authors and those of their works.

(2) *Classification of Building-types*—The advanced classification of building-types also points to the same conclusion. The *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, *Matsya-purāṇa*, *Viśvakarma-prakāśa* and *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* contain only one classification of temples into twenty types. As against this, the *Mānasāra* furnishes us with the various systems of classification, to wit, under styles (Nāgara, Vesara, Drāviḍa); under *sūddha*, *miśra* and *saṅkīrṇa*; in accordance with the use of one, two and three materials (stone, brick and wood) in construction;²⁷ according to the various lengths of the cubit used in measuring buildings as *jāti*, *chanda*, *vikalpa* and *ābhāsa*;²⁸ under *sthānaka*, *āsana* and *śayana* also called *sañcita*, *asañcita* and *apasañcita*; according as the standard of measure is taken to be the height, breadth and length of the building or denoting the temples with the cult-object in standing, sitting and recumbent postures;²⁹ under male and female; according as the structure is equiangular or circular and rectangular respectively.³⁰ But the broadest division of buildings in the *Mānasāra* is under ninety-eight types in accordance with the storeys varying from one to twelve.³¹ The *Mānasāra* also refers to sixteen- or even seventeen-storied *gopurams* or gate-houses.³²

(3) *Measurements*—Apart from the *tāla* measure, the *Mānasāra* mentions two exclusively sculptural measures according to which the height of an idol is compared to the height of the worshipper (*yajamāna*) and the height of the riding animal is compared to that of the main cult-object, both admitting of nine varieties.³³ Both of these measures are conspicuous by their absence in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*. Similar is the case with exclusively architectural measurements. *Ghanamāna* or measurement by the exterior and *aghanamāna* or measurement by the interior, which are described in the *Mānasāra*, are not to be found in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*. Another architectural measure of height in the *Mānasāra* consists of five proportions viz., *śāntida*, *pauṣṭika*, *jayada*, *sarvakānika* or *dhanada* and *adbhuta* denoting respectively the height equal to width and $1\frac{1}{4}$, $1\frac{1}{2}$, $1\frac{3}{4}$ and twice the width. Of these, only the first and the last are known to Varāhamihira.³⁴

(4) *Columns*—The only classification of columns known to the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* and the *Matsya-purāṇa* is that into five types, viz., *rucaka*, *vajra*, *dvi-vajraka*, *prulinaka* and *ṛtta* evidently based on the appearance of the shaft. The *Mānasāra*, on the other hand, contains 'two sets of names of five orders', one referring to the shape of the shaft such as *Brahmakānta* (square), *Viṣṇukānta* (octagonal), *Rudrakānta* (16-sided or circular), *Sivakānta* (pentagonal) and *Skandakānta* (hexagonal),³⁵ and the other to dimensions and ornamentation of the capital such as *citrakānta*, *padmakānta*, *citraskambha*, *pālikāstambha* and *kumbhastambha*.³⁶ Dr. Acharya's attempt to account for the variation in the names of the five orders in different treatise on the ground that 'Indians are comparatively religious and poetical rather than historical in temperament and imagination'³⁷ is futile. Although the origin of these names, like that of the Graeco-Roman orders, does not lie in historical geography, they do indicate the region of the compilation of the treatises in which they occur. The identical names of the five orders in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* and the *Matsya-purāṇa* cannot be accounted for on any other hypothesis.

(5) *Mouldings of the Column*—According to Dr. Acharya, the *Mānasāra* refers the five mouldings of the shaft, viz., *bodhikā*, *muṣṭi-bandha*, *phalakā tāṭikā* and *ghaṭā*.³⁸ But his statement that 'these increasing numbers of mouldings have reached the significant number of eight in the *Matsya-purāṇa*, the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* and the *Kiraṇa-tantra* and bears the very same eight names', to wit, *vāhana*, *ghaṭa*, *padma*, *uttaroṣṭha*, *bāhulya*, *bhāra* (or *hāra*), *tulā* and *upatulā*,³⁹ is quite misleading. A comparative study of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* and the *Kiraṇa-khya-tantra* as quoted by Utpala shows beyond doubt that only four mouldings of the column, except the shaft, are known to them. They

are : (1) *vahana* or *udvahana*, (2) *ghaṭa* (below the shaft), (3) *padma* and (4) *uttaroṣṭha* (above the shaft). Between the two lower and two upper parts was the shaft which occupied five of the nine divisions into which a column was divided. *Bāhulya*, *bhāra* (or *hāra*) and *tulā* are nowhere used by Varāhamihira to denote mouldings of columns. *Bāhulya* means depth or thickness in which sense it is used in *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, LII. 26, and is so understood by Bhaṭṭotpala in his gloss on LII. 30. Had *bāhulya* been a moulding, it must have been named in the corresponding verse from the *Kiraṇākhyā-tantra* quoted by Utpala⁴⁰ and in the relevant verses of the *Matsya-purāṇa*, which is not the case. *Bhāratulā* forms one word, not two. Moreover, *bhāratulā*, *upatulā* and *tulopatulā* had actually nothing to do with the column proper. Kern rightly took these three names to denote architrave, superior cross-beams and upper rafters, respectively. His interpretation is supported by Utpala's commentary on *BS*, LII. 30. The invention of the number eight is largely due to Dr. Acharya's preconceived notions assigning the *Mānasāra* to an early date and the desperate attempt on his part to establish some relationship between these and the Graeco-Roman orders.⁴¹ Moreover, the total number of mouldings of the column in the *Mānasāra* far exceeds that in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, *Matsya-purāṇa* and *Kiraṇākhyā-tantra*. Thus as pointed out by Dr. Acharya himself, the *Mānasāra* describes no less than forty-seven mouldings in connection with the pedestal, base and entablature⁴² in addition to some compound mouldings, gives us as many as sixty-four varieties of the base classified under nineteen groups,⁴³ mentions sixteen types of pedestals under three classes⁴⁴ and details of mouldings and their measurements under eight classes.⁴⁵

(6) *Styles*—The three architectural and sculptural styles, viz., Nāgara, Vesara and Drāviḍa, as also the fourth style called Randhra (probably an error for Āndhra) applied in constructing cars and chariots are mentioned in the *Mānasāra*. The *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, on the other hand, refers to only the Drāviḍa school and that too in connection with iconometry and not sculpture or architecture proper.⁴⁶

(7) *Site-plans*.—As we have already seen, only two site-plans consisting of 64 and 81 squares are known to Varāhamihira, whereas as many as 32 schemes of site-plans are to be found in Ch. VII of the *Mānasāra*.

To sum up, the greatly advanced puerile and pedantic classification of building-types, mouldings of columns, measurements and site-plans, as also the mention of a large number of authorities and four styles are all indicative of a very late date for the composition of the *Mānasāra*. Even if we do not go so far as to assign it to the eleventh

century or still later as is done by Dr. Tarapada Bhattacharyya,⁴⁷ it is impossible to place it before the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, that is, in the early Gupta period. The Gupta architecture was much simpler than that elaborated in the *Mānasāra*. It is yet to be found out if even a few building-types mentioned in the *Mānasāra* are represented by the extant examples of the Gupta architecture. The only impression that an impartial reader will form after a perusal of the *Mānasāra* is that it was compiled at a time when Indian architecture had become highly complicated and could admit of classification according to different styles prevailing in different regions.

II. *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* versus *Matsya-purāna*

The fact that the account of the future dynasties in the *Matsya-purāna* closes with the downfall of the Āndhras and the local kingdoms surviving them, has led scholars to assign the *Purāna* to the last quarter of the third or to the commencement of the fourth century A.D.⁴⁸ In case this view of the date is accepted for the *Matsya-purāna* as a whole, the striking agreement between the architectural chapters of the *Purāna* and the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* may make one treat the latter as indebted to the former. As shown by Dr. R. C. Hazra, the genealogical portion of *Matsya* is borrowed from the *Vāyu*, whose corresponding portion was put in final shape at the end of the third or in the beginning of the fourth century A.D.⁴⁹ There can be hardly any doubt, therefore, that in its earlier or original form the *Purāna* should be placed towards the close of the third or the commencement of the fourth century A.D. But in its present form it seems to have been composed, or rather compiled, in different times and climes and handled by numerous scribes and consequently can not be assigned to one single period. As Dr. Hazra has shown, while its certain chapters can be placed in the early centuries of the Christian era, there are others which can be shown on reasonable grounds to belong to quite a late date.⁵⁰ It has been subjected to alterations, omissions, additions and interpolations from time to time. There is ample evidence to show that the *Matsya-purāna* chapters on Vāstuvīdyā represent a much more developed state of architecture than those in the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* and consequently belong to a considerably late date.

Although the number of the temple-types is the same, *i.e.*, 20, in both the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*⁵¹ and the *Matsya*,⁵² there is much difference as regards the order of enumeration and architectural details. While *Kuñjara* and *Guharāja* of the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* list are conspicuous by their absence in the *Matsya* list, two new names, *viz.*, *Siṁhāsya* and *Mṛgarāja*, are introduced. Though not named in the list, *Gaja* and *Valabhicchandaka* are defined in the sequel. Apart from these diffe-

rences, a new type, *Śrīvṛkṣaka*, is added at the end. To give only a few instances of the comparatively developed state of architecture in the *Matsya*, *Meru* is the largest temple in both the lists, but while it is 12-storeyed and 32 cubits wide in the *BS*, according to the *Matsya* (CCLXIX. 31, 47) it is 16-storeyed and 50 cubits wide; *Mandara* in *BS*, LV. 21, is 10-storeyed and 30 cubits wide; but in *Matsya*, CCLXIX. 32, 47, it is 12-storeyed and 45 cubits wide; *Kailāsa* is 8-storeyed and 28 cubits wide in *BS*, LV. 21, but *Matsya*, CCLXIX. 32, 47, regards it as 9-storeyed and 40 cubits in width. The *Matsya*, CCLXIX. 53-54, divides all these temples into three categories, *viz.*, *jyeṣṭha*, *madhyam* and *kaniyasa*, while no such classification is to be found in the *BS*. Similarly, 27 types of *maṇḍapas* (porch) are described in Ch. CCLXX of the *Matsya*, while the *BS* maintains complete silence about them. As regards the plan of the temple also, only two modules of proportionate dimensions, one purely architectural and the other based on the height of the image or other main-cult-object, are known to Varāhamihira (*BS*, LV. 11-16). The *Matsya-purāṇa*, on the other hand, elaborates four site-plans, the first and fourth called *sāmānya* or common, the second based on the dimensions of *liṅga* (*liṅga-mānataḥ*) and the third on the measurements of the adytum (*garbha-māna-pramāṇena*), the last being purely architectural and also called *rūpa-bheda* (CCLXIX. 1-27). Thus, the addition of the new names in the list of temple-types, increase in the number of storeys, larger dimensions, more advanced classification and the elaboration of the numerous porch-types and temple-plans all indicate a late date for the composition of the *Matsya-purāṇa* chapters on Vāstuvidyā. Our opinion also stands supported by the fact that while the *BS* mentions in all seven authorities on architecture and sculpture, the *Matsya* lists as many as 18 or 19 authors (including Manu). A comparison of the *BS* and the *Matsya* lists of authorities will show that all the seven authorities of the *BS* are mentioned in the *Matsya* which adds twelve new names also. These authors, therefore, might have flourished or works in their names compiled in the period that elapsed between the *BS* and the *Matsya*.

In this connection it would not be quite out of place to point to some grave errors committed by some earlier writers on the subject. Thus, Dr. Tarapada Bhattacharyya, a champion of the anteriority of the *Matsya-purāṇa* chapters on Vāstuvidyā to the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, asserts that Śakra, Parāśara, Kāśyapa and Bhāradvāja are held by Varāhamihira as authorities and as the last two are not found in the *Matsya*, they must have flourished in the period after the *Matsya-purāṇa* (4th century A.D.) and before the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* (6th century

A.D.).⁵³ This assertion is completely baseless, for none of these writers is referred to by Varāhamihira as an authority on Vāstuvidyā. Śakra and Bhāradvāja are named in connection with omens (*BS* LXXXV. 1, 2) and Kāśyapa and Parāśara about other astrological matters. Similar is the case with the assertion of Dr. Acharya, who also takes the priority of the *Matsya-purāṇa* for granted and avers that a certain Bhāskara is mentioned in the *BS* as an authority on Vāstuvidyā.⁵⁴ To us the name is a pure invention and nowhere does it occur in the *BS*.

Thus, there are some sure indications of a late date for the compilation of the Vāstuvidyā portions of the *Matsya-purāṇa*. But when the question of fixing even an approximate date for these chapters comes up for consideration, we are no more on sure grounds. Although later than the *BS*, they are earlier than the *Agni-purāṇa* and the *Garuḍa-purāṇa*, which refer to forty-five temple-types classified under five groups. These Purāṇas have been assigned on reliable grounds to the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. respectively.⁵⁵ Thus, the *Matsya-purāṇa* chapters under consideration may be placed between 550 A.D., the probable date of the composition of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* and the ninth century A.D., the date of the *Agni-purāṇa*. To follow the mean, we shall not be far from the truth if we date these chapters in the 7th century A.D.⁵⁶

It is evident, therefore, that the similarity between the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* and the *Matsya-purāṇa* is due to their following the same architectural tradition, while the differences may owe their introduction to the desire of the compilers to incorporate the advancements in Vāstuvidyā which took place during the period intervening between the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* and the *Matsya-purāṇa* portions under review.

III. *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* versus *Viśvakarma-prakāśa*⁵⁷

Unlike the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* and the *Matsya* which treat Vāstuvidyā only casually, the *Viśvakarma-prakāśa* is an avowedly architectural text. Very close agreement between and sometimes the appearance of even identical verses in it and the *Matsya* chapters on Vāstuvidyā had led some scholars to regard the former as the source of the latter.⁵⁸ All traces of later development, except the author-list, discussed in connection with the *Matsya*, are to be found verbatim in the *VKP* also.⁵⁹ Moreover, it can be shown on independent grounds that the *VKP* is a very late unintelligent compilation made by an incompetent hand. There is more of astrology than architecture proper. Long ago, H. Kern had pointed out that *BS*. LII. 30, 31 are also found in the *VKP*⁶⁰ and as these are the only two stanzas in the Āryā meter in the *VKP*, they must have been borrowed by it from

the *BS*.⁶¹ Dr. Tarapada Bhattacharyya, who regards the *Matsya* and the *VKP* as earlier than the *BS* and the *Matsya* respectively, seeks to brush aside this argument by suggesting that both the *BS* and the *VKP* might have borrowed these verses from a common source.⁶² As against this suggestion, it must be borne in mind that at least one of the two verses under discussion (*BS*, LII. 31) makes its appearance quite abruptly in the *VKP*. Immediately after describing the columns, cross-beams, superior beams and rafters, this verse defining *Sarvato-bhadra*, the first in the list of *Catuṣṣāla* houses, is to be met with. Then follows the description of *Dviśāla*, *Triśāla* and *Catuṣṣāla* houses and *Sarvato-bhadra* is again mentioned in *VKP*, II.191. It is clear that compiler of the *VKP* has borrowed this verse from some other work⁶³ without understanding it properly and that he was not intelligent enough to assign the verse its proper place. The other suggestion of his that 'Varāhamihira really had taken this chapter (Ch. LII) from a work of Viśvakarman of which the *V. Prakāśa* is also a later compilation (of course earlier than the other work mentioned, *i. e.*, *BS*)'⁶⁴ is based on the fact that 'the *Viśvakarmavidyā-prakāśa*⁶⁵ is a verbatim reproduction of the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, Ch. 53,⁶⁶ with the addition of only a few new verses'. He finds it difficult to understand why the author of the *VKP* borrowed its larger part from the *BS*.⁶⁷ But this view is quite untenable. *Viśvakarman* is the traditional divine architect as also a human author on *Vāstuvidyā*. The term '*Viśvakarma-vidyā*', therefore, came to denote the science of architecture and sculpture. In other words, it came to be used as synonym of *Vāstuvidyā*. Though indebted to older writers on the subject, Varāhamihira himself came to be regarded as an authority on architecture. It is interesting to note in this connection that Alberuni refers to a book on architecture written by Varāhamihira,⁶⁸ and we have reliable evidence of Ch. LV of the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* dealing with temple architecture being studied as an independent treatise.⁶⁹ The compiler of the *VKP* therefore could well quote from the *BS*. Moreover, the *VKP* seems to be a very late compilation, perhaps a compilation of the 19th century. Viśvakarman, to me it seems, is a mythical personage to whom a large number of books were ascribed.

That the *Viśvakarmavidyā-prakāśa* is a mere compilation of a late date and not a later recension of Viśvakarman's work also stands supported by other independent evidences. Apart from the two Āryās referred to above, there are a number of other verses, which are reproduced verbatim from the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* into *Viśvakarma-prakāśa*. A list of such verses is given below—

| | |
|----------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>Bṛhat-saṃhitā</i> | <i>Viśvakarma-prakāśa</i> |
| XLII. 17-18 | IX. 29b-31a |
| XLVII. 55-71a | V. 163b-180a |
| XLVII. 79 | V. 255 |
| LII. 98 | I. 71 |
| LV. 12-14a | VII. 83b-85 |
| LVIII. 11-12 | IX. 33-34 |
| LXXVIII. 2-4 | X. 48-50 |

Moreover, a number of stanzas quoted by Bhaṭṭotpala in the names of Garga, Bṛhaspati, Kāśyapa and the *Kiraṇākhyā-tantra* are also found reproduced verbatim in the *VKP* :

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>Garga</i> | <i>VKP</i> |
| On <i>BS</i> , LII. 16 | II. 151b-152a |
| On <i>BS</i> , LII. 31 | II. 191 |
| On <i>BS</i> , LII. 32 | II. 193 |
| On <i>BS</i> , LII. 33 | II. 194b-195a |
| On <i>BS</i> , LII. 34 | II. 196 |
| On <i>BS</i> , LII. 35 | II. 197 |
| On <i>BS</i> , LII. 76 | VII. 90b-91a |
| <i>Kāśyapa</i> | <i>VKP</i> |
| On <i>BS</i> , LII. 4 | II. 135-136b |
| <i>Kiraṇa-tantra</i> | <i>VKP</i> |
| On <i>BS</i> , LII, 13, 11.103 | II. 146-147a |
| On <i>BS</i> , LII. 28 | II. 166b-167a |
| On <i>BS</i> , LII. 29 | II. 168 (with minor variations) |
| <i>Bṛhaspati</i> | <i>VKP</i> |
| On <i>BS</i> , LII. 2-3, 11.1-3, 46 | I.6-7a, 10-11a (with slight changes) |

Some anonymous verses cited by Utpala are also found in the *VKP* :

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|
| On <i>BS</i> , LII. 69 (3 verses) | V. 22-24a |
| LII. 76 (1st two lines) | VII. 77 |
| LII. 76 | VII. 78 |

While some of the verses from Viśvakarman quoted by Utpala can be traced to the *VKP*, there are others (e.g., on *BS*, LV. 29; LXXVIII. 10) that are conspicuous by their absence in the *VKP*. Now, if the extant *VKP* is a later recension of Viśvakarman's original work, it is inexplicable why verses of Garga, Bṛhaspati and others are reproduced in it. It is abundantly clear, therefore, that the *VKP* is a very late compilation of verses collected from hearsay or from more than one earlier work. It may also be suggested that the *VKP* is later than the time of Bhaṭṭotpala i.e., 9th century A.D.⁷⁰ Otherwise, the absence

of certain verses quoted by him in the name of Viśvakarman in the *VKP* cannot be explained. Had the *VKP* been regarded as the standard work incorporating the views of Viśvakarman, Bhaṭṭotpala must have depended on it. A later date for it is also suggested by the fact that the word *mandira*, which was exclusively used to denote residential buildings in the Gupta age,⁷¹ is employed here both in the sense of a temple⁷² as also a house.⁷³ As the oldest datable epigraphic reference to a week-day is to be found in the Eran Pillar Inscription of Budhagupta, dated 483-484 A.D., the reference to Bhādrapada kṛṣṇa tṛtīyā Śanivāra in *VKP*, I. 12, also indicates that it cannot be dated very early.

It follows from the foregoing discussion that a number of works treating of Vāstuvidyā were available to Varāhamihira in the beginning of the sixth century A.D., but they are lost to us. The texts supposed to be anterior to him are actually very late compilations. Consequently, the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* chapters under consideration form the oldest extant datable text on the subject.⁷⁴ Thus, Varāhamihira is entitled to a unique position in the history of Vāstuvidyā.

Footnotes

- 1 Ch. 52—Vāstuvidyā; Ch. 55—Prāsāda-lakṣaṇa. References pertain to MM. Sudhākara Dvivedī's edition with Utpala's commentary published as No. X, in Vijayanagaram Sanskrit Series, Benaras, 1895
- 2 Ch. 57—Pratimā-lakṣaṇa. For sculptural materials see Ch. 58.
- 3 Ch. 56—Vajralepa-lakṣaṇa.
- 4 Ch. 78—Śayyāsana-lakṣaṇa.
- 5 वास्तुज्ञानमयातः कमलभवान्मुनिपरम्परयातम् ॥ —LII. I.
- 6 प्रासादलक्षणमिदं कथितं समामाद्
गर्भेण यद् विरचितं तदिहास्ति त्वर्चम् ।
मन्वादिभिविरचितानि पृथुनि यानि
तत्संस्मृतिं प्रति मयात्र कृतोऽधिकारः ॥ —LV. 31.
- 7 LVI. 8.
- 8 LVII. 4.
- 9 *Indian Architecture According to Mānasāra-Silpaśāstra*, p. 131.
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 132.
- 11 *Architecture of Mānasāra*, p. 38, fn. 1; p. 40, fn. 1; p. 52, fn. 1, etc.
- 12 *Indian Architecture*, p. 198.
- 13 *Mānasārā*, Ch. VII. It contains thirty-two site-plans and not twenty-four, as erroneously stated by Dr. Acharya. Vide his *Indian Architecture*, p. 162.
- 14 *BS*, LII. 42-56; LV. 10.

- 15 *Indian Architecture*, p. 162; *Mānasāra* (English Tr.), p. 44 note.
- 16 *Indian Architecture*, p. 168.
- 17 *BS*, LV. 20, 23.
- 18 *Mānasāra* XXI. 41-49; XXVIII. 20-22.
- 19 *Indian Architecture*, p. 168.
- 20 *Indian Architecture*, pp. 125-126. The *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* (LII. 28) has the names Rucaka, Vajra, Dvi-vajraka, Praśnaka and Vṛtta respectively for columns with 4, 8, 16 and 32 angles and circular columns, or rather for their shafts. These names with insignificant differences are common to the *Matsya*- and *Bhaviṣya-purāṇas* and the *Viśvakarma-prakāśa* also. The *Mānasāra*, on the contrary, has two sets of five different names.
- 21 *Indian Architecture*. pp. 161-162.
- 22 T. Bhattacharyya, *Study on Vāstuvidyā*. pp. 186-187.
- 23 Varāhamihira refers to Śaka year 427 (=505 A.D.) in *Pañca-siddhāntikā*, I. 8, and according to a statement of Āmarāja he died in Śaka 509 or 587 A.D. The *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, therefore, may be assigned with a fair degree of certainty to the middle of the sixth century A.D.
- 24 The statements of Dr. Acharya that Varāhamihira includes Bhāskara in his list of authorities and that the *Matsya-purāṇa* does not refer to Manu (vide his *Indian Architecture*, p. 165) are erroneous. Varāhamihira nowhere refers to an author on Vāstuvidyā named Bhāskara, while Manu is actually mentioned in *Matsya*, CCLII. 4, quoted below, note 25.
- 25 शृगुरत्रिर्वसिष्ठश्च विश्वकर्मा मयस्तथा ।
नारदो नग्नजिच्चैव विशालाक्षः पुरन्दरः ॥
ब्रह्मा कुमारे नन्दीशः शौनको गर्ग एव च ।
धामुदेवोऽनिरुद्धश्च तथा शुक्रवृहस्पती ॥
अष्टादशैते विख्याता वास्तुशास्त्रोपदेशकाः ।
संक्षेपोपदिष्टं यन्मनवे मत्स्वरूपिणा ॥ —*Matsya-purāṇa*, CCLII. 2-4.
- 26 *Indian Architecture*, p. 165.
- 27 *Mānasāra*, XVII. 139-142.
- 28 *Ibid.*, XIX. 2-5.
- 29 *Ibid.*, XIX. 6-13.
- 30 *Ibid.*, XIX. 14-17.
- 31 *Ibid.*, Chs. XIX-XXX; *Indian Architecture*, pp. 111-113.
- 32 *Ibid.*, p. 173.
- 33 *Ibid.*, p. 124; *Mānasāra*, LV. 30ff.
- 34 *BS*, LII. 11; LV. 11.
- 35 *Mānasāra*, XV. 19-23.
- 36 *Ibid.*, XV. 26-39, 70-74.

- 37 *Indian Architecture*, p. 126.
- 38 *Mānasāra*, XLVII. 17-19.
- 39 *Indian Architecture*, pp. 126-127.
- 40 विभज्य नवधा स्तम्भं कुर्यादुद्बहनं घटम् ।
कमलं चोत्तरोष्ठं च भागे भागे प्रकल्पयेत् ॥
- 41 *Indian Architecture*, p. 127
- 42 *Ibid.*, pp. 127-128.
- 43 *Mānasāra*, XIV. 11-387.
- 44 *Ibid.*, XIII. 37-127.
- 45 *Ibid.*, XVI. 22-120.
- 46 स्वैरङ्गुलप्रमाणैर्द्वादश विस्तीर्णमायतं च मुखम् ।
नग्नजिता तु चतुर्दश दैर्घ्येण द्वाविडं कथितम् ॥—*BS*, LVII. 4
- 47 *Study on Vāstuvidyā*, pp. 188-189, 192-197.
- 48 F. E. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text and the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Intro. p. XIII; V.R.R. Dikshitar, *Matsya-purāṇa—a Study*, Ch. II.
- 49 R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, pp. 29-32.
- 50 *Ibid.*, pp. 32 ff. Dr. Hazra has shown that some of the chapters of the *Matsya-purāṇa* cannot be placed earlier than 850 A.D. See *ibid.*, p. 45. He also shows that the *Matsya* Ch. 54 on Naḷṣatra-puruṣa-vrata, is based on Ch. 105 (104 in Dvivedi's edition) of *BS*. *Vide ibid.*, p. 87.
- 51 मेरु-मन्दर-कैलास-विमान-चन्द्र-नन्दनाः ।
समुद्र-पद्म-गरुड-नन्दिवर्धन-कुङ्जराः ॥
गुहराजो वृषो हंसः सर्वतोभद्रको घटः ।
सिंहो वृत्तश्चतुष्कोणः षोडशाष्टाश्रयस्तथा ॥
इत्येते विद्यतिः प्रोक्ताः प्रासादाः संज्ञया मया ॥—*BS*, LV. 17-19a.
- 52 मेरु-मन्दर-कैलास-कुम्भ-सिंह-मृगास्तथा ।
विमानचन्द्रकस्तद्वच्चतुरस्रस्तथैव च ॥
अष्टाश्रः षोडशाश्रश्च वर्तुलः सर्वभद्रकः ।
सिंहास्यो नन्दनश्चैव नन्दिवर्धनकस्तथा ॥
हंसो वृषः सुवर्णशः (सुपर्णश्च) पद्मकोष समुद्रमकः ।
प्रासादा नामतः प्रोक्ताः.....—*Matsya*, CCLXIX. 28-30.
- 53 *Study on Vāstuvidyā*, pp. 89, 100, 101.
- 54 *Indian Architecture*, p. 165.
- 55 R. C. Hazra, *op. cit.*, pp. 138, 144.
- 56 Our view is in substantial agreement with that of Dr. Hazra who assigns *Matsya* Chs. CCLVIII-CCLXX dealing with sculpture and architecture to circa 550-650 A.D. *Vide his Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, p. 176 (table). Stella Kramrisch (*The Hindu Temple*, Pt. 1, p. 5, fn. 7; p. 134, fn. 12; p. 228, fn. 3, etc.) also seems to hold the same view.

- 57 Banaras, 1995 v.s.; Venkateshwar Press, Bombay 2010 v.s. Herein after referred to as *VKP*.
- 58 Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, Pt. 1, p. 237, fn. 19; Tara-pada Bhattacharyya *op. cit.*, pp. 104-108.
- 59 Cf. *VKP*, VI. 80-106 (temple-types), VI. 56b-80 (plans of temples), VI. 125-136 (for 29 kinds of porch). The following authorities are named:—Brahmā (VII. 29, 113); Śambhu (I.3) or Śaṅkara (VI. 116); Garga received instructions from Brahmā (XIII. 108); Parāśara, pupil of Garga (I.4; II.122; XIII. 109); Bṛhadratha, pupil of Parāśara (I.4 ; XIII.109); Viśvakarman, pupil of Bṛhad-ratha (I.4 ; X.47; XIII. 109); Vāsudeva and others heard Vāstu-śāstra from Viśvakarman (XIII. 110); Vyāsa (III. 12a); Karmakṛd (VIII. 7). A work called *Brahma-yāmala* is also mentioned in *VKP*, XI. 29.
- 60 *VKP*, II. 169-170 in Venkateshwar ed. and II.175-176 according to Banaras ed.
- 61 *JRAS*, 1873, p. 285, fn. 2.
- 62 Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.* p. 107.
- 63 This work is evidently *BS*.
- 64 Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, p. 107.
- 65 Title of the Venkateshwar Press edition.
- 66 Ch. LII of Sudhakara Dvivedi's edition is used here.
- 67 Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-108.
- 68 E. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, p. 168.
- 69 Separate MSS of the Prāsāda-lakṣaṇādhyāya (Ch. LV) of the *BS* are known to exist; cf. *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Private Libraries of South India*, p. 206, No. 2956.
- 70 At the end of his commentaries on the *Bṛhaj-jātaka* and the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, Utpala mentions Śaka 888=965-966 A.D. as the age of their composition. But MM. Dr. P. V. Kane has pointed out that the Arab writer Abu Ma'shar, who died in 886 A.D., cites a passage concerning the third *decan* of Aries which belongs to Utpala's gloss on *Bṛhaj-jātaka*, Ch. 27. Vide, Dr. Kane's paper in *JBBRAS*, 1948-49, pp. 30-31. Utpala, therefore, must have lived before 886 A.D. I have elsewhere suggested that really Bhaṭṭotpala uses here the word Śaka to denote years of the Vikrama era. In that case, Utpala's date comes to be 830-831 A.D. As such he could be well quoted by Abu Ma'shar.
- 71 Cf. *BS*, IV. 2; LXXXVIII. 8; XCV. 4; *Amara-kośa*, II. 2.5.
- 72 *VKP*, VI. 4.
- 73 *Ibid.*, I. 106; II. 59, 94, 95, 96, 135; III. 43; X. 1.
- 74 Of course, except some stray passages as in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*.

Chapter II

Alberuni and Varāhamihira

[Abu al-Raihan ibn Ahmad Albcruni, the full name by which he was called by his compatriots, or Alberuni, the last word of his name by which he is familiar to the Orientalists, occupies a unique position among the foreign travellers of India who have bequeathed their travelogues to the posterity. The accounts of some of the classical writers are extremely perfunctory and superficial because of their non-acquaintance with the Indian life-style and rich cultural heritage, while those of the Chinese pilgrims including Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang are heavily prejudiced in favour of Buddhism. As against this, Alberuni was eager to provide an unbiased account of Indian traditions and beliefs, cultural and literary heritage, mode of thinking and way of life to his co-religionists living in peaceable intercourse with the Hindus (Indians in order to enable them to converse with the Hindus on various subjects on the basis of their own traditions. With this object he studied Indian literature on a variety of topics and quoted from it extensively in order that his readers may be spared the accusation of misunderstanding and consequent misrepresentation. He was also familiar with the methods of textual criticism and put them to use in his work. Owing to this novel methodology, his *Kitāb-ul-Hind* or *Indica* has turned out to be an unparalleled source of information on ancient and early medieval Indian cultural, especially literary, history not only for his compatriots for whom it was actually meant but also for modern Indologists, and regarding many Indian authors and their writings it forms today the only source of our information. Even as regards those authors who are known to us from some other sources, Alberuni often affords us information not available anywhere else.]

To the latter category belongs Varāhamihira for whose integrity, truthfulness and sincerity Alberuni had a very high admiration, in some cases verging on an unwarranted prejudice, and whom he quotes very extensively. He had a fairly good idea of his writings and throws welcome light on the notions about them prevailing during his own time (eleventh century A.D.). From his account we get valuable information on the question of Varāhamihira's period as well as his works. He quotes from Varāhamihira's works on mathematical astronomy, nativity and natural astrology. An analysis of these citations, very interesting and informative as it is, is attempted in these pages.]

I

Alberuni

Alberuni,¹ as he is popularly known by the closing word of his name to modern students of Orientology, or, to give the full form of his name by which he was called by his compatriots, Abu al-Raihan ibn Ahmad Alberuni (973-1048 A.D.), was born in the territory of Khwarism or Chorasmia, modern Khiva. He distinguished himself early in science and literature and rose to the position of a councillor of the ruling chief of his country belonging to the Ma'muni family, who was defeated in 1017 A.D. by king Mahmud of Ghazna. Placing one of his generals as provincial governor of the newly conquered territory, Mahmud returned to his capital with rich booty and a large part of the defeated army and the leading men of the country as prisoners of war or hostages, the latter including Alberuni. At Ghazna, at first he did not receive proper treatment either from King Mahmud or from his Chancellor, Ahmad ibn Hasan Maimandi. Alberuni was probably known as a great *munajjim*, viz., astrologer-astronomer, which fact possibly gradually ingratiated him to the King who raised him to the position of his court astrologer, if we were to give credence to a later tradition. But that he did not hold King Mahmud in much esteem is amply indicated by the way he speaks of him,² as against his drunkard son and successor, Mas'ud, whom he mentions in hyperbolic language and whom he immortalised by christening after him his most famous and greatest work, *Chronology of Ancient Nations* as *Canon Masudicus*.³ Like the famous Firdausi, the author of the great poetic work *Shāhmāmā*, Alberuni was a versatile scholar and prose-writer of his time. At the time when King Mahmud was engaged in raiding and looting India, Alberuni busied himself with all the energy at his command in studying, in India from Indian scholars, the Indian literature in original (Sanskrit) in which he excelled all other foreign visitors to India, who came before or after him.

Alberuni was familiar with Indian literature to some extent prior to his Indian visit. Portion of Indian literature and sciences reached the Arabs at Baghdad either through direct translations from original Sanskrit texts with the help of Indian scholars or indirectly through Persia. When the province of Sindh came under the direct rule of Khalif Mansur (753-774 A.D.), there began, for a short duration, a direct intercourse between India and the Arabs, and embassies from Sindh paid regular visits to Baghdad; these included scholars who brought with them Sanskrit texts including the *Brāhmasphuṭa-siddhānta* (Sindhind) and the *Khaṇḍa-khādyaka* (Arkand) of the famous

Indian astronomer Brahmagupta which were translated into Arabic. These works for the first time introduced the Arabs to astronomy, even before Ptolemy's system. Under Harun (786-808 A.D.) another influx of Indian learning took place, and Sanskrit texts on medicine, pharmacology, toxicology, philosophy, astrology and other subjects were translated into Arabic, while in later times these activities continued on a limited scale, and a few other texts were also made available in Arabic translations. These works included, *inter alia*, the *Caraka-saṃhitā* and the *Karaṇa-sāra* of Vitteśvara.⁴ Much of the Indian narrative literature including the *Pañcatantra* or *Kalila and Dimna* came to the Arabs through Iran. With this background, though somewhat defective on account of the fault on the part of the translators and textual corruption not excluding proper names in course of copying, and with good linguistic grounding, Alberuni launched on his Indian mission which he had, it may be reasonably assumed, undertaken by himself purely as a matter of love of learning.⁵

Among all the ancient foreign travellers of India who have left the accounts of their sojourn, Alberuni occupies a unique position. Before him, India was visited by a number of foreigners whose accounts are still available. A few of them like Megasthenes came on diplomatic assignments and some on commercial trips while some others like the Chinese travellers visited for fulfilling their self-imposed religious mission which was to acquire knowledge of certain aspects of Buddhism. Some of these travellers were ignorant of the rich cultural heritage and life-style of India, and to them practically everything they found in India was an enigma with its real meaning remaining unintelligible, with the result that to a certain extent accounts, based on their personal observations or hearsay reports not properly understood by them, are superfluous. As against this, some of the Chinese pilgrims spent in India many more years than Alberuni for studying and copying certain Buddhist texts, but their narratives are highly coloured by religious prejudice. Viewing against this background, one cannot but notice a qualitative difference between these accounts and Alberuni's, known as *Kitāb-ul-Hind*,⁶ which tries to look at India as an Indian would. This book was written with the object of acquainting those of the Muslims who lived in peaceable intercourse with the Hindus with their mode and world of thought.⁷ And he achieved it by allowing the Indians to speak for themselves through their texts from which he quoted *in extenso*. In this task he faced a lot of difficulties such as the strong religious prejudices of the Hindus and the Muslims which separated them from one another and made mutual intercourse particularly difficult, the enormous range of language

divided into a neglected vernacular and a classical one in use respectively only among the common people and the upper educated classes, difficulty of expressing an Indian word into the Arabic script and of pronunciation, of the Indian scribes resulting into defective copies including corrupt proper names, socio-religious prejudices of the Hindus, the aversion of the Buddhist towards the countries of the West whence they had been expelled, Muslim invasions resulting into Indian conquests, and self-conceit and depreciation of anything foreign on the part of the Indians (I. 17-26). But his spirit remained undaunted by them, and he relentlessly pursued his objective in various ways : he translated several Sanskrit texts into Arabic⁸ and composed numerous treatises devoted to specific points of Indian astronomy⁹ prior to undertaking the preparation of his *Indica*, which was a significant departure from the approach and methodology of other accounts, both earlier and later. He adopted the novel approach of quoting extensively from the classical Sanskrit texts in order to avoid the possibility of being accused of misrepresentation, and it is because of this method that Alberuni's account has assumed a unique importance as a source for the reconstruction of the cultural, especially literary, history of ancient India. The range of Alberuni's *Indica* is extraordinarily comprehensive and deals with such widely diverse topics as religion and philosophy, grammar and metrics, astronomy and astrology, weights and measures, iconometry and iconography, Veda and Dharmaśāstra, geography and chronology, etc. As a result, Alberuni's present work has turned into a virtual storehouse of information on India not only for his compatriots whom he had actually in mind but also for all serious students of Indology who are deeply indebted to him. Often it affords us information regarding writers and their works not known from any other source. Even as regards well-known authors, whose works have come down to us, it affords valuable help in solving a few of the baffling questions. However, but for some sporadic attempts,¹⁰ Alberuni's evidence has not so far been studied with this viewpoint.¹¹

One of the reasons that imparted uniqueness to Alberuni's *Indica* was his awareness and use of the method of textual criticism in which respect he was far ahead of his times. Like a modern critical editor, he is often critical of the manuscript tradition. Quite often he supposes the text to be corrupt and speculates the probable causes of textual corruption besides discussing different readings and suggesting emendations. He guesses lacunae in the text, analyses different renderings and complains of the copyists' carelessness and ignorance. Being aware that defects arise owing to the mistakes and carelessness

of the translators and successive copyists, he complains that the Indian texts often degenerate to such an extent as not to be recognised even by the original author (I. 162-163; II. 76). Unfortunately, however, he was quite alone in his interest even in his own time (I.24), and there has been no other Arab Indologist of his kind either before or after him.

II

Varahamihira

Varāhamihira is one of the two astronomers-astrologers most frequently quoted by Alberuni, the other being Brahmagupta. He often contrasts the two and sometimes goes out of the way in praising Varāhamihira in preference to Brahmagupta¹² in a few cases his criticism of Brahmagupta being based on misunderstanding of the latter's position.¹³ He speaks of Varāhamihira as an 'excellent astronomer' who 'did not allow himself to follow the crowd regarding the *sāṃdhi*' (I.366), whose 'foot stands firmly on the truth' and who 'speaks out the truth'. He only wishes that 'all distinguished men followed his example' (II. 110). He contrasts him to Brahmagupta whom he accuses of supporting the imposture.¹⁴ He refers to Varāhamihira as 'knowing only too well the character of his countrymen who like to mix up peas with wolf's beans and pearls with dung' (II. 113-114). Even when Alberuni was sure of the incorrectness of certain of Varāhamihira's statements, he was so overwhelmingly convinced of his sincerity and truthfulness that he was not prepared to accept them as such and suspected some esoteric meaning behind them (II 117).

Alberuni throws some welcome light on the controversial question of Varāhamihira's date. Varāhamihira has adopted the Śaka year 427 or 505 A.D. as the epoch of his *PS* (I. 8-10) and, as in most other cases, it should ordinarily be treated as the date of its composition or very near it. However, there is much unwarranted controversy regarding its interpretation, and some scholars regard it as the date of Varāhamihira's birth while others take it to be the date of the composition of the *Romaka-siddhānta* or an adaptation thereof or a gloss on it.¹⁵ But the untenability of the latter view is clearly indicated by the statement of Alberuni, who, writing in 1030 A.D. or about the year 400 of Yazdajird, avers that it (Yazdajird year 400) corresponded to, *inter alia*, the year 526 of the era of the canon *PS* (II.7). Had it been the era of the canon *Romaka-siddhānta*, and not of the *PS*, Alberuni, who was a discerning scholar, would not have confused it with that of the latter. Based as it is on the Śaka year 427 mentioned in connec-

tion with finding out the *ahargaṇa*, it should naturally be regarded as the epoch of the *PS*, and probably also the date of its composition. That this is the correct position is further vouched for by Alberuni's statement that Varāhamihira preceded his own time by 525 (I. 392) or about 526 (II. 86) years.¹⁶

As for Varāhamihira's works, Alberuni gives us an idea of the notions obtaining about them in the first half of the eleventh century A.D. He includes among his writings *Sāṃhitā*,¹⁷ viz., the *BS* (I 57), a couple of *Jātakas*, a small and a large one, i.e., the *Laghu-jātaka* and the *BJ*, the *ṣaṭ-pañcāśikā* said to contain fifty-six chapters on astrology, the *Horā-pañca-hotṛya* (?), also on astrology, the *YY* and the *Tikani-yātrā* dealing with travelling, the *Vivāha-pañāla* treating of marriage and marrying, a book¹⁸ on architecture (I. 158), and the *PS*, an astronomical treatise of small compass (I. 153). Of these texts, the *LJ* was rendered by Alberuni into Arabic^{18a} and the *BJ* is said to have been commented upon by Balabhadra (I.158). Alberuni also refers to Utpala's commentary on the *Sāṃhitā* (I.298) and quotes from it the following extract which is conspicuously absent from the present text of the commentary: "The names of countries change, and particularly in the *yugas*. So Multan was originally called Kāśyapapura, then Haṃsapura, then Bagapura, then Sāmbhapura, and then Mūlas-thāna, i.e., the original place, for *mūla* means root, origin, and *tāna* means place." Either this statement has been erroneously attributed to Utpala, or, it is possible that his gloss has not come down to us in its full form and in course of preparing its manuscripts some portions have been dropped; however, the former possibility is greater. Alberuni's description of the *ṣaṭ-pañcāśikā* as consisting of fifty-six chapters and its attribution to Varāhamihira was definitely erroneous as the text which is extant, is so called not because it comprises fifty-six chapters but as many stanzas, and it was actually composed not by Varāhamihira, but by his son Pṛthuyāsa.¹⁹ Like Varāhamihira's works, this short text also was commented upon by Bhaṭṭotpala. The work bearing the title *Horā-pañca-hotṛya* is not known from any other source, and its caption also appears to be defective. While no independent text on architecture by Varāhamihira is known to date,²⁰ in all likelihood Alberuni had in his mind Ch. LV of the *BS* dealing with temple-architecture,²¹ independent manuscripts of which, captioned *Prāsāda-lakṣaṇa*, have come down to us.²² The *Yoga-yātrā* is still available,²³ while the *Tikani-yātrā* is definitely a mistake for the *Ṭikanika-yātrā* which is still extant and represents a shorter version of one of Varāhamihira's works dealing with the prognostics of travel.²⁴ Varāhamihira had to his credit a set of two *Vivāha-pañālas*, the larger ver-

sion entitled *Bṛhadvivāha-ṣaṭala* and the shorter version called *Laghuvivāha-ṣaṭala*. A certain *Vivāha-ṣaṭala* is still extant, but which of the two versions it represents is difficult to determine in the present state of inadequate information. However, looking to its size, it appears to be the abridged version and has been recently edited by R. V. Pandit.²⁵ Alberuni had obviously no idea of the other version of the *Vivāha-ṣaṭala* as well as about another work of Varāhamihira on the prognostics of journeys known as *Bṛhad-yātrā* or *Bṛhad-yoga-yātrā* or *Mahā-yātrā* also nicknamed *Yakṣyeśvamedhikā* or *Yakṣyeśvamedhiyā-yātrā* after the second stanza of the first chapter beginning with the words *Yakṣyeśvamedhena*.²⁶ The same is true of the *Samāsa-saṁhitā* or *Svalpa-saṁhitā*, the abridged version of the *Saṁhitā* as mentioned by Alberuni or the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* or *Vārāhī-saṁhitā* as known to us today, which is now known only from citations in Utpala's commentary on the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*. This silence probably indicates that it was lost sometime during the interval between Utpala (ninth century A.D.) and Alberuni (eleventh century A.D.). Although Alberuni refers to the *PS* thrice, he did not have a correct idea of its contents as is clearly evident from the following observations :

“They (Indians) have five Siddhāntas:—

I. *Sūrya-siddhānta*, i.e. the Siddhānta of the sun, composed by Lāṭa.

II. *Vasiṣṭha-siddhānta*, so called from one of the stars of the Great Bear, composed by Viṣṇucandra.

III. *Pulisa-siddhānta*, so called from Paulisa, the Greek, from the city of Saintra, which I suppose to be Alexandria, composed by Pulisa.

IV. *Romaka-siddhānta*, so called from Rum, i.e., the subjects of the Roman Empire, composed by Śriṣeṇa.

V. *Brahma-siddhānta*, so called from Brahman, composed by Brahmagupta, the son of Jishṇu, from the town of Bhillamāla between Multan and Anhilwāra, 16 *yojanas* from the latter place (?).²⁷

The authors of these books draw from one and the same source, the book *Paithāma*,²⁸ so called from *the first father*, i.e., Brahman.

Varāhamihira has composed an astronomical handbook of small compass called *Pañca-siddhāntikā*, which name ought to mean that it contains the pith and marrow of the preceding five Siddhāntas. But this is not the case, nor is it so much better than they as to be called the most correct one of the five. So the name does not indicate anything but the fact that the number of Siddhāntas is five.” (I. 153). Besides some of the serious inaccuracies that have crept in this statement, the fact remains that the *PS* does not simply indicate that the number of the

Siddhāntas is five as Alberuni would like us to believe, but it does epitomise and contain 'the pith and marrow' of the five Siddhāntas known to him and it is because of this reason that the name *Pañca-siddhāntikā* is given to this work which is an important source of our information about the history of Indian astronomical literature as the Siddhāntas epitomised by Varāhamihira were naturally different from their later recasts prepared long after him. If we know today about the original Siddhāntas of the names mentioned above, it is only from Varāhamihira's *PS* and it is in this respect that the value of this text mainly lies.²⁹

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Thus, Alberuni was aware of Varāhamihira's writings on mathematical astronomy, horoscopy, travels, marriages and the *Saṁhitā*. But obviously he had not studied all these texts. He cites from the *PS*, the *BJ*, the *LJ* and the *Saṁhitā* or the *BS*. We may now proceed to analyse, briefly of course, Alberuni's citations from these works. We may begin with the *PS*. However, as we have seen above, Alberuni probably did not consult this work by himself, and, therefore, his references to it are probably based on some secondary information. Naturally all the references cannot be traced to the extant text of the *PS* in the present state of our information. The citations from it are of two kinds: direct with the mention of the text, and indirect where certain views are quoted which perhaps belonged to it. Of the direct references numbering four, we have already referred to two: the year 400 of Yazdajird corresponding to the year 526 of the era of the *PS* (II. 7) and about its nature (I. 153). The third reference pertains to the method of finding out the *ahargana* or the number of civil days elapsed from a given date (II. 51) which corresponds to *PS*, I. 8-10, which, as we have pointed out above, is very important for ascertaining Varāhamihira's date. The fourth reference pertains to the *ṣaḍaśītimukha* which is said to have been in the same degree propitious as the time of *saṁkrānti* for acquiring in it infinite heavenly reward (II. 190). This is, however, not traceable to the present text. We may next turn to indirect allusions. At I. 266 Varāhamihira is mentioned as one of the astronomers according to whom the earth is round. This is perhaps an allusion to *PS*, XIII. 1. There was bitter controversy on the question as to whether the earth moves or is at rest, and Varāhamihira, like most other Indian astronomers, held that the earth is stationary as against Āryabhaṭa who held a contrary and, of course, scientific view. Varāhamihira is quoted with approval by Brahmagupta (I. 276). This obviously refers to *PS*, XIII. 6-7.³⁰

Both the works on *Jātaka*, *BJ* and *LJ*, are cited. *BJ*, I. 5 on the

representation of zodiacal signs (*rāśis*) is quoted at length correctly. We are told that 'the signs of the zodiac have names corresponding to the images which they represent, and which are the same among the Hindus as among all other nations' (I. 219), and this statement is sought to be illustrated by a detailed comparison (I. 219-220). At I. 220, we find certain peculiar names of eleven of the zodiacal signs including Kriya, Tāvuri, etc., some of which are mentioned in somewhat corrupt forms. These are actually Indianised forms of the names of Greek origin mentioned in *BJ*, I. 8, *BJ*, II. 14, giving names of the planets supposed to preside over different periods of time as cited at II. 118.

Alberuni was definitely more familiar with the *LJ* or the smaller book on nativity which he had translated into Arabic, and citations from it are naturally much more abundant than from the *Bṛhaj-jātaka*. He quotes from it without naming the text in connection with the nature of the planets vis-a-vis the zodiacal signs, viz., the habitual force (*sthāna-bala*), the lateral force (*dyṣṭi-bala* or *dyṣ-bala*), the conquering force (*ceṣṭā-bala*), the temporal power (*kāla-bala*) and their natural forces (*naisargika-bala*). These citations are from *LJ*, II. 5-8 and 11 (II. 225-227). *LJ*, VI. 1-2, is quoted, again without naming, in connection with the three species of years of life bestowed by single planets (*āyurdāya*, II. 227-228). In connection with certain methods of the computation of the duration of human life in relation to the position of the planets at the time of one's birth peculiar to the Hindus, we find citations from *LJ*, III. 3-4 and IV. 5-10, again anonymously (II. 232-233). And lastly (II. 233-234), in the context of the coming of the spirit of life in a human being from the dominant of the *drekkaṇa* of the stronger planet of either sun or moon and the departure of the soul after the death, *LJ*, XII. 3-4, are quoted anonymously.

However, the most extensively quoted work is the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* which was the only *Saṁhitā* of Varāhamihira known to Alberuni and which he naturally refers to only as *Saṁhitā*. The reason for this frequency of citations lies in its most varied contents and the wide variety of subjects covered by Alberuni in his *Kitāb-ul-Hind* coupled with his familiarity with the work as he had rendered it into Arabic.

There is a citation attributed to the *Saṁhitā* in connection with pilgrimage which cannot be traced to the *BS*. We are told that the *Saṁhitā* of Varāhamihira relates that in Tāneshar (viz., Sthāṇvisvara) there is a pond which the Hindus visit from afar to bathe in its water. Regarding the cause of this custom they relate the following:—The waters of all other holy ponds visit this particular pond at the time of

an eclipse. Therefore, if a man washes in it, it is as if he had washed in every single one of all of them. Then Varāhamihira continues: "People say, if it were not the head (apsis) which causes the eclipse of the sun and moon, the other ponds would not visit this pond." (II. 145). Its non-availability in the extant text of the *BS* would either mean that the work has not come down to us in full form³¹ or that its attribution to the *Samhitā* was due to Alberuni's confusion, the latter being more likely.

At I.23, Alberuni quotes *BS*, II. 14, without naming it explicitly, to illustrate the comparative broadmindedness of the ancient Indians as compared to the narrow-mindedness of the Indians during his own time. The stanza is quite appropriate an illustration as it extols the Greeks' proficiency in astronomy-astrology. *BS* III. 13-15, regarding the evil effects of *tāmasa-kīlakas* or comets, without naming the text, are quoted (I.54). At I. 117-121, certain verses of *BS*, chapters LVII and LIX are anonymously cited in connection with iconometry, iconography, materials for fabricating images and persons specially appropriate for installation of idols. Of the econometric portion of Ch. LVII only verse 30 dealing with Dāśarathi Rāma and Bali is quoted. Of the rest of this chapter verses are quoted with an admixture of Utpala's commentary, and in certain cases the stanzas are erroneously translated. At I.121, we find some reference to metallic images and the benefits they bestow on the donor, but it cannot be traced. Of Ch. LIX, only verse 19 describing people particularly suited for the installation of the images of various gods and goddesses has been quoted with slight difference (I.121). On the linear measurements *BS*, LVII. 1-2, are quoted in a tabular form anonymously and with some difference (I.162). The measure of dry substances given by him at I. 162 do not agree with anything in the *BS*, but the measurements of capacity tabulated by him (I.162) are partially in agreement with *BS*.³² Cubic measures given at I.164 generally agree with *BS*, XXIII. 2, though they are slightly differently quoted. Table of measures of distance quoted at I.166, though somewhat in agreement with *BS* is again erroneous. The quotation at I.167 about the *aṅgūla* of the idol is in partial agreement with *BS*, LVII. 27-28. Alberuni (I.296-297) has explained correctly in a tabular form Ch. XIV of the *BS* dealing with the allotment of various directions to various asterisms (*nakṣatra-kūrma-vibhāga* or *kūrma-cakra*), and I.300-303 give the list of the various regions falling in various directions on the basis of this chapter though somewhat differently. The account of creation in *BS*, I.6-7, is cited in I.320-321, with the difference that Kaṇabhuk (=Kaṇāda) has been corrupted into Kumbhaka. At I.366, Alberuni speaks of

Varāhamihira's view on *Sāndhi* (*sandhyā*) as different from 'the opinion of the crowd'. This is obviously an allusion to *BS*, XXX. 1-2. Alberuni's translation of *BS*, XIII. 1-6, on the constellation of the Great Bear, *saptarṣi-cāra*, is cited at I. 389-390, but verse 4 is wrongly quoted. This stanza actually states that the Great Bear remains in each lunar station (*nakṣatra*) for 100 years, whereas Alberuni has turned 100 to 600. At I. 391-393, this position is contrasted with the Kashmirian calender and the opinion of Vitteśvara. *BS*, IV. 1-3 on the movement of the moon (*candra-cāra*) is cited at II. 66-67, and IV. 7 regarding the precession of equinoxes is quoted critically at II. 86. II. 88-89 quotes and criticises the position taken by Varāhamihira in *BS*, III. 1-3, regarding sun's being in the southern and northern solstices, to illustrate the scantiness of the knowledge of the Hindus regarding the motion of the fixed stars. At II. 92-95, we find *BS*, XII. 1-18, regarding the ceremonies performed on the heliacal rising of the various stars including the Canopus or Agastya. Similarly, at II. 96-100, *BS*, XXIV. 1-37, on Rohiṇī, XXVI. 1 on Svāti and Śravaṇa, and XXVI. 1-12, on Āṣāḍhī-yoga are found quoted. The construction and measurements of the different parts of the *liṅga* as described in *BS*, LVII. 53-55, are cited almost correctly at II. 103-104. *BS*, V. 1-15 dealing with solar and lunar eclipses are critically quoted at II. 107-110. It is added that some of his statements are due to his siding with the Brahmins, to whom he belonged and from whom he could not separate himself, this being obviously an allusion to some of the earlier views on the causes of the eclipses and the ceremonies performed on their occurrence (II.110). In fact, Varāhamihira, who was aware of the scientific reasons for the solar and lunar eclipses (*BS*, V.8. Cf. also V. 4-7, 9-13), himself criticises earlier unscientific views in the following stanzas (V. 16ff.) as Alberuni also knew as can be inferred from II. 113-114. Alberuni (II. 115-117) quotes in a tabular form *BS*, V. 19-23, on *parvan* or the period of time at the beginning and end of which there occur lunar eclipses and, in further prose passages, he cites subsequent stanzas (23b-25; also cf. V. 4-5; III. 6) and adds that 'what Varāhamihira says of the astrological portents of the *parvans* does not well suit his deep learning' (II.116) and 'stranger still is the following remark of his' (with reference to *BS*, V. 24-25). and, with reference to *BS*, V. 4-5, 'similar to this (above) is what he says in another passage' (II.117). In fact, all this criticism is unfounded as Varāhamihira is here referring to earlier authorities with whom he did not find himself in agreement. Ch. VIII of the *BS* forms one of the bases of the account of *ṣaṣṭyabda* or sixty-year cycle of Jupiter found at II. 123-129. At II. 192, we seem to have a general reference to *BS*,

XLV, elaborately listing *utpātas* or unnatural phenomena.³³ An account of the comets based on BS, III. 7-12 and XI.1-7, 42, 62, is found cited, fairly correctly, at II. 234-240.³⁴

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The foregoing discussion should suffice to show that Alberuni was fairly well acquainted with Varāhamihira's works on Jātaka and Saṁhitā, and that his knowledge of Indian astrology was primarily based on his study of these texts. However, as we have seen above, there are some defects and shortcomings in his citations from these works. These seem to be primarily due to his inadequate knowledge of Sanskrit, defective manuscript tradition often resulting in incorporation of some exogenous matter, communication gap between him and his Indian *paṇḍitas*, incorporation of some commentarial material, and his anxiety to make the subject intelligible to his Arabic readers which compelled him to make use of some other matter and deviate from the original. All the same, his account is of great value for any student of Varāhamihira.

Footnotes

- 1 The name should really be spelt as Al-Bīrūnī, but following the common practice we have adopted the more popular spelling in these pages. Diacritical marks have not generally been used with Arabic names.
- 2 I. 116; II. 2. 13, 103. The references are to the *Alberuni's India* translated with an introduction by E. Sachau, in two volumes, London, 1910. The Roman figures refer to vol. no. and the Arabic ones to page numbers. Thus, I. 116=Volume I, p. 116.
- 3 Its Arabic name is *Alqānūm Almasūdī*. Translated into English by E. Sachau, London, 1879.
- 4 *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, translator's Preface, p. xxxv; II.55.
- 5 Much of it is based on E. Sachau's Preface to his translation.
- 6 Translated into English under the title *Alberuni's India*, 2 Vols., London, 1910.
- 7 *Ibid.*, Preface, p. xxiii; I.7. In his own words the purpose was to equip 'any one (in Islam) who wants to converse with the Hindus, and to discuss with them questions of religion, science or literature, on the very basis of their own civilisation' (II.246).
- 8 The translated texts include a work on the Sāṅkhya system of Kapila and the *Book of Patañjali (Yoga-sūtra)*, the *Khaṇḍa-khād-yaka* and the *Brāhma-sphuṭa-siddhānta* of Brahmagupta, the *Puliṣa-siddhānta*, the BS and the LJ of Varāhamihira and a Sanskrit treatise on loathsome diseases. Of these he had undertaken but

not yet completed the translation of Brahmagupta's works before the composition of his *Indica*. See *ibid.*, Preface, p xxxviii and I. 154, 158, 389; II. 208, 277.

9 These works included the following :

- (1) A treatise on various systems of numeration, as used by different nations, probably including those relating the Indian subjects. I. 174.
- (2) A book called *Key of Astronomy*, on the question whether the sun rotates round the earth or *vice versa*. I. 277. It may be reasonably supposed that the book also dealt with the Indian notions on the subject.
- (3) A treatise on the determination of the lunar stations or *nakṣatras*. II.83.
- (4) A treatise containing an account of the *Karaṇas*, the title whereof is left unmentioned. II. 194.
- (5) A treatise known as *The Arabic Khaṇḍa-khādyaka* containing an account of the *Yoga* theory. II. 208.
- (6) *The Khayāl-alkusūfaini*, which contained an account of the *Yoga* theory besides other matters. *Ibid.*
- (7) Several publications on the different methods for the computation of geographical longitude, which must have included ancient Indian methods. I.315.

He also composed some treatise (s) for the Hindus of Kashmir (Preface to the edition of the text, by E. Sachau, p. xx) where the Muslims had no access (I. 206).

- 10 Alberuni's references to the Purāṇic (B.N. Mukherjee, "A Critical Examination of Alberuni's Charges Against the Copyists of the Purāṇas", *IHQ*, XXXV, pp. 132-138) and Vedic (Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Alberuni aur Veda", *Viśva-jyoti*, April-May, 1972, pp. 141-145) literature have received some attention. We have taken a cursory survey of "Sanskritic Sources of Alberuni" in a paper published in the *JIH*, LII, pp. 327-360.
- 11 Not to mention others, even E. Sachau, who has earned the gratitude of all students of Indology for his pioneering work on Alberuni, has listed only a few of the works consulted by Alberuni. *Vide* E. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I; Preface. pp. xxxix-xl.
- 12 He is accused of lending his support to imposture and shirking from the truth (II. 110).
- 13 Sometimes the passages in question do not represent Brahmagupta's own view but the opinions of earlier writers quoted by him (*pūrva-sāstr-ānusāreṇa*). See *ibid.*, Vol. II. annotations, pp. 263 and 389.

- 14 II. 110. As stated in the previous note, this accusation was born of Alberuni's misunderstanding.
- 15 H. Kern's edition of the *BS*, Introduction, p. 4; B.L. Mukherji, "The Date of Varāhamihira's Birth", *JASB*, VIII (1912), pp. 275-278.
- 16 *Literary Remains of Dr. Bṛhat Daji*. pp. 240-241; G.Thibaut, *Pañca-siddhāntikā*, Introduction, p. xxxviii. This theory is based on the fact that this year is mentioned in connection with the *Romaka-siddhānta*.
- 17 Alberuni invariably refers to the *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* by the name *Saiṁhitā* which is quoted very frequently.
- 18 The title of this text is missing.
- 18a Varāhamihira's both texts on Jātaka, viz., the *BJ* and the *LJ*, were already available in Arabic translations from the days of early Abbasid rule (see E. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Preface, p. xxxvii), but either Alberuni was unaware of them or chose to translate the shorter version because he did not find the earlier translation satisfactory.
- 19 Strangely enough, a few manuscripts of this work are actually, though wrongly, attributed to Varāhamihira (V. W. Karambelkar, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Nagpur University Library*, No. 2335; W. Taylor, *Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts in the College Fort St. George*, p. 317) and described as a supplement to the *BJ* (*ibid.*, p. 79 No. 2075) or the *BS*, (R.L. Mitra, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the Maharaja of Bikaner*, Calcutta, 1880, p. 337), while others are attributed to Bhaṭṭotpala (Karambelkar, *op.cit.*. Nos. 2336-2339, 2341) or Damodara Daiva-jña (*ibid.*, No. 2340). It is also referred to as *Satpañcaśatī* (Taylor, *op.cit.*, No. 2075), which is a misnomer. It was also known as *Praśna-mahodadhī* and ascribed to Pṛthuyāśas who is, however, wrongly described as a son of Bhaṭṭotpala (*Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Library*, Madras, Nos. 13954, 13957, 13959).
- 20 He is also not named as an authority on Vāstuvidyā (architecture) by subsequent writers on the subject. Even Utpala does not refer to any work on architecture by Varāhamihira.
- 21 References are to Sudhakarā Dvivedī's edition with Utpala's gloss.
- 22 For one such manuscript, see *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Private Libraries of South India*, p. 206, No. 2959. Independent manuscripts of Ch. LIII of the *BS* dealing with water divining have also been reported.

- 23 First nine chapters have been edited by H. Kern, while the entire text is published by J. L. Shastri.
- 24 Edited by V.R. Pandit, *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. XX, Part II (September, 1957) pp. 40-63. As pointed out by Pandit, it appears to be an abbreviated version of the *BY*. The title of this text is variously given in the manuscripts, viz., *Dikkini*, *Ṭikanika*, *Ṭikkaṇi*, *Ṭikani*, *Ṭikkanikā*, *Ḍhikanika*, etc., and Utpala's commentary on the *Yoga-yātrā* also spells it variously. Being most popularly found in the manuscript tradition and Utpala's commentary, *Ṭikanika* appears to be most probable. The meaning of this word is not clear, but it may be conjectured to have been derived from the root *Ṭika* or *Ṭika*, to move, to run, to jump, etc. See *ibid.*, p. 41.
- 25 Consisting of 97 stanzas, the text still remains unpublished. See V. R. Pandit. *The Three Yātrā Works of Varāhamihira with their Critical Editions and a Brief History of the Development of Jyotiṣhāśāstra from the Early Vedic Times to the Period of Varāhamihira*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis submitted to the University of Bombay, 1952.
- 26 It has been recently edited by David Pingree in the *Bulletin of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library*, Madras, Vol. XX, 1972, pp. 1-130. V. R. Pandit's edition, which is much better and was submitted to the University of Bombay as early as 1952, still remains unpublished. We have consulted the latter edition.
- 27 Obviously Alberuni was not aware of the original *Brāhmiya* or *Paitāmaha Siddhānta* epitomised by Varāhamihira in his *Pañca-siddhāntikā* which was no longer extant in his time and had been replaced almost completely by Brahmagupta's *Brāhmiya-sphuṭa-siddhānta*.
- 28 This *Paitāmaha-siddhānta*, which was obviously different from the *Brāhmiya-siddhānta* or *Brāhmiya-sphuṭa-siddhānta* of Brahmagupta, probably represented the original work of this name summarised by Varāhamihira.
- 29 For a discussion about the five Siddhāntas known to Varāhamihira, see, *ISBV*, Ch. VIII.
- 30 At I. 272, Varāhamihira's view regarding the law of gravitation is quoted, and we are told at the end that 'the earth attracts that which is upon her, for it is the *below* towards all directions, heaven is the *above* towards all directions.' At II. 70, his opinion regarding sun's distance from the earth is cited. Both these could have belonged only to *PS* among Varāhamitra's writings. But we are unable to trace them.
- 31 It is not impossible in view of the very nature of the manuscript

tradition in India which often resulted in the accretion and deletion of certain portions. In some cases passages from other texts were also inserted and it is not unlikely that the copyist responsible for preparing the manuscript consulted by Alberuni contained some passages from a *Sthala-māhatmya*.

32 Cf. *ISBV*, p. 342.

33 Also cf. *BS*, III. 9-10, which also contain some allusions to *utpātas*.

34 Varāhamihira's opinion is also quoted regarding unlucky *yogas* (II. 208) and the duration of *gaṇḍānta* (II. 209), but without any mention of the work from which it was taken. Perhaps it may refer to his astronomical treatise as known to him.

Chapter 12

Varāhamihira and Bhadrabāhu

[Merutuṅga and Rājasekharasūri, the fourteenth century authors of the Jaina works *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* and *Prabandha-kośa*, the latter also known as *Caturvīṃśati-prabandha*, respectively, relate anecdotes of the rivalry between Bhadrabāhu and Varāhamihira whom they make brothers. They paint this Bhadrabāhu as a *śrutakevalin*, who was well-versed in the fourteen *Pūrvas*, and would thus like us to believe that, like this Bhadrabāhu, Varāhamihira also lived in the fourth century B.C. While both of them speak of Bhadrabāhu's proficiency in astrology, Rājasekharasūri attributes to him an astrological text called *Bhadrabāhvi Saṃhitā*. It has been demonstrated in the following pages that there were at least two, and perhaps three, personages named Bhadrabāhu who were confused together by these later writers due to the lack of historical sense on their part and the identity of names. It is also shown that the present text of the *Bhadrabāhu-saṃhitā* probably dates from the fourteenth century A.D. and represents an unintelligent compilation based on some earlier Brāhmaṇical work which was converted into a Jaina text by some additions, alterations and interpolations here and there and that it stands no comparison with Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, also known as *Vārāhi-saṃhitā* after the author's name.]

Varāhamihira is justly reckoned as a doyen of the astronomers and astrologers of ancient India. He surpassed all other fellow-workers in the field by composing standard works, both copious and abridged, on all the three branches of Jyotiṣa, viz., (i) *tantra* (mathematical astronomy), (ii) *horā* (horoscopy), and (iii) *sāklā* or *saṃhitā* (natural astrology). Some late Jaina writers narrate stories which seek to establish some relationship between Varāhamihira and Bhadrabāhu. Thus, the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* tells us that in the city of Pāṭaliputra, there lived a Brāhmaṇa boy named Varāha who was, ever since his birth, devoted to the study of astrology. But because of poverty he had to subsist by tending cattle. Once he drew a horoscope (*lagna*) on the surface of a rock, but forgot to efface it before returning home in the evening. On remembering it he went back to the spot in the night only to find a lion sitting over it; but he effaced the drawing fearlessly by putting his hand under the lion's belly. The lion gave up his animal mask and appeared as the Sun-god and told him to ask a

boon. Varāha requested him to show him the entire circle of stars and planets whereupon the god had him seated in his transport and enabled him to examine closely the movements of all the heavenly bodies. When he returned after a year he became famous as Varāhamihira in allusion to the favour of the Sun-god (Mihira), was patronised by king Nanda and composed a treatise on astrology called *Vārāhi-saṃhitā*. Once when a son was born to him, he closely examined the moment and from his intimate personal knowledge of the planets prophesied a hundred-years' life for the newborn babe. All but his younger full-brother, the Jaina teacher Bhadrabāhu, came to him with presents and participated in the festivities marking the occasion. Varāha complained to the Jaina minister Śakaṭāla about it. On being told about it, Bhadrabāhu said that he had not attended the function as, according to his calculation, the child would meet death from a cat on the 20th day. And notwithstanding all the efforts to prevent the calamity the prediction came out true, and the child expired in the night as an iron chain bearing an engraved figure of a cat fell on his head. Varāhamihira was utterly disappointed and was about to consign all the books to fire when Bhadrabāhu came to console him and prevented him from doing so. But being envious of Bhadrabāhu, Varāhamihira took recourse to black magic and caused trouble to some and death to some others of his (Bhadrabāhu's) lay followers whereupon Bhadrabāhu composed a new hymn (*stotra*) called *Uvasag-gaharapāsa* with the object of averting these disturbances.¹

The same episode, with some minor differences and elaboration of details, is related by Rājaśekharasūri in his *Prabandhakośa*, also known as *Caturvīṃśatīprabandha*. It may be summarised as follows :

Two poor but intelligent Brāhmaṇa boys named Bhadrabāhu and Varāha lived at Pratiṣṭhānapura in Dakṣiṇāpatha. Once the Jaina patriarch Yaśobhadra, who knew the fourteen Pūrvas, came over there. Bhadrabāhu and Varāha heard his sermon and became Jaina monks. Bhadrabāhu acquired the knowledge of the fourteen Pūrvas and possessed thirty-six qualities. He attained great fame as the composer of the *niryuktis* (commentaries) on the ten canonical works, to wit, *Daśavaikālikasūtra*, *Uttarādhyayanasūtra*, *Daśāśrutaskandha*, *Kalpa-sūtra*, *Vyavahārasūtra*, *Āvaśyakasūtra*, *Sūryaprajñapti*, *Sūtra-kṛtāṅga*, *Ācārāṅgasūtra* and *Ṛṣibhāṣita*, and also composed a work called *Bhadrabāhvi-saṃhitā*. After the passing away of Yaśobhadrasūri, both Bhadrabāhu and Sambhūtivijaya (who also possessed the knowledge of the fourteen Pūrvas) lived amicably and wandered independently. Varāha, who too was a scholar, wanted his brother Bhadrabāhu to confer on him the status of *sūri*. Bhadrabāhu declined the request as

Varāha, though learned, was puffed up with pride. Thereupon Varāha gave up the vow and again lived the life of a Brāhmaṇa. On the basis of his study of the sciences when he was a Jaina monk, he composed a number of new works including the *Vārāha-sāṃhitā* and circulated the rumour of his acquisition of the knowledge of astrology by the favour of the Sun-god as narrated in the above story from the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* and thereby attained great celebrity. Pleased with his learning, Śatrujit, king of Pratiṣṭhānapura, appointed him his priest. Varāha hurled abuses on the Śvetāmbaras who were upset and sent for Bhadrabāhu. In the mean time, Varāhamihira was blessed with a son for whom he predicted a full 100 years' life, and the occasion was fittingly celebrated. Varāhamihira complained that Bhadrabāhu, although he was his full-brother, did not participate in the festivities. On hearing it, Bhadrabāhu explained away his action by predicting the child's death from a cat on the seventh day. The incident took place and Bhadrabāhu consoled his brother exactly as narrated in the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*. But a Jaina layman, reminded of the earlier insult of his faith by Varāhamihira and condemned the latter in the harshest possible words. On knowing the whole episode and being introduced to Bhadrabāhu, the King, who had come to console Varāhamihira, embraced Jainism. Thereupon Varāhamihira began to hate Jainism and caused a lot of troubles to the Jaina laity. To avert this calamity Bhadrabāhu compiled from earlier works a prayer entitled *Uvasagga-harapāsa* comprising five stanzas. The story ends with the statement that Bhadrabāhu's successor, Sthūlabhadra, who also had the knowledge of the fourteen Pūrvas, destroyed other faiths.²

This story with minor changes is narrated in some other works also. Thus, in the *Sukhabodhini* commentary on the *Kalpasūtra*, the same anecdote as found in the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* is related with the only difference that here the episode centres round the son of Varāhamihira's royal patron, and not round Varāhamihira's own son.³

A comparative analysis will reveal that there are some minor differences between the versions of the story as found in the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* and the *Prabandhakośa*. In the former, the venue of the episode is located at Pāṭaliputra, while the latter places it at Pratiṣṭhāna. While the former makes out the episode as occurring during the reign of king Nanda, the latter gives the name of the king as Śatrujit. Merutuṅga does not mention like Rājasekharasūri, the anecdote of Varāhamihira's first becoming a Jaina ascetic and then reverting to the life of a Brāhmaṇa out of jealousy of his brother Bhadrabāhu and leaves the impression that, while Bhadrabāhu became a Jaina monk, Varāhamihira throughout led the life of a Brāhmaṇa astrologer. Again,

whereas the *Prabandhakośa* speaks of Bhadrabāhu as a pupil of Yaśodhara, a contemporary of Sambhūtivijaya, and as the teacher of Sthūlabhadra, no such statement is found in the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*. Likewise, while the *Prabandhakośa* describes Yaśobhadra, Bhadrabāhu, Sambhūtivijaya and Sthūlabhadra as possessing the knowledge of the fourteen Pūrvas (*caturdaśapūrvin*), the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* does not make any such explicit statement. And lastly, while the death of Varāhamihira's son according to Bhadrabāhu's prediction took place on the 20th day according to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, this event is placed on the 7th day by the other work which further adds that, as a result of this incident, Varāhamihira's royal patron got himself converted to Jainism. Obviously, the *Prabandhakośa* version, although composed only forty-four years after the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*,⁴ marks a great elaboration of the original story and overplays the rivalry between Varāhamihira and Bhadrabāhu in particular and between Jainism and Brāhmanical Hinduism in general. But fundamentally, there is no difference between these versions. By placing the incident during the reign of king Nanda, Merutuṅga also identifies Bhadrabāhu, the central figure of his story, with the homonymous *caturdaśapūrvin* Jaina patriarch.

If any historical value were to be attached to the above story Varāhamihira will have to be regarded as a contemporary, nay even brother, of Bhadrabāhu who, according to the Jaina tradition, was the last of the *śrutakevalins* and flourished a few centuries before Christ.

There is no unanimity among the Jainas about the date of the *śrutakevalin* Bhadrabāhu. The Digambara tradition as incorporated in the *Tiloyapaṇṇatī*, *Dhavalā*, *Jayadhavalā* and other works unanimously gives 162 years as the total period of the pontificate of the three *kevalins* and five *śrutakevalins* after Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa*.⁵ According to the Śvetāmbara tradition recorded in Hemacandra's *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan* and other works, on the other hand, Bhadrabāhu passed away when 170 years had elapsed since Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa*.⁶ Although some Jaina works place the end of the rule of the Nanda dynasty, which coincided with the close of the pontificate of Sthūlabhadra, 215 years after the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra and thereby make Bhadrabāhu flourish in the Nanda period which is said to have lasted for 155 years, the tradition recorded by Hemacandra which places Candragupta Maurya's accession 155 years after Mahāvīra's death and the evidence of some Jaina writers⁷ and inscriptions from Mysore⁸ which make out a case for the contemporaneity of Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta Maurya appear more trustworthy.⁹ And what is most pertinent in the present context is, while the Digambara and Śvetāmbara traditions

considerably differ between themselves as regards the order and names of the spiritual successors of Mahāvīra and the exact length of the period covered by their pontificate,¹⁰ the date they assign to the *śrītakevalin* Bhadrabāhu falls in the fourth century B.C. Thus he lived over eight centuries before Varāhamihira who, as we have seen above, can be definitely assigned to the sixth century A.D. on the basis of the internal evidence of his own writings.

In view of the above chronological position of the *caturdaśapūrvin* Bhadrabāhu and Varāhamihira, the tradition recorded by Merutuṅga and Rājaśekharaśūrī which represents them as contemporaries must be set aside. It must be pointed out in this connection that, while there may be a substratum of truth in some of the near contemporary episodes related by these two Jaina writers of the fourteenth century A.D.,¹¹ they evince an utter lack of historical sense as regards the earlier period. Not to speak of very ancient times, even the stories narrated by Merutuṅga about Bhoja, the Paramāra king of Malwa, who flourished in the eleventh century A.D., are an amalgum of incredible legends and suffer from anachronisms. To cite only a few examples, he would have us believe that the celebrated poets Bāṇa and Mayūra, who are known to have lived in the first half of the seventh century A.D. and enjoyed the patronage of the Puṣyabhūti king Harṣavardhana, actually adorned the court of Bhoja of Malwa;¹² likewise he relates an amusing story about the friendship of the poet Māgha, who is known on independent grounds to have flourished in the latter half of the same century, and king Bhoja.¹³ Then again, he speaks of a place called Kalyāṇa-kaṭaka as the capital town (*rājadhāni-nagara*) of the country of Kānyakubja which is said to have comprised thirty-six lakhs of villages.¹⁴ This statement is very curious inasmuch as Kānyakubja itself enjoyed the status of the imperial capital first of the Maukharis and Harṣavardhana and then of the Āyudhas and the imperial Pratihāras and no town named Kalyāṇa-kaṭaka is known from any other source to have existed in the proximity of Kanauj. Similar is the case with the *Prabandhakośa*. It refers to king Śātavāhana as the founder of an era (*saṁvatsara*),¹⁵ evidently the so-called Śāliyāhana-Śaka which actually owes its origin to the Śakas after whom it was known for a long time.¹⁶ Then again it attributes the *Sārasvatarīyākaraṇa* to the same king¹⁷ whereas a more popular tradition assigns it to Śarvavarman. Likewise, it mentions Meghacandra as the son and successor of Jayantacandra (*i.e.*, Jayacandra) who himself is represented as the son and successor of Govindacandra, king of Vārāṇasī, evidently the famous Gāhaḍavāla ruler of that name.¹⁸ This is an illustration of the most flagrant distortion of near contemporary

history, for we learn from numerous Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions that after Govindacandra came his son Vijayacandra and after the latter his son Jayacandra who was followed by his son Hariścandra.¹⁹ These examples picked up at random would suffice to show that even as regards near contemporary events no great historical value attaches to the statements of these two authors, not to speak of episodes said to have taken place several centuries before their time. It would therefore, not be surprising if the story concerning Bhadrabāhu and Varāhamihira is totally unhistorical and baseless.

It is, however, pertinent to note in this connection that the available evidence indicates the existence of more than one Jaina teacher named Bhadrabāhu who were separated from one another by a few centuries. The *śrutakevalin* Bhadrabāhu who, as shown above, flourished in the second century after the passing away of the last Jaina Tirthānkara, may be conveniently referred to as Bhadrabāhu I. As he lived prior to the division of the Jaina church between the Śvetāmbara and Digambara sects, he was honoured by the followers of both the sects and is consequently mentioned in the literary traditions of both of them. As the later teachers of this name belonged only to one or the other of the two main sects, they are referred to in the literary works emanating only from the followers of the concerned sect.²⁰ Thus, the Digambara Paṭṭāvalis belonging to the Nandi-saṅgha and the Sarasvatī-gaccha mention two Bhadrabāhus, the first of whom was the last *śrutakevalin* and is said to have been the disciple of the fourth *śrutakevalin*, Govardhana, and expired 162 years after Mahāvira's *nirvāṇa*.²¹ The second Bhadrabāhu is spoken of as having flourished 492 years after the death of Mahāvira, that is, in Vikrama 22 or 35 B.C. and is described as the pupil of Yaśobhadra. His pontificate is said to have covered twenty-three years, *i.e.*, 32-12 B.C. The Paṭṭāvali of the Nandi Āmnāya of the Sarasvatī-gaccha begins with him.²² It must be pointed out in this connection that the famous Digambara author Kundakunda describes himself in his *Chappāhuḍa* (*ṣaṭprābhṛta*) as a pupil of Bhadrabāhu²³ who is generally identified with the second teacher of this name known to the Digambara tradition.²⁴ There is, however, a serious difficulty in accepting this identification. This Bhadrabāhu is spoken of as well-versed in the twelve Aṅgas and fourteen Pūrvas,²⁵ a description applicable only to the first Bhadrabāhu. It is also noteworthy that Kundakunda refers to Bhadrabāhu as a *gamaya-guru* (*gamaka-guru*) or traditional teacher, and not as an ordinary teacher. Kundakunda had, thus, nothing to do with Bhadrabāhu II.

As shown above, a late Śvetāmbara tradition recorded by authors

of the fourteenth and subsequent centuries of the Christian era mentions a certain Bhadrabāhu who is spoken of as a brother and rival of the astronomer-astrologer Varāhamihira.²⁶ Although he is represented as a *caturdaśapūrvin*, his alleged contemporaneity with Varāhamihira, whose date is known from his own works, seems to point to the existence of yet another Bhadrabāhu who lived in the sixth century A.D. We may call him Bhadrabāhu III. This Bhadrabāhu is credited with the authorship of a number of works including *niryuktis* on ten works of the Jaina canon, an astrological treatise entitled *Bhādrabāhvi-saṃhitā* and a *stotra* consisting of five verses called *Uvasaggaharapāsa*. It is pertinent to note here that much earlier unanimous Śvetāmbara tradition recorded in the *niryuktis*,²⁷ *bhāṣyas*²⁸ and *cūrṇis*.²⁹ of the Jaina canon attributes the authorship of the Cheda-sūtras³⁰ to the *caturdaśa-pūrva-dhara* Bhadrabāhu.

A critical analysis of the above data would reveal that, from fairly early times, some confusion prevailed about the personages bearing the name Bhadrabāhu and that the activities of one Bhadrabāhu were often attributed to another bearer of this name. Thus, while both the Digambara and Śvetāmbara traditions are unanimous in representing Bhadrabāhu of the fourth century B.C. as the possessor of the knowledge of the twelve Aṅgas and fourteen Pūrvas the Digambara Paṭṭāvalis alone clearly distinguish him from Bhadrabāhu II who was separated from the former by an interval of about three centuries. Again, the Digambaras do not give to either of these Bhadrabāhus the credit of composing either the *niryuktis* or the *Bhādrabāhvi-saṃhitā*. On the other hand, the Śvetāmbaras clearly mention only one Bhadrabāhu, the *śrutakevalin* who is said to have passed away 170 years after Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa*. But while the earlier tradition speaks of him as the author of the Cheda-sūtras only, some late writers credit him with the authorship of the *niryuktis*, the *Bhādrabāhvi-saṃhitā* and the *Uvasaggaharapāsa* also. The earliest writer to represent him as the author of the *niryuktis* is Śīlāṅka who lived in the eighth century A.D. and speaks of him both as *niryuktikāra* and as *caturdaśa-pūrva-dhara* in one and the same breath.³¹ The same belief is reiterated by some later writers like Śāntisūri, Droṇācārya, Maladhāri-Hemacandra, Malayagiri and Kṣemakīrti.³² But they do not utter a single word about Bhadrabāhu's mastery over astrology. It was left to some late authors of the fourteenth and following centuries to lay stress on this aspect. Nay, we may even aver that an excessive emphasis on this aspect relegates his other religious and literary activities to the background. Thus was brought into being the fully developed personality of Bhadrabāhu which is an article of faith with the generality of the

Śvetāmbaras today. But this belief involves serious anachronism. The overwhelming internal evidence of the *niryuktis* themselves leaves no room for doubt that they were composed much later than the fourth century B.C. when the *śrutakevalin* Bhadrabāhu is reputed to have flourished. To cite only a few illustrations. The *Āvaśyakaniryukti* refers to later Jaina *ācāryas* like Bhadrāgupta, Ārya Simhagiri, Vairasvāmin, Tosaliṣputra, Āryarakṣita, Phalgurakṣita, Ārya Suhastin, etc., by name and alludes to events connected with them.³³ The *Uttarādhyayanāsūtra* not only mentions Sthūlabhadra with respect (he is styled *Bhagavat*), but also narrates the story of Kālakācārya who is well-known in connection with the legends centering round Vikramāditya and assignable to the first century B.C.³⁴ The *Piṇḍaniryukti* names Pādalipta and Vajrasvāmin's maternal uncle Samita and relates the ordination of the Tāpasas of Brāhmadvipa and the origin of the Brahmadvīpika-śākhā.³⁵ And lastly, the *Oghaniryukti* represents its author as paying obeisance not only to saints possessing the knowledge of the fourteen Pūrvas, but also to those versed in ten Pūrvas and eleven Aṅgas,³⁶ which can refer only to the post-*śrutakevalin* period and would be anachronistic if the *niryuktis* were to be regarded as composed by the *caturdaśapūrvin* Bhadrabāhu.³⁷ Not that the commentators of the *niryuktis* were not aware of these anachronisms; but the pressure of tradition weighed so heavily that they attempted to explain away these anachronistic trends by resorting to some ingenious devices. Thus, Śāntisūri in his gloss on the *Uttarādhyayanāsūtra* observes that the presence, in the *niryuktis*, of illustrations alluding to later events should not lead one to suppose that they were composed by some other person, for that illustrious *śrutakevalin* possessing the knowledge of fourteen Pūrvas was capable of perceiving anything relating to the past, present and future.³⁸ Likewise, referring to the obeisance of the author of the *niryuktis* to those knowing the ten Pūrvas etc., Droṇācārya in his commentary on the *Oghaniryukti* states that there is no harm in Bhadrabāhu saluting them, for though inferior to him in point of knowledge, they possessed more virtues.³⁹ But such explanations can hardly succeed to bring a modern reader round the traditional view that the *niryuktis* emanate from the *śrutakevalin* Bhadrabāhu. And then the *niryukti* on the *Daśāśrutaskandha* commences with a salutation to Bhadrabāhu himself, described as the author of the *Daśā*, *Kalpa* and *Vyavahāra*,⁴⁰ which should more than suffice to dismiss the belief as a fiction. The only solution which can satisfactorily explain all the relevant facts is that the *niryuktis* were composed by a later Bhadrabāhu who was, as pointed out by Muni Puṇyavijaya,⁴¹ confused with his *śrutakevalin*

predecessor bearing the same name.

When did this Bhadrabāhu flourish? We have stated above that the Digambaras know of a second Bhadrabāhu who is assigned to the latter half of the first century B.C. The Śvetāmbara tradition, which appears to have no knowledge of a Bhadrabāhu in the first century B.C., mentions another Bhadrabāhu who from his alleged contemporaneity with Varāhamihira seems to have flourished in the sixth century A.D. It should be noted, however, that there is considerable similarity between the details of personal life narrated in connection with these personages. Thus both are described as pupils of Yaśobhadra and their knowledge of astrology is also emphasised. These similarities are too great to be set aside as incidental. We also know that the late Śvetāmbara tradition, which speaks of Bhadrabāhu and Varāhamihira as contemporaries, does not distinguish him from the *śrutakevalin* Bhadrabāhu and is full of many other anachronisms. Thus in spite of the alleged association with Varāhamihira, we would not be quite unjustified if we conclude that the *niryuktikāra* and astrologer Bhadrabāhu of the Śvetāmbara authors is probably no other than Bhadrabāhu II of the Digambara tradition.⁴³ But if any value is to be attached to the reported association of Bhadrabāhu and Varāhamihira described by the late Śvetāmbara writers, he will have to be regarded as Bhadrabāhu III.⁴⁴ Both these suggestions are equally probable. And according as we accept one or the other of these views, the composition of the *niryuktis* will have to be placed in the first century B.C. or the sixth century A.D.

Muni Puṇyavijayaji goes a step further and suggests that the same Bhadrabāhu who composed the *niryuktis* about the sixth century A.D. was also responsible for the composition of the astrological treatise known as *Bhādrabāhvi-saṃhitā* after his own name and the *Upasargaharastotra*.⁴⁵ As regards the latter work, we have nothing to say. But it is difficult to accept his suggestion about the authorship of the former work, some manuscripts whereof have come down to us and form the basis of the published editions.⁴⁶ A brief survey of the relevant evidence here would not be out of place.

In the colophons of its various chapters, the work is variously called *Bhadrabāhukauimitta*, *Bhadrabāhuminittasāstra*, *Bhadrabāhuviracita-nimittasāstra*, *Bhadrabāhuviracita-Mahā-ni* (or *nai*) *mittasāstra* and *Bhadrabāhvi-saṃhitā*. Taken at their face value, these names will lead one to the conclusion that it emanates from Bhadrabāhu which is quite in conformity with the late Jaina tradition. But this claim is belied by the internal evidence of the work itself. It begins in the Paurāṇic fashion and we are told that once upon a time when Bhadra-

bāhu, the possessor of the knowledge of the twelve Aṅgas, was seated on the Pāṇḍugiri hill near Rājagṛha in Magadha during the reign of king Senajit, he was requested by his pupils to impart in brief the knowledge of astrological phenomena for the benefit of kings, lay-followers and particularly ascetics. Bhadrabāhu thereupon agreed to explain to them everything both in brief and in detail.⁴⁷ This statement is vitiated by some grave anachronisms. It is well-known that during the time of Bhadrabāhu, well-versed in the twelve Aṅgas, Candragupta Maurya was the ruler of practically the whole of India including Magadha whereas no ruler of Magadha named Senajit is known from any other source.⁴⁸ Then again, Pāṭaliputra, not Rājagṛha, was the capital of Magadha during the reign of Bhadrabāhu's royal patron, Candragupta Maurya; Rājagṛha had long ceased to occupy this position. Evidently, in his eagerness to give a halo of antiquity to the work, its compiler lost sight of all historical facts. This introductory portion, wherein Bhadrabāhu is styled *mahātman* and *bhagavat*, clearly indicates that the work could not have emanated from any Bhadrabāhu, neither the *śrutakeralin* nor any of his later namesakes. This conclusion is also supported by some other considerations. Thus at one place we are told that an intelligent person should decide the prospects of rainfall after hearing the words of Bhadrabāhu (XI. 52). At another place it is stated that Bhadrabāhu described the prospects of fluctuation of prices after observing the auspicious and inauspicious *yogas* of the planets and stars (XXV. 50). Then again, the expression 'these are the words of Bhadrabāhu' (*Bhadrabāhu-vaco yathā*) is met with repeatedly throughout the work.⁴⁹ Secondly, the Cheda-sūtras attributable to Bhadrabāhu I and the *niryuktis* and the *Uvasaggahara-pāsa* of a later Bhadrabāhu are all in Prakrit, and it is reasonable to assume that even if any of these Bhadrabāhus really composed a *Saṃhitā* it should also have been in the same language, whereas the extant *Bhadrabāhu-saṃhitā* is in Sanskrit. Thirdly, Merutuṅga and Rājaśekharaśūri represent Bhadrabāhu as a superior rival of Varāhamihira, and we shall not be unjustified in expecting Bhadrabāhu's *Saṃhitā*, intended to compete with his rival Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*,⁵⁰ to excel the latter work in point of contents and presentation. The case is, however, just the opposite. The *Bhadrabāhu-saṃhitā* lacks unity of composition. A majority of chapters begin with a verse stating that the author would delineate such and such a subject.⁵¹ No such statement is, however, found at the commencement of some other chapters.⁵² In the introductory portion, the author promises to deal with every topic in brief (*samāsataḥ*) as well as in detail (*vyāsataḥ*),⁵³ but he keeps this promise only in a few cases.⁵⁴ Then, at the begin-

ning of the Svapn-ādhyāya (Ch. XXVI), there is a fresh *maṅgal-ācāraṇa*⁵⁵ which shows that originally it did not form a part of the work and was added to it in later times, probably because the topic is mentioned in the list of contents given in the opening chapter (I. 17). The same is the case with Ch. XXX called *Parīṣiṣṭ-ādhyāya*.⁵⁶ The chapters are not arranged in a scientific manner. Thus no intelligible system is adopted in the delineation of planetary movements (*graha-cāra*) which form the subject matter of Chs. XV-XXIII. The movements of Venus, which receive the most elaborate treatment, claim the first place (Ch. XV) and are followed by those of Saturn (Ch. XVI). One would naturally expect it to be followed by the treatment of the remaining planets from Sun to Jupiter in their fixed serial order. But such is not the case, and an arbitrary order is adopted. After Saturn comes Jupiter (Ch. XVII) to be followed by Mercury, Mars, Rāhu, Ketu, the Sun and the Moon (Chs. XVIII-XXIII). The case is not very different regarding the arrangement of other chapters.⁵⁷ In some cases, part of one topic is dealt with in one chapter while another part of the same subject is reserved for treatment in a stanza of a subsequent chapter intervened by a large number of verses. To cite only one example, the quantum of the effects of two of the five kinds of *ulkā*, viz., Tārā and Dhiṣṇya, is described in verse 9 of Ch. II, while that of the three remaining kinds, viz., Aśani, Vidyut and Ulkā, is specified in verse 12 of the following chapter. Then there are numerous repetitions not only of ideas but even of words, sometimes in one and the same chapter. Verse 7 of Chapter XIII is, for instance, repeated once again after an interval of just sixteen verses (XIII, 23).⁵⁸ Although minor defects of language, metre and grammar are not uncommon in texts dealing with technical subjects like astrology, astronomy, medicine and philosophy, the *Bhadrabāhu-saṁhitā* is vitiated by these defects in an unprecedentedly serious proportion which many a time hamper a proper understanding of the text.⁵⁹ As against this, the *BS* is distinguished by well-knit chapters arranged scientifically, succinct but self-sufficient delineation of relevant topics, variety of metres skillfully used, clarity of expression, general correctness of language which varies according to the requirements of the topics dealt with, originality and poetic talent, qualities conspicuous by their absence in the work allegedly composed by Bhadrabāhu. The *Bhadrabāhu-saṁhitā* cannot thus stand comparison with Varāhamihira's work, not to speak of surpassing it which was the avowed purpose of composing it. But this is not all. Many statements of Varāhamihira are repeated in the *Bhadrabāhu-saṁhitā*, sometimes with the only difference that, while the former employs only a few words, the latter says the same thing in so many

words. To mention only a few examples, Ch. XXXIII of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* and Chs. II-III of the *Bhadrabāhu-saṃhitā* deal with *ulkā*. Varāhamihira defines *ulkā* and names its five varieties in XXXIII. 1 which is reiterated in so many words in *Bhadrabāhu-saṃhitā*, II. 5-6. The quantum of the effects of the five kinds of *ulkā* is described in a single stanza by Varāhamihira (XXXIII. 3) and the same is repeated by Bhadrabāhu in two verses (II. 9; III. 12) in somewhat similar words. There is a surprising degree of similarity of words and ideas between the two works at many other places.⁶⁰ The *Bhadrabāhu-saṃhitā*, XXVII. 1 is adapted from the *BS*, IX. 38, and XXVII. 2-3 of the former are literally the same as IX. 39 and V. 97 of the latter.⁶¹ Then again, verses 183-195 of the *Parīśiṣṭi-ādhyāya* of the *Bhadrabāhu-saṃhitā* are borrowed *ad verbatim* from the *BS*, LXX. 1-7, 9-13, 18. We shall, therefore, not be unjustified in concluding that not only is the *Bhadrabāhu-saṃhitā* inferior to the *Vārāhi-saṃhitā*, but is also indebted to it for many ideas and verses and is consequently later than it.⁶²

Although the extant *Bhadrabāhu-saṃhitā* is thus later than the *BS* of Varāhamihira, it is not possible to ascertain its date precisely in the present state of insufficient information. In the absence of definite evidence on the point, scholars have naturally offered diverse suggestions. The oldest available manuscript of the text was copied on Tuesday, the 5th of the bright half of Caitra in [Vikrama] Śaṃvat 1504 or in c. 1447 A. D.⁶³ But Muni Jinavijaya opines that the work is probably a Sanskritised version of Bhadrabāhu's work which was composed in Prakrit and then even the Sanskrit version is at least as old as the 11th or 12th century of the Vikrama era.⁶⁴ A. S. Gopani says at one place that the above mentioned dated manuscript shows that the work cannot be later than the 16th century of Vikrama⁶⁵ while later he avers that it was composed after the 15th century of Vikrama.⁶⁶ It is difficult to accept either of these views. While we need not deny that Bhadrabāhu did really compose a work on astrology, the internal evidence of the extant work, discussed above, clearly proves that it is neither based on nor is a Sanskrit version of Bhadrabāhu's work. So also the 11th-12th century date suggested by Jinavijayaji can at best be regarded as a pure surmise. The dated manuscript indicates that the work must have been in existence for some time prior to the date of its copying, Vikrama 1504. This rules out Gopani's suggestion that it came into existence after the 15th century of Vikrama. It is not impossible that the episode of Bhadrabāhu and Varāhamihira found in the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* and *Prabandhakosa* has an important bearing on the question. Although the former work is fully aware of Bhadrabāhu's mastery over astrology, it does not contain any allusion to the

Bhadrabāhu-saṁhitā which is first mentioned in the latter work. There is, of course, no reason to doubt that the *Bhādrabāhvi-saṁhitā* known to Rājasekharasūri was the same as the extant *Bhadrabāhu-saṁhitā*. Can we, on this basis, conclude that the available *Bhadrabāhu-saṁhitā* came into existence sometime during the gap between the dates of these two works, *i.e.*, between Vikrama 1361 and 1405 ?

It will be clear from the foregoing discussion that the work now known as *Bhadrabāhu-saṁhitā* has nothing to do with any of the Bhadrabāhus and is quite a recent compilation, and an unintelligent one at that, dating from about the middle of the present millennium. Its compiler, who was a man of ordinary calibre, ascribed it to Bhadrabāhu, evidently with the object of giving it sanctity, popularity and authoritativeness. His knowledge of Bhadrabāhu's traditional mastery of astrology⁶⁷ must have emboldened him to do so. This was not uncommon in ancient India as a number of comparatively late texts ascribed to traditionally reputed astrologers and astronomers are known to exist even now.⁶⁸ The extant *Bhadrabāhu-saṁhitā* is thus a very late compilation forged in the name of the renowned Jaina patriarch.⁶⁹

The text of the *Bhadrabāhu-saṁhitā* as it has come down to us bears the appearance of a Jaina work of the Digambara school. It begins with a salutation to Jina Vira, *i.e.*, Mahāvira,⁷⁰ and, as we have seen above, is represented to have been composed by Bhadrabāhu in response to the request of his pupils. The object of its composition, among other things, was to enable the Jaina monks to know in advance the places to be visited by calamities and take refuge in other prosperous countries (I. 11). Bhadrabāhu is styled Nirgrantha (I.6) and described as sky-clad (*Digrāsas*, II.1). The work is said to have been based on the words of Sarvajña (I. 11, 14) or Jina (II. 2) and a statement found in it is represented to be from the *Nirgranthaśāsana* or the sayings of the Nirgranthas (IV. 21).⁷¹ In the colophons of individual chapters the title of the work *i.e.*, *Bhadrabāhukauṁmitta* or *Bhadrabāhukauṁmittaśāstra*, is generally qualified by the adjective *Nirgrantha* *i.e.* belonging to the Nirgranthas.⁷² Then again, at the end of some of the chapters the monks are advised to leave one country and seek shelter in another if the former was to be afflicted by certain disasters (XII.38; XVI.181; XV.230; XXV. 49).⁷³ But a close examination of the contents reveals a number of Brāhmaṇical elements which tell us quite a different tale. Thus, speaking of the importance of the *nimittas* while undertaking a military expedition, it is said that even the gods had taken the *nimittas* into account (XIII.23). We are further told in the same vein that neither the Vedas nor the Aṅgas (*i.e.*, Ved-āṅgas) nor the sciences (*vidyās*), taken individually, can meet those

requirements which are met with by a well-told *nimitta*⁷⁴ One would normally expect a Jaina text to enumerate the various branches of learning beginning with the Jaina canon and not with the Vedas which were an object of reverence only for the followers of Brāhmaṇical Hinduism. It can not be argued that the word *aṅga* may have reference to the Jaina canon comprising twelve Aṅgas, for as the word is preceded by a reference to the Vedas, it can denote only the Vedāṅgas. Considerable space is devoted to the description of portents taken from fire while performing *homa* (offerings to fire) on the eve of a military march (XIII. 52-60). The Brāhmaṇical practice of regarding the *nakṣatras* as presided over by various gods and referring to them by the names of respective divinities is also followed (III. 38-39; XIII. 96-97). As a means of warding off certain evil portents, the author recommends the worship of gods. Brāhmaṇas initiated for the performance of Vedic sacrifices (*dikṣita*), elderly people and Brahmacārins, for the sin of the kings are extinguished by their penance (XIII. 116). Referring to the duties of a king after the conquest of a new territory, the work recommends that he should worship the gods, elderly people, Brāhmaṇical ascetics or Brahmacārins (*liṅgastha*), Brāhmaṇas and teachers and make revenue-free land grants (XIII. 181).⁷⁵ No mention is made in this connection of Jaina monks which would be reasonably expected of a Jaina author. Again, while dealing with the *utpātas* relating to divine images, the author first names Brāhmaṇical god and goddesses like Vaiśravaṇa, Candra, Varuṇa, Rudra, Indra, Baladeva,⁷⁶ Vāsudeva,⁷⁷ Pradyumna, Sūrya, Śrī, Viśvakarman, Bhadrakālī,⁷⁸ Indrāṇī, Dhanvantari, Jāmadagnya Rāma (Paraśurāma) and Sulasā (XIV. 62-81), and it is only while summarising the whole thing again that mention is made of the images of the Arhats (XIV. 82). One would be justified in expecting a Jaina author according the Tirthankara images a place of honour and others a secondary place. The case is, however, just the opposite. And lastly, the author is not only familiar with, but gives great importance to the Brāhmaṇical system of the four varṇas. Thus, while describing the effects of astrological phenomena on wordly life, he generally begins with the mention of the four castes in the prescribed order. He also appears to believe in the traditional association of colours and castes and frequently refers to white, red, yellow and black phenomena as particularly affecting the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras respectively.⁷⁹ These few instances picked up at random appear to reveal that the extant *Bhadrabāhu-saṁhitā* probably originated out of a Brāhmaṇical text which was later converted into a Jaina one by introducing a few changes and additions such as the introductory portion associa-

ting the work with Bhadrabāhu, the concluding stanzas at the end of some chapters referring to the utility of the predictions for Jaina monks and occasional references to the worship of Jina images and such other kindred elements.⁸⁰ But the garb is transparent enough to reveal its original character which is quite eloquent.

Did then Bhadrabāhu not compose any work on astrology? As we have noted above, he was traditionally reputed to have been well-versed in astrology (*nimittas*), and it is quite possible that he may have composed some work on the subject. But if he really did so, unfortunately we know neither its title nor the exact nature and scope of its contents. It was probably not known as *Bhadrabāhu-saṁhitā*, for this name is not met with in the extensive Jaina literature prior to about the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. The title was obviously imitated from Varāhamihira's *Saṁhitā* which, in addition to the name *BS*, was also called *Vārāhī-saṁhitā* after the author's name, with the motive of highlighting the alleged competition of Varāhamihira and Bhadrabāhu, which was a creation of wild imagination on the part of some Jaina authors.

And just as the statement of the author of the *Prabandhakośa* about Bhadrabāhu writing a *Saṁhitā* alleged to have been christened after his own name is untrustworthy, so also must be his alleged contemporaneity and relationship with Varāhamihira. Thus, the Varāhamihira-Bhadrabāhu episode narrated by Merutuṅga and Rājaśekhara-sūri does not appear to possess any historical value and as such need not be taken into account in any historical study. It is noteworthy in this connection that this anecdote is not found in any work datable before the fourteenth century A.D.

The following are therefore our conclusions:—

(i) The contemporaneity of the *śrutakevalin* Bhadrabāhu and Varāhamihira contemplated by Merutuṅga and Rājaśekhara-sūri must be rejected as it goes against the internal evidence of Varāhamihira's own works.

(ii) It is possible that the episode has reference to a later Bhadrabāhu who composed the *niryuktis* and was confused with his earlier namesake because of the sameness of their names.

(iii) An examination of the available *Bhadrabāhu-saṁhitā* proves that it has nothing to do with any of the personages bearing the name Bhadrabāhu and that it is inferior to and later than Varāhamihira's *BS* to which it is indebted for many an idea and stanza. In fact, it is an unintelligent compilation of about the middle of the present millennium attributed to Bhadrabāhu with the object of according it a respectable position.

(iv) The text of the *Bhadrabāhu-saṃhitā* as it has come down to us appears to belong to the Digambara sect of Jainism. But a critical appraisal of its contents reveals that, in all probability, the text was originally a Brāhmaṇical one and was later given a Jaina appearance by adding a few Jainistic elements here and there.

(v) Although Bhadrabāhu may have composed a work on astrology, it was probably not known as *Bhadrabāhu-saṃhitā*, which name is met with for the first time in the fourteenth century A.D.

(vi) As shown by a critical examination of the contents of the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* and *Prabandhakośa*, also called *Caturvīṃśatiprabandha*, their authors, Merutuṅga and Rājaśekharasūri, had no historical sense, and the Varāhamihira-Bhadrabāhu episode recorded by them must be dismissed as of no historical value whatsoever.

Footnotes

- 1 *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, ed. Jinavijaya Muni, Singhi Jaina Series, No. 1, Santiniketan, 1939, Prakāśa V, pp. 118-119.
- 2 *Prabandhakośa*, ed. Jinavijaya Muni, Singhi Jaina Series, No. 6, Santiniketan, 1935, Prabandha I (Bhadrabāhu-Varāha-Prabandha), pp. 2-4.
- 3 Tribhuvandas L. Shah. *Ancient India*, Vol. IV, Baroda, 1941, pp. 338-339. On the basis of Jaina evidence, Shah avers that the *Vārāha-saṃhitā* was composed 156 years after Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa* (*ibid.*, p. 339).
- 4 The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, as stated in its colophon (p. 125), was completed in Vikrama 1361 expired corresponding to 1306 A.D., while Rājaśekharasūri finished his *Prabandhakośa* in Vikrama 1405 (p. 131) or 1349 A.D.
- 5 For a full discussion, see Kailash Chandra Shastri, *Jaina Sāhitya kā Itihāsa : Pūrvapīṭhikā*, Varanasi, Vira Nirvāṇa Year 2489, pp. 337-339.
- 6 *Ibid.*, pp. 339f. ; also M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1933, pp. 462, 476.
- 7 Cf. Hariṣeṇa's *Bṛhatkathākośa* (Singhi Jaina Series, Bombay, 1943), pp. 317-319.
- 8 B. Lewis Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions* (London, 1919), pp. 3-4.
- 9 For a discussion of the whole question, *vide* Kailash Chandra Shastri, *op.cit.*, pp. 342-346; also V.A. Smith, *Early History of India* (Oxford, 1957), p. 154; *Oxford History of India* (Oxford, 1923), pp. 75-76; H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (6th ed., Calcutta, 1953), pp. 294-295.

- 10 Kailash Chandra Shastri, *op.cit.*, pp. 339-340.
- 11 The stories concerning the Caulukyias come under this category.
- 12 *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, Prakāśa 2, pp. 44-45.
- 13 *Ibid.*, Prakāśa 2, pp. 34-36.
- 14 *Ibid.*, Prakāśa 1, pp. 11.
- 15 Prabandha 15, p. 68.
- 16 G. H. Ojha, *Bhāratiya Prācīna Lipimālā* (Delhi, Vikrama 2016), pp. 170-173; D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy* (Delhi 1965), pp. 258-267. The era is often regarded as the reckoning of Kaniṣka I of the Kuṣāṇa clan.
- 17 *Prabandhakośa*, Prabandha 15, p. 72.
- 18 *Ibid.*, Prabandha 11; p. 54.
- 19 *The Struggle for Empire*, ed. R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pulsalker, (Bombay, 1966), pp. 54-55.
- 20 This reminds one of the Buddhist Councils, only the first two of which are known to the undivided Buddhist church whereas the subsequent ones, being of sectarian nature, are mentioned only in the works of the respective sects.
- 21 As stated above, the Śvetāmbaras place his death 170 years after Mahāvīra's passing away.
- 22 H. Jacobi, *The Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu*, Introduction, pp. 10ff.; *IA*, Vol. II, p. 245; Vol. XXI, pp. 57ff. This Bhadrabāhu is mentioned only in the Paṭṭāvalis, other texts remaining reticent about him. According to some scholars, the episode of the migration of the Jaina community to South India recorded in literature and some late inscriptions from Mysore was connected with Bhadrabāhu II. See J. F. Fleet in *IA*, Vol. XII, pp. 156ff.; Kailash Chandra Shastri, *op. cit.*, pp. 350-351. The suggestion is, however, not satisfactory.
- 23 *Ṣaṭprābhṛta* (edited by Surajbhan Vakil, Varanasi, 1910), Bodhāpāda, verse 62.
- 24 M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, pp. 476-477, 577.
- 25 *Bārasa-Aṅga-viyāyaṇi caūddasa-Puṇyaṅga-viṇḍa-rittharaṇaṇi/ Sūyanani Bhadrabāhu gamaya-guru bhayavao jayau//*
- 26 *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, Prakāśa 5, pp. 118-119; *Prabandhakośa*, Prabandha 1, pp. 2-4.
- 27 The *niryukti* on the *Daśāśrutaskandhasūtra* mentions Bhadrabāhu as the author of the *Daśāśrutaskandha*, *Kalpa* and *Vyavahāra*. For the text of the verse, see *Bṛhat-kalpasūtra* with the *niryukti*, a *bhāṣya* by Saṅghadāsagaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa and a commentary by Malayagiri, edited by Muni Caturvijaya and Muni Puṇyavijaya,

- Vol. VI (Bhavnagar 1942), Gujarati Intro., p. 1.
- 28 The author of the *Pañcakalpanahābhāṣya* also refers to Bhadrabāhu as the composer of the *Daśā*, *Kalpa* and *Vyavahāra* and repeatedly calls him *sūttakāra*. For the original text cf. *ibid.*, p. 2.
- 29 The *cūrṇi* on the *Pañcakalpabhāṣya* gives Bhadrabāhu the credit of composing the *Ācāraprakalpa* or *Niśīthasūtra*, *Daśā*, *Kalpa* and *Vyavahāra*. For the text, see *ibid.*, p. 3.
- 30 The *Daśāśrutaskandha*, *Kalpa*, *Vyavahāra*, *Niśītha*, *Mahāniśītha* and *Pañcakalpa* are known as Cheda-sūtras.
- 31 *Anuyoga-dāyinaḥ Sudharmasvāmi-prabhr̥tayaḥ* = *yāvad* = *asya bhagavato niryukti-kārasya Bhadrabāhusvāmināś* = *caturdaśa-pūrvā-dharasy* = *ācāryo* = *tas* = *tān sarvān* = *iti* (Śiṣāṅka's commentary on the *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, quoted *ibid.*, p. 4).
- 32 For citations, see *ibid.*, pp. 4-5.
- 33 *Ibid.*, pp. 5-8.
- 34 For the original text, see *ibid.*, pp. 7-8. The Vikramāditya tradition is really much later.
- 35 *Ibid.*, p. 7.
- 36 *Arahante vimdittā caūdasa-purvī tah* = *eva dasa-purvī* / *Ekkārasa-āṅga-suttattha-dhārae sarva-sāhū ya* (quoted from *loc.cit.*).
- 37 For some other anachronisms, see *ibid.*, pp. 5-14.
- 38 *Na ca keṣāncid* = *ih* = *odāharaṇānām niryukti-kālād* = *arvāk-kālabhāvītā ity* = *any-oktatvam* = *āśāṅkanīyam sa hi bhagavānś* = *caturdaśa-pūrvā-vit śruta-kevalī kāla-traya-viśayam vastu paśyaty* = *ev* = *eti katham* = *anya-kṛtatv-aśūikā iti* (*ibid.*, p. 4).
- 39 *Guṇ-ādihikasya vaudanaṁ karttavyam na tv* = *adhauasya, yatauktam* — *guṇ-āhie vaṁdayam ca nyūnatvāt kim teṣāṁ namaskāraṁ* = *asau karoti iti; atr* = *ocyate guṇ-ādihika eva te, avyavacchitti-guṇ-ādhikeyāt, ato na doṣa iti* (*ibid.* p. 4).
- 40 *Vaṁdāmi Bhadrabāhuṁ pāṇināṁ carima-sagala-suyanaṇim* / *Suttassa kāragam* = *isiṁ Dasāsu kappe ya Vavahāre* /
—(quoted, *ibid.*, p. 13).
- 41 *Ibid.*, pp. 1-17.
- 42 It must be remembered in this connection that a late tradition met with in the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* makes Varāhamihira one of the nine gems of the court of Vikramāditya who is credited with the institution of the Vikrama era of 57 B.C. In case it is held that Meru-tinga and Rājasekharasūri followed this tradition which was quite popular in their time, the identification of the two Bhadrabāhu's will have to be regarded as a certainty.
- 43 *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, ed. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri (Calcutta, 1957), p. 662.

- 44 Puṇyavijaya, *op. cit.*, Intro., pp. 1-17.
- 45 *Ibid.*, pp. 15-17. In support of his proficiency in astrology, Puṇyavijaya invites attention to some statements with astrological implications found in the *niryuktis* and to the fact that the *Sūryaprajñāpti* was one of the texts chosen by Bhadrabāhu for writing his *niryuktis*.
- 46 A Gujarati translation by Pandit Hiralal Hamsaraj was published from Bombay in Vikrama 1959 and the text was published a few years later by the same Pandit from Jamnagar. The text critically edited from four manuscripts and with an enlightening introduction by Amritlal S. Gopani and a foreword by Muni Jinavijaya was published in the Singhi Jaina Series. No. 26, Bombay, 1949. Later, Nemichandra Shastri edited it from two manuscripts with an introduction and Hindi translation (Varanasi, 1959). Gopani's edition contains twenty-six chapters and that of Shastri twenty-seven and an additional chapter called *Parīṣiṣṭ-ādhyāya*. Unless otherwise stated, references in the preprint paper pertain to Gopani's edition.
- 47 *Bhadrabāhu-saṃhitā*, I. 1-20; II. 1-2.
- 48 Unless, of course, he is identified with Seṇiya Bimbisāra. Prasena-jit of Kosala is out of question.
- 49 *Ibid.*, III. 31, 64; VI. 17; VII. 19; IX. 26, 62; X. 16, 44; XI. 26, 30; XII. 37; XIII. 74, 100, 178; XIV. 54, 136; XV. 36, 72, 127, 145, 166, 178; XVIII. 24; XX. 14; XXIII. 28; XXIV. 23; XXVI. 42.
- 50 Called *Vārāhi-saṃhitā* in the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* and *Prabandha-kośa*.
- 51 In some cases, the concluding verse of a chapter mentions the subject dealt with in the following chapter.
- 52 Cf. Chs. III. XIX, XXII, XXIII, XXV, XXVII.
- 53 *Bhadrabāhu-saṃhitā*, II. 2.
- 54 Thus, *ulkā* is described in brief in Ch. II and in detail in Ch. III. This practice is not followed in respect of other topics.
- 55 *Namaskṛtya Mahāvīraṃ sur-āsura-janair=ntam/
Svapn-ādhyāyaṃ pravakṣyāmi śubh-āsubha-samīritam*// (XXVI. 1).
- 56 *Śrīmad=Vīra-jinaṃ natvā Bhāratīn=ca Pulindīn*//
Smṛtvā nimittāni vakṣye sv-ātmanaḥ kārya-siddhaye// (Parīṣiṣṭa. V.2).
- 57 Clouds, rainfall and connected matters are dealt with in four chapters (VI. VIII, X, XII) which are separated from one another by chapters dealing with other topics like twilight (VII), winds (IX) and *gandharva-nagara* (XI).
- 58 This has reference to Nemichandra Shastri's ed.
- 59 For some such defects, see Gopani, *op. cit.*, Intro., pp. 19-20.

- 60 Cf. BS, XXXIII. 4, 8, and *Bhadrabāhu-saṃhitā*, II. 8-9; BS, XXX-III. 9-10, 12, 15-16, 18-19, and *Bhadrabāhu-saṃhitā*, III. 5, 9, 16, 18-19. For a detailed comparison between the two works, see *Bhadrabāhu-saṃhitā*, ed. Gopani, Intro., pp. 6-19, 22-32.
- 61 As pointed out above, Ch. XXVII is found only in Nemichandra Shastri's ed.
- 62 Nemichandra Shastri's view that the first twenty-five (particularly, fifteen) chapters were probably composed earlier than Varāhamihira (Intro., pp. 55-56) is contradicted by his own statement that the work may have been compiled in the 8th-9th century A.D. (*ibid.*, p. 55). As pointed out by him, the mention of Durgā's work on *riṣṭas* in the *Bhadrabāhu-saṃhitā*, *Parīṣiṣṭ-ādhyāya*, verse 10, clearly shows that at least this chapter is later than 1032 A.D. (*ibid.*, p. 54).
- 63 See the *puṣṭikā* in Gopani's ed., p. 70.
- 64 *Ibid.*, Jinavijaya's Foreword, pp. 3-4.
- 65 *Ibid.*, author's Intro., p. 6.
- 66 *Ibid.*, p. 20.
- 67 *Nemittio* (*Naimittika*) is known to have been employed as one of the synonyms of Bhadrabāhu. See Muni Puṇyavijaya, *op. cit.*, p. 15, note 3.
- 68 Such are, for example, the works attributed to Brahman, Vasiṣṭha, Sūrya, Maya, Garga, Kaśyapa, etc. Similar works exist in the field of Dharmaśāstra, Āyurveda and Śilpaśāstra also.
- 69 As an analogy we may mention the fact that, as works supposed to have been composed by the *gaṇadharas* were regarded as more authoritative than those composed by others, in later times the tendency to attribute even late works to them came into existence. Thus, some of the Cheda-sūtras and even some Purāṇas came to be ascribed to the *gaṇadharas* (Dalsukh Malvania, *Gaṇadharavāda ki Prastāvanā*, pp. 8-12; *Niśītha : eka Adhyāyana*, pp. 18-20).
- 70 This verse is found only in Shastri's ed. The opening verse of Ch. XXVI also pays obeisance to Mahāvīra.
- 71 According to XX. 1, the movement of Rāhu dealt with in Ch. XX is also based on the teachings of the Nirgranthas well-versed in the twelve Aṅgas. Likewise, XIII. 42 (Shastri's ed.) proclaims that the *nimittas* dealt with in the chapter are actually those spoken by the Jina (*Jina-bhāṣita*).
- 72 Occasionally we find the use of the word *Nirgrantha* which is evidently an error for *Nairgrantha*.
- 73 Also cf. XIV. 182; XXI. 58; XXIII. 58; XXIV. 43.
- 74 *Na Vedān=āpi c=āṅgāni na vidyāś=ca pṛthak pṛthak*

prasādhayanti tām=arthān nimittam yat subhāṣitam|| (XIII. 38).

- 75 Cf. XXI. 54 which recommends the worship, among others, of those initiated for the performance of Vedic sacrifices, manes and Brāhmaṇas for warding off the effects of the appearance of evil comets.
- 76 The reading in the relevant verse is *balandeve* (XIV. 68) and there is also a variant, *bale kaścin*, which gives no sense. The correct reading, particularly as Vāsudeva is mentioned in the following stanza, must be *Baladeve*, which has been corrupted to *balandeve* in the interest of the metre.
- 77 The mention of Vāsudeva after Baladeva points to the earlier period when Vīra-worship was popular. The verse in question (XIV. 69), as well as the preceding one, therefore, appear to have been taken from some early text.
- 78 Gopani's ed. gives the reading *bhadraṣṭāli* (XIV. 75) which is obviously a mistake for *Bhadrakāli* as given by Shastri.
- 79 E.g., XIV. 22-23, 31, 58, 99-101; XX. 2, 57; cf. XIV. 57 (association of certain trees and castes); XXIV. 18-21 (association of certain *tithis* and castes).
- 80 Cf. XIII. 76; *Parīṣiṣṭ-ādhyāya*, verse 30, 143, 158 etc.

Appendix i

The Date of Kalyāṇavarman, Author of *Sārāvalī*

[Considerable uncertainty prevails about the date of the astrologer Kalyāṇavarman and his work *Sārāvalī*, and scholars have proposed various dates for him between the flourishing periods of Varāhamihira whom he mentions and Bhaṭṭotpala who quotes his work which, interestingly enough, he completed. But Kalyāṇavarman also refers to the astronomer Brahmagupta who completed his *Brāhmasphuṭa siddhānta* in Śaka 550 corresponding to 628 A. D. Since Bhaṭṭotpala flourished about the middle of the ninth century A. D. and a stanza met with in the colophon of the manuscripts of the *Sārāvalī* speaks in a roundabout manner of hundreds of years during which the *Sārāvalī* remained incomplete, its author Kalyāṇavarman must have flourished sometime between 628 and 730 A. D., the latter being a hundred years earlier than the completion of Bhaṭṭotpala's commentary on the *Bṛhaj-jātaka*.]

Kalyāṇavarman enjoyed a high reputation as an astrological writer, and the importance attached to his only known work, the *Sārāvalī*,¹ is evident from the fact that a commentator of the eminence of Bhaṭṭotpala has profusely quoted from it in his commentaries on Varāhamihira's *BS* and *BJ*. However, the problem of his date has long been agitating the minds of scholars, and the question is still far from being finally settled. Scholars have assigned him to varying dates. Mahāmahopādhyāya Sudhākara Dvivedī places him approximately in the same age as Brahmagupta, viz. Śaka 550 or 628 A. D.,² Shankar Balakrishna Dikshit about Śaka 821 (899 A. D.),³ Sadashiva L. Katre about 650 A. D.,⁴ and D. C. Bhattacharya about 750 A. D.⁵ In the present chapter we purpose to discuss this question in the light of the new evidence that has quite recently come up.

Kalyāṇavarman's date hinges upon those of Bhaṭṭotpala and Varāhamihira, for the latter is named by him and the former gives extracts from his *Sārāvalī*. Kalyāṇavarman refers to Varāhamihira in the beginning of his work as follows:—

*Vistara-kṛtāni munibhiḥ parihṛtya purātanāni śāstrāṇi,
Horātantraṃ racitaṃ Varāhanūhireṇa saṅkṣepāt.*⁶

He mentions Varāhamihira for the second time in *Sārāvalī*, XXXIX. 9, which runs as follows:—

Bahn-tāḍana-samprāptau yām karoty'eka-vargaṇām,

Varāhamihirācōryaḥ sū na dr̥ṣṭā purātanaiḥ.

These references supply the upper limit for the date of Kalyāṇavarman. On the other hand, Utpala has extracted several verses from the *Sārāvati* in his scholia on the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* and *Bṛhaj-jātaka*, which fact gives us the lower limit for Kalyāṇavarman's date. Varāhamihira's date is known to us with certainty; he composed his *Pañc-a-siddhāntikā* in about Śaka 427, i.e., 505 A.D. But the date of Utpala is not beyond controversy. He gives the date of the completion of his scholium on the *Bṛhaj-jātaka* as follows:—

*Caitra-māsasya pañcanyāni sitāyāni guruvāsare,
Vasv'aṣṭāṣṭamite Śāke kṛteyaṁ Vivṛtir mayā.*⁷

The date of the completion of his gloss on the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* is given in the following verse:—

*Phalgmasya dvitīyāyāni asitāyāni guror dine,
Vasv'aṣṭāṣṭamite Śāke kṛteyaṁ Vivṛtir mayā.*⁸

If we refer these dates to the Śaka era of 78 A.D. and regard the year mentioned as a current year (887 expired), we get Thursday, 9th march, 965 A.D. and Thursday, 11th January, 966 A.D. respectively for the completion of his commentaries on the *BJ* and the *BS*.

However, there is a keen controversy over the interpretation of these dates. Some take the Śaka era named in these verses to refer to the so-called Cyrus era, supposed to have been started by the great Achaemenian monarch, Cyrus, in 551-550 B.C. with a view to commemorate the foundation of the great Persian empire by him or the latter's raid into the Indian borderland. According to this view, Utpala's commentaries on the *BJ* and the *BS* were composed in 337 or 338 A.D. (551 or 550 B.C. — 888 = 337 or 338 A.D.).⁹ But this theory may at once be eliminated as there is no evidence to prove the existence of any era started by Cyrus. Similarly, there is nothing to support V. Subrahmanya Sastri who places Utpala in the reign of the Mughal emperor Jahangir.¹⁰ There is also nothing to warrant the suggestion of D.C. Bhattacharya who states that the details in question do not agree with the week day, i.e. Thursday, and, therefore, proposes to alter the third quarter of the fifth verse appearing at the end of Utpala's commentary on the *BJ* from *Vasv'aṣṭāṣṭamite* to *Vasv'aśvāsvamite* which will give Śaka 778 as the date of the completion of the commentary,¹¹ for the details given in the extant reading agree fully well with each other : In Śaka 888 current Caitra Śukla 5 began on Thursday, 9th March, 965 A.D., at about 58 *ghaṭis*, 22 *palas* from mean sunrise at Ujjain, and ended on Friday, at about 53 *ghaṭis*, 52 *palas*. Thus, there is no inherent difficulty in referring these dates to the Śaka era of 78 A.D. and holding that Utpala lived in the second

half of the tenth century A.D.

Prof. O. Naugebauer¹² has, however, recently drawn our attention to the fact that Abu Ma'shar, who died in 886 A.D. quotes a passage concerning the third *decan* of Aries, which belongs to Utpala's gloss on *Bṛhaj-jātaka*, Ch. 27, and that consequently we must assume that either the above date (Caitra Śukla 5, Śaka 888) of the completion of Utpala's commentary is incorrect or that Utpala used for this chapter an older gloss. In order to overcome this difficulty Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. P.V. Kane rejects the authenticity of the above verse and maintains that Utpala cannot have lived later than 850 A.D.¹³ But as we have shown elsewhere in this work, there is no sufficient reason to dismiss these verses, which are found in a large number of manuscripts, as spurious, and that it is possible to reconcile all the conflicting evidences if we refer the dates in question to the Vikrama era commencing in 58-57 B.C. In Vikrama 888 current, Caitra Śukla 5 ended on Thursday, 3rd March, 830 A.D., at about 17 hours, zero minute, while *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna Kṛṣṇa 2 ended on Thursday 2nd February, 831 A.D., at about 48 *ghaṭīs*, 11 *palas*. The word Śaka was used in ancient India in two senses *viz.*, (i) the era of 78 A.D. known after the Śakas and (ii) time-reckoning in general. But there are also examples in literature and inscriptions of the employment of the word Śaka to denote Vikrama era.¹⁴ That Utpala has probably used the word Śaka to denote Vikrama era will become evident from what he states about the beginning of the Śaka era. According to him, 'that time is known popularly as Śaka when the barbarian rulers known as Śakas were destroyed by the illustrious Vikramāditya',—*Śakānāma mlecchajātayo rājānas te yasmin kāle Vikramādityadevena vyāpāditaḥ sa kālo loke Śaka iti prasiddhaḥ. Tasmācchakendra-kālād ārabhya...*¹⁵ It is thus clear that Utpala finished his commentaries on the *BJ* and *BS* on Thursday, 3rd March, 830 A.D. and Thursday, 2nd Feb., 831 A.D. respectively. We would also like to point out in this connection that Dr. J. F. Fleet had long back considered the possibility of referring these dates to the Vikrama era, but he had left the question open.¹⁶

In view of what has been said above, the two broad limits for the date of Kalyāṇavarman are 505 A.D., the date of Varāhamihira, and 830 A.D., the date of the completion of Utpala's gloss on the *Bṛhaj-jātaka*. Let us now try to see if we can further limit the period in which Kalyāṇavarman may be supposed to have flourished. In addition to his commentaries and original works, Bhaṭṭotpala is credited in the following verse occurring at the end of some of the manuscripts of the *Sārāvalī* with its completion—

*Varṣa-śatānām madhye kenacid itthaṁ na pūritā vṛtā ca janaiḥ,
Bhaṭṭotpalas tu pūrṇām cakāra Sārāvaliṁ sakalām.*¹⁷

In a manuscript dated Vikrama 1575 preserved in the Manuscript Library of the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain (Accession No. 2349), we have another variant for the first line which runs as follows—

*Varṣa-śatānām madhye na kenacid pūritā bhṛtā ca janaiḥ.*¹⁸

This verse clearly tells us that the *Sārāvali*, which had remained incomplete for hundreds of years, was completed by Bhaṭṭotpala. Dr. S. L. Katre who discussed this verse in detail, attached too much significance to the use of the plural form 'varṣa-śatānām'. Use of the plural form 'Varṣaśatānām', said he, in place of the singular form 'Varṣaśatasya' or the dual form 'Varṣaśataych' in the verse clearly indicates that the period between Kalyāṇavarman and Bhaṭṭotpala covers at least about three hundred years.¹⁹ And taking the Śaka year 888 mentioned by Utpala to refer to the era of 78 A.D., he sought to push back the lower limit of Kalyāṇavarman's date to c. 666 A.D.²⁰ Now, if we were to accept Dr. Katre's view and take the plural form *varṣa-śatānām* to mean at least three centuries, in the light of the new evidence discussed above we shall be required to place Kalyāṇavarman not later than 530 A.D. (830-300=530 A.D.). But Kalyāṇavarman could not have flourished so early, for in the following verse he seems to allude to the famous astronomer Brahmagupta, who composed his *Brāhmasphuṭa-siddhānta* in Śaka 550 (=628 A.D.)²¹—

*Uḍupatikṛtariṣṭānām bhaṅgas tāvan nirūpyate pūrvam,
Sanyak śeṣānām api yathāmatam Brahmapūrvāṇām.*²²

It is, therefore, in the fitness of things to take 'varṣa-śatānām' occurring in the verse under consideration in the general sense of hundreds of years as we do in our day-to-day usage. The plural form does not appear to have been intentionally used, and it is capable of denoting anything more than a hundred years. But there must have been an interval of at least a hundred years between Utpala and Kalyāṇavarman to warrant the use of the compound *varṣa-śatānām*. The *Sārāvali* thus, could not have been composed earlier than 628 A.D., the date of Brahmagupta's *Brāhmasphuṭa-siddhānta*, and later than 730 A.D., a hundred years earlier than Utpala's commentary on the *BJ*. Thus, we shall not be unjustified in placing Kalyāṇavarman between c. 650 and 725 A.D.

Footnotes

1 Edited with English tr. by V. Subrahmanya Sastry, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1907.

2 *Gaṇaka-taraṅgiṇī*, pp. 16-17.

- 3 S. B. Dikshit, *History of Indian Astronomy* (Hindi tr. of Marathi original), p. 638.
- 4 "Kalyāṇavarman's Sārāvalī : Fresh Light on its Date," *IC*, Vol. XI, No. 1 (July-September, 1944), pp. 1-9.
- 5 "Dates of Bhaṭṭotpala and Kalyāṇavarman," *ibid.*, Vol. XII (1945-46), p. 82.
- 6 *Sārāvalī*, I. 2.
- 7 *BJ* with Utpala's commentary (Venkateshwar Press, Bombay, V. 1959), p. 266. This is the fifth out of the seven concluding verses of Utpala's gloss. This verse occurs in quite a good number of manuscripts, while in some it is conspicuous by its absence. It occurs in No. 413 of 1881-82, 872 of 1887-91, and 279 of Vishrambag collection in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, in a manuscript noticed by R.L. Mitra in *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Vol. II (1874), p. 166 and in a Ms. in the Bodleian Library.
- 8 This verse is found in Nos. 415 of 1881-82 and 305 of the Vishrambag collection now deposited in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 247 in the collection of Bombay Asiatic Society (*Catalogue*, Vol. I, pp. 82-83), and 364 of Bombay University Collection (*Catalogue*, Vol. I, p. 149). See also *JRAS*, F.S., XX, p. 372n.; *JRAS*, N.S., I, p. 410; *IA*, XIX, p. 41.
- 9 *JIH*, XXVIII (1950), p. 106; *JAHS*, XX (1949-50), pp. 39-82; XXI, pp. 1-40; *Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society*, Vol. I, pp. 61-73, 123-136. In his *Popular Astronomy* V. Thiruvengkatachar places Utpala in 340 A.D. Rangarajan (*Proceedings of Indian History Congress Fifth Session* (1941), p. 164) says that the Śaka era began in 523/22 B.C. with the first viceroy of India appointed by the Persian emperor.
- 10 *Sārāvalī*, N.S.P. Bombay, 1928, Preface, pp. 1-2. We cannot also agree with Sitaram Jha (*Bṛhat-jātaka* with Utpala's gloss, Banaras 1934), who places Utpala in Śaka 1688.
- 11 *IC*, XII (1945-46), p. 82.
- 12 "Variants to the Greek translation of Abu Ma'shar's version of the Paranatellonta of Varāhamihira and Teukros," *Bulletin of the Royal Academy of Belgium*, 1957-58, pp. 133-140. His arguments are summarised by P.V. Kane in *JAS*, Bombay, 1958, p. 147 f.
- 13 *Ibid.*
- 14 *IA*, XIX (1890); pp. 24-25; *Jyotirvidābharāṇa*, IV. 53; X. 110, 111; XXII. 13.
- 15 On *BS*, VIII. 20.
- 16 *IA*, XIX (1890), pp. 41-42.
- 17 *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in Bombay Univer-*

sity Library, Vol. I, 1944, p. 198, No. 476. Sudhakara Dvivedi (*Gaṇaka-taraṅgiṇī*, p. 16) gives it as a popular verse. His first line however differs from the above:—*Varṣa-śatānām madhye no kenacit pūrītā ghṛtācinaiḥ*.

18 *IC*, XI, No. 1, p. 5.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

21 *Śrī-Cāpa-vaiśa-tilake Śrī-Vyāghramukhe nṛpe Śaka nṛpānām, Pañcāśat-saṁyuktair varṣa-śataih pañcabhir 550 atītaiḥ. Brāhmasphuṭasiddhāntaḥ sajjana-gaṇitajña-golavit-prītyai, Trīmśad-varṣena kṛto Jīṣṇu-suta-Brahmoguptena.*

22 *Sārāvalī*, XI. 2. No other astronomer worth the name with the word Brahma as a part of his name is known to us who could be referred to in such a respectful manner.

Appendix ii

Bhaṭṭotpala : His Date, Life and Works

[Bhaṭṭotpala was an erudite astrologer of the early medieval period. But there is uncertainty regarding his flourishing period, and on the basis of the concluding stanzas of his commentaries on Varāhamihira's *BJ* and *BS* mentioning the Śāka year 888, which is commonly referred to the Śāka era commencing in 78 A. D., it is generally believed that he lived about the middle of the tenth century A. D. However, since he is cited by the Arabic writer Abu Ma'shar, who died in 886 A. D., it is suggested that the date should be referred to the Vikrama era with its epoch in 58-57 B. C. on the basis of certain statements of Utpala himself about the beginning of the Śāka era, and the evidence of the employment of the word Śāka or Śāka for the years of the Vikrama era in certain early medieval inscriptions is cited in support. Thus, Utpala flourished in the first half of the ninth century A. D., and he could well be quoted by Abu Ma'shar. Light is also thrown on his life, independent works and commentaries. The high value and usefulness of his commentaries are also highlighted.]

I

Bhaṭṭotpala is well-known as an astronomical writer and an erudite scholiast of Varāhamihira's works. But no particulars of his personal life are known, and the question of his date still awaits final solution. The fixation of Utpala's date has an important bearing on the dates of several Sanskrit writers quoted by him. In the present Chapter, therefore, it is proposed to dwell on these problems at some length with a view to arriving at some satisfactory conclusions.

In one of the concluding verses¹ occurring in the manuscripts of his commentary on the *BJ*, Utpala informs us that he finished it on Thursday, coupled with the 5th day of the bright half of Caitra, in the Śāka year 888² :

चैत्रमासस्य पञ्चम्यां सितायां गुरुवासरे ।
वस्वष्टाष्टमिते³ शाके कृत्यं विद्वत्समया ॥

A similar couplet found at the end of his gloss on the *Bṛhat-samhitā* gives the date of its completion as Thursday, the 2nd day of the dark half of Phālguna, again in the Śāka year 888⁴ :

फाल्गुनस्य द्वितीयायामसितायां गुरोर्दिने ।
वस्वष्टाष्टमिते शाके कृत्यं विद्वत्समया ॥

Now, if as is usually done, the Śāka year 888 is referred to the Śaka era with 78 A.D. as its epoch and is regarded as current (887 expired), we get quite satisfactory results. Thus in Śaka 888 current, Caitra śukla 5 began on Thursday, 9th March, 965 A.D., at about 58 *ghaṭis*, 22 *palas*, since mean sunrise at the city of Ujjain and ended on Friday, at about 53 *ghaṭis* 52 *palas*. And the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna kṛṣṇa 2 in that year began on Wednesday, 10th January 966 A.D., at about 41 *ghaṭis*, 2 *palas* and ended on Thursday, 11th January, at about 34 *ghaṭis*, 48 *palas*. Thus, we get Thursday, 9th March, 965 A.D. and Thursday 11th January, 966 A.D. respectively for the completion of his scholia on the *BJ* and *BS*.⁵

But some scholars have tried to interpret this date in fantastic ways. It has, for instance, been held by some that the Śaka-kāla mentioned by Utpala is identical with the so-called Cyrus era which is supposed to have commenced in 551-550 B.C.⁶ in commemoration of the foundation of the great Persian empire by Cyrus the Great or with his incursions into the Indian borderland and that consequently Bhaṭṭotpala composed his gloss on the *BJ* in 338 or 339 A.D.⁷ But as we have shown elsewhere,⁸ this theory is quite absurd. There is no evidence to show that Cyrus started any reckoning; and even admitting its existence for a moment, we fail to understand as to how it came to be known as Śaka-kāla. It is equally inexplicable why this era became so popular with the Indian astronomers whereas it was totally ignored in its founder's home state and even by his own descendants. Moreover, it has been pointed out quite plausibly that the particulars of the dates specified above do not agree with the week-day (Thursday) either in 338 or 339 A.D.⁹

In the introductory portion of his scholium on the *BJ*, Utpala quotes four stanzas from what he calls *Bhāskara-siddhānta*, which are identical with *Siddhānta-sīromani* I.9-12. He cites another verse from the same work on *BJ* I. 1. Bhāskarācārya wrote his *Siddhānta-sīromani* in Śaka 1072 or 1150 A.D. Now, if Bhaṭṭotpala actually extracted these verses from Bhāskara's work, he must have flourished considerably after 1150 A.D., which is incompatible with the concluding verses of his commentaries on the *BJ* and the *BS* cited above. Some try to remove this discrepancy by emending the reading *Vasvaṣṭāṣṭamite* into '*Vasvaṣṭāṣṭimite*', which will give us Śaka 1688 as the date of the composition of his commentaries.¹⁰ Absurdity of this suggestion is obvious from the fact that Alberuni, who wrote his account of India in 1030 A.D., repeatedly refers to Bhaṭṭotpala¹¹ and quotes a passage from his gloss on the *BS*.¹² Again, Utpala is mentioned by Varuṇabhaṭṭa (Śaka 962) in his gloss on the *Khaṇḍakhādyakakaraṇa* of

Brahmagupta.¹³ References to Bhaṭṭotpala are also to be found in another commentary on the *Khaṇḍakhādya* composed in Śaka 1564 and in the *Pañcāṅgakaṭaka* written in Śaka 1567.¹⁴ Dr. P.V. Kane reconciles this discrepancy by suggesting that either Bhāskarācārya took these verses from an older homonymous writer¹⁵ or these verses were really marginal ones noted by some scribe or reader and were later incorporated by copysts in Utpala's commentary itself.¹⁶

Thus there is no inherent difficulty in admitting that Utpala lived in the second half of the tenth century A.D. Prof. Otto Naugebauer has, however, rightly pointed out in his paper entitled 'Variants to the Greek Translation of Abu Ma'shar's Version of the Parantellonta¹⁷ of Varāhamihira and Teukros¹⁸ that Abu Ma'shar, who died in 886 A.D., cites a passage concerning the third *decan* of Aries which belongs to Bhaṭṭotpala's commentary and that one must assume that the above date of the composition of Bhaṭṭotpala's commentary (Caitra śukla 5. Śaka 888) is incorrect or that Bhaṭṭotpala used for this Chapter (Ch. 27 of the *BJ*) an older gloss.¹⁹ If Bhaṭṭotpala is really quoted by a writer who lived before 886 A.D., the former must have flourished much earlier. Dr. Kane, therefore, rejects the authenticity of this date and states that Bhaṭṭotpala cannot be placed later than 850 A.D.²⁰

There are, however, good reasons to differ from the last suggestion. The two verses giving the dates in question are found in a large number of manuscripts and cannot therefore be regarded as spurious. Moreover, the date of his commentaries, Śaka 888, is only two years earlier than the one attributed to him (Śaka 890) in a list of astronomers which Hunter procured at Ujjain and was later published by H.T. Colebrooke.²¹ The only way of reconciling these discrepant facts is to refer these dates to Vikrama Samvat commencing 58-57 B.C. In Vikrama 888 current, Caitra śukla 5 ended on Thursday, 3rd March, 830 A.D., at about 17 hours, zero minutes, while *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna kṛṣṇa 2 ended on Thursday, 2nd February, 831 A.D., at about 48 *ghaṭis* and 11 *palas*. The words Śaka and Śāka were used in two senses, viz. (1) the reckoning known after the Śakas and (2) time-reckoning in general.^{21a} We have also instances of the use of the word Śaka to denote Vikrama era.²² If there still remains some doubt in the validity of our suggestion it will be eliminated by what Utpala states about the commencement of the Śaka era.²³ 'That time', says he, 'when the barbarian rulers called Śakas were destroyed by the illustrious Vikramāditya is known by the name Śaka'.²⁴ Thus there can be no doubt whatever that Utpala confused Śaka and Vikrama eras with each other and that he employed the term Śaka to mean

Vikrama era.²⁵ It seems that there were several theories in vogue about the origin of the Śaka era in ancient India. In inscriptions dating from Śaka 500 (578 A.D.) onward it is described as 'the era of coronation of the Śaka king',²⁶ 'the era of the Śaka king²⁷ (or kings)' or simply 'the era of the Śakas'.²⁸ Brahmagupta²⁹ and Bhāskara³⁰ state that the Śaka era started after the end of the Śaka king, although they regard Kali 3179 expired or 78 A.D. as its epoch. Bhaṭṭotpala agrees with them in so far as the event which this reckoning commemorates is concerned ; but he is reticent about its epoch. Long ago Dr H. Kern discussed the aforesaid statement of Bhaṭṭotpala and argued that as the above mentioned dates (Caitra śukla 5 Śaka 888 and Phālguna kṛṣṇa 2, 888) will agree with the week-day *i.e.*, Thursday, only if they are referred to the Śaka era commencing in 78 A.D., the initial point of Utpala's Śaka-kāla must be the same year.³¹ But we have seen above that these dates when referred to the Vikrama era yield quite satisfactory results and, therefore, Kern's argument cannot be taken very seriously.

It would be clear from the foregoing discussion that Utpala means by Śāka the era commencing 58-57 B.C. and that he finished his commentaries on the *Bṛhaj-jātaka* and *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* on 3rd March, 830 A.D. and 2nd February, 831 A.D. respectively. And as such he could have well been referred to by Abu Ma'shar who died in 886 A.D.³²

II

Alberuni informs us that Utpala was a native of Kashmir³³ and a similar statement is made by Varuṇabhaṭṭa (Śaka 962) in his commentary on Brahmagupta's *Khaṇḍakhādyaka*.³⁴ Bhaṭṭotpala paraphrases the word 'kośa'³⁵ or 'kośabhavana'³⁶ as 'gañja'. *Gañja* as the designation of a high state official occurs in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇi* (V. 177); *gañjavarā* and *gañjapati* in the sense of a treasurer are found in the Mathura inscription of Śoḍāsa³⁷ and in the Taleśvara copper plate inscription.³⁸ Again, he explains 'jānukapichhe' by 'ekkalakke'³⁹ 'mṛdaṅga' by 'maṇḍala',⁴⁰ 'kṣveḍā' by 'śoḍanika',⁴¹ 'bhṛṅgāra' by 'dāṇḍāni-damaṇi',⁴² 'mokṣaka' by 'maṇivaka',⁴³ 'saṅku' by 'aṅga'⁴⁴ and 'bharadvāja' (a bird) by 'lāṭa'.⁴⁵ If these terms could be shown to have been in use in Kashmir in the ninth century A.D., it would lend additional support to Alberuni's statement. We know nothing about Bhaṭṭotpala's parentage. The statements found in the colophons of certain manuscripts that he was a son of Varāhamihira himself⁴⁶ and the father of Pṛthuyāśas,⁴⁷ really the son of Varāhamihirācārya, are quite erroneous. The opening stanza of his commentary on the *LJ* containing an invo-

cation to Mahādeva shows that he was Śaiva by religion.⁴⁸

III

The *Āryā-saptati*, apparently so called because it contains seventy verses in Āryā metre, is his only extant original work. There is, however, internal evidence to show that its real title was *Praśnajñāna*. Utpala calls it by this name both in the opening⁴⁹ and concluding⁵⁰ verses of this work as also in his commentary on the *Ṣaṭpañcāśikā* of Varāhamihira's son Pṛthuyasas (II. 2). It was also known as *Praśnāryā*⁵¹ or *Praśnāryā-saptati*⁵² and *Praśnagrantha*.⁵³ We know from the colophons of some manuscripts that it formed part of Utpala's larger work, the *Jñānamāla*.⁵⁴

Another work known to us from a manuscript preserved in the National Museum, New Delhi, is the *Yuddhajayārṇava-tantra* which, as would appear from its title, deals with the victory in warfare. It is a palm-leaf manuscript consisting of 82 folios measuring 20×4 cm. The script is Newari, and it was copied in the Newari era 390 or 1270 A.D. by one Daivajña (astrologer) Sarvabala. The work is in the form of a dialogue between Pārvati and her consort, Śiva, the former acting as the interlocutor and the latter answering her questions. Its colophon reads *sannāptam idaṁ Bhaṭṭatpala-viracitam Yuddha-jayārṇavam-iti*, and the work was actually quoted by Raghunandana in his *Jyotiṣa-tattva*.^{54a}

In his commentary on the *BS*,⁵⁵ Bhaṭṭatpala introduces some verses from one of his own works with the words *tathā cāsmadiya-vacanam*. On *BJ* LII. 57, he quotes 2½ verses from his own work on architecture (*Vāstuvidyā*) with the words *tathā cāsmadiya-vāstuvidyāyām*. These works are no more extant.

Besides these Alberuni attributes some more works to Utpala, viz., (i) *Rāhmrākaraṇa* (probably an error for *Rāhu-nirākaraṇa*) i.e. breaking the Karaṇas, (ii) *Karaṇa-pāta*, i.e., killing the Karaṇas, (iii) *Praśnagūḍhān aṇi* (perhaps an error for *Praśna-cūḍāmaṇi*) dealing with *Praśnavidyā*, and (iv) *Srudhava*.⁵⁶ But in view of the convention of an astronomer writing only one *Karaṇa*, it seems improbable that Utpala composed two works of this class. The *Praśnagūḍhāmaṇi* may be the same as the *Praśnajñāna* mentioned above. From the *Srudhava* Alberuni has taken some meteorological and chronological notes. But its title is quite strange; it seems that here Alberuni's account is somewhat confused. All these works except that on *Praśna* are now lost.

IV

But Utpala's reputation as an astronomical writer mainly rests on his

commentaries, particularly on Varāhamihira's works. He is to Varāhamihira what Mallinātha is to Kālidāsa.⁵⁷ His commentaries on both the *BS* and the *BJ* are styled *Vivṛti*,⁵⁸ but the latter gloss is also known as *Cintāmaṇi*⁵⁹ and *Jagaccandrikā*.⁶⁰ If we suppose that Utpala began to write his scholium on the *BS* immediately after that on the *BJ*, the former would appear to have taken about eleven months for its completion. His gloss on the *LJ* is known as *Hitā* or *Śiṣyahitā*. His commentaries on Varāhamihira's *YY*⁶¹ and *Vivāhapaṭala*, on the *Ṣaṭpañcāśikā* of Pṛthuyāśas, and on Brahmagupta's *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* are still extant. Alberuni refers to his commentary on the *Bṛhanmānasa* attributed to Manu.⁶² and his gloss *Cintāmaṇi* on the *Bādarāyaṇa-praśna* still exists in manuscript form.⁶³ On *BS* V. 19, Utpala quotes two verses from his commentary on the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* with the words *tathā ca Khaṇḍakhādyakarāṇe' smadiyavacanam*, indicating that he had finished the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* commentary before undertaking the *BS* gloss.

Utpala was undoubtedly one of the most learned and erudite commentators, and his merits as such are deservedly held high. His commentary on the *BS* shows his exceptionally wide range of learning combined with a stupendous memory. He quotes a large number of old texts, both in Sanskrit and Prakṛit, most of which are no more extant. He possessed a remarkable critical faculty rarely met with in other scholiasts. In order to settle original and correct readings and interpretations of the text he follows scientific methods far in advance of his age; at a number of places he mentions variant readings and refers to the views of earlier commentators. In order to arrive at correct interpretation of ambiguous passages he followed the sound method of comparing them with the corresponding extracts from the *samhitā* works of more ancient writers; such citations prove that *Samhitās* attributed to semi-divine personages like Garga, Parāśara, Ṛṣiputra, and others which are no more extant, were still available in Utpala's time. Thus Utpala's commentary on the *Bṛhat-samhitā* forms the sole source of our knowledge about these and other works.⁶⁴ He declares some chapters and verses of the *BS* to be spurious and later forgeries⁶⁵ and gives reasons for doing so. He does not hesitate in confessing his ignorance with a candour scarcely met with in others. Thus, while commenting upon the Gandhayukti section of the *BS* (Ch. LXXVI), he says that he had confined himself only to word-for-word explanation of the text and that he is not quite adept in the art of hair-dyes (*keśa-rāga*) and cosmetics and therefore these matters should be learnt from people skilled in the science.⁶⁶ Utpala's commentary is thus extremely helpful in settling the original text and correct under-

standing of the *BS*.

While the value of Utpala's commentary cannot thus be exaggerated, there are certain deficiencies which should be mentioned in this connection. There were certain institutions current at the time of and consequently familiar to Varāhamihira which had become obsolete in Utpala's time and consequently he could not understand them in a correct perspective. This point may be illustrated by the institution of republican states or *gaṇas* known to Varāhamihira but wrongly interpreted by Utpala as *samūha* or *saṅghāta*, i.e. a group.⁶⁷

Alberuni attributes the following statement to Utpala's commentary of the *Saṃhitā* :— "the names of countries change, and particularly in the *yugas* So Multan was originally called Yavanapura, then Hamsapura, then Bagapura (?), then Śāmbapura, and then Mūlaśthāna, i.e. the original place, for 'mūla' means original' and 'sthāna' means place".⁶⁸ This statement cannot be traced in the extant text of the commentary. It is possible, therefore, that Utpala's gloss on the *Saṃhitā* has suffered some alterations/omissions at the hands of the copyists.

Utpala's commentary on the *BS* is the only one that is still extant. But at several places in his gloss Utpala refers to older commentaries with the words *iti kecid*, *kecid evaṃ vyācakṣate*, *anya evaṃ vyācakṣate*, *atra kecid vyākhyāvīpratipattiṃ codayanti*, *kecid iticchanti*, *atra kecid anyathā vyākhyānaṃ kurvanti*, *kecid evaṃ manyante*, *kecid vikalpānscodayanti*, *atra kecin manyante*, *kecid viśeṣam icchanti*, *anye punar vyācakṣate*, etc.⁶⁹ These references testify to the existence of a large number of commentaries on the *Vārāhi-saṃhitā* in the ninth century A.D. None of these scholia is now available. Several MSS preserve an abridged version of Utpala's gloss, *Utpala-parimala* composed by Bhāskara of Naidhruva Kāśyapa *gotra*, son of Kumāra of Vārṣagaṇya family.⁷⁰

Apart from the original works and commentaries mentioned above, it must also be said to the credit of Bhaṭṭotpala that he completed Kalyāṇavarman's *Sārāvalī* which had remained incomplete for at least three hundred years. This is clearly stated in a verse found at the end of some manuscripts of the *Sārāvalī*.⁷¹

Footnotes

- 1 This is the 5th of the seven concluding stanzas.
- 2 This verse occurs in Ms. No. 413 of 1881-82, 872 of 1887-91, and 279 of Viśrāmbāg collection in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona in a Ms. noticed in R. L. Mitra's *Notices of Skt. Mss.*, Vol. II (1874), p. 166, and in a Ms. in the Bodleian Library,

but it is absent in No. 1177 of A 1882-83, 951 of 1886-92, dated Samvat 1855, and in 278 of Viśrāmbāg collection in B.O.R. Institute My thanks are due to late Shri V. M. Bedekar of Poona for supplying this information.

- 3 The Ms. noticed by R.L. Mitra gives the reading 'Vasvaṣṭāśvanīte' of Śaka 788. The statement of D. C. Bhattacharya that Śaka 888 current caitra śukla 5 ended at about 10 hours, Wednesday, 28th February, 966 A.D. is incorrect and his suggestion to amend the reading as 'Vasvaśrāśvanīte' (i.e. Śaka 778) is quite unwarranted. For his view vide *Indian Culture*, XI (1945-46), pp. 81-82.
- 4 This verse is found in Mss. Nos. 415 of 1881-82 in the Deccan College collection and 305 of Viśrāmbāg collection in B. O. R. Instt., Poona, in No. 247 in the collection of the Bombay Branch of the Asiatic Society (*Catalogue*, Vol. I, pp. 82-83) and in No. 364 of Bombay University collection (*Catalogue*, Vol. I, p. 149). Also vide. *IA*, XIX, p. 41; *JRAS*, First Series, XX, p. 372 note; *JRAS*, N.S. Vol. I, p. 410.
- 5 A list furnished by astronomers of Ujjayini to Hunter and published by Colebrooke (*Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol II, pp. 461-463) assigns Bhaṭṭotpala to Śaka 890, which is only two years later than these dates.
- 6 Cf. *JAHRS*, XX, (1949-50) pp. 39-82; *JIH*, XXVIII (1950), pp. 103-110; *JAHRS*, XXI, pp. 1-40; *Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society*, I, pp. 61-73, 123-136. Mr. Rangarajan (*Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Fifth Session (1941), p. 164) suggests that Śaka era began in 523/22 B.C. with the first viceroy of India appointed by the Persian emperor.
- 7 *JIH*, XXVIII, p. 106; *Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society*, I, pp. 61-73, 123-136. In his *Popular Astronomy*, V. Thiruvankatachar gives Utpala's date as 340 A.D.
- 8 My paper read before 1961 session of the Indian History Congress. It is published in Vidarabha Research Society's Annual, 1961, pp. 26-46.
- 9 *JIH*, XXXVI, p. 364.
- 10 Sitaram Jha (*Bṛhaj-jātaka* with Utpala's gloss, Banaras 1934) gives the reading as 'Vasvaṣṭāśīmīte' and argues :—यतो भास्कराचार्योत्पत्त्यनन्तरं भट्टोत्पलस्योत्पत्तिरिति.....तेन स्वव्यष्टाष्टमिते 1688 शाके कल्पयितुं शक्यते, अहृषा लेखकाध्यापकाद्येतुदोषादिकारो भ्रष्ट इति विदुषैर्भृशं विभाव्यम् । There is nothing to commend V. Subrahmanya Sastry's view (*Sārāvalī* of Kalyāṇavarman, Bombay 1928, Preface, pp. 1-2) that Utpala lived at the time of the Mughal emperor Jahangir (1605-1627 A.D.).
- 11 E. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, I, pp. 157-58, 298, 334, 336-37, 361.

- 12 *Ibid.* p. 298.
- 13 S. B. Dikshit, *History of Indian Astronomy* (Marathi), p. 235.
- 14 *Ibid.*
- 15 We know another Bhāskara who was a direct pupil of Āryabhaṭa and who composed the *Mahā-Bhāskariya* and *Laghu-Bhāskariya*. Vide P. C. Sengupta, *Khaṇḍī-khādyaka* (Eng. tr.), Calcutta, 1934, Preface, pp. xiii-xiv.
- 16 *JBBRAS*, 1948-49, pp. 30-31. Dr. Kane informs us that these verses are not found in some manuscripts of the commentary.
- 17 *I.e.* arrangement of constellations according to zodiacal signs and *decans* which rise simultaneously or set or culminate simultaneously.
- 18 *Bulletin of the Royal Academy of Belgium*, for 1957-58. pp. 133-140.
- 19 Prof. Naugebaurei's arguments are summarised in *JAS*, Bombay, 1958, pp. 147f.
- 20 *Ibid.*
- 21 *Miscellaneous Essays*, II, pp. 461-463.
- 21^a Cf. *Jyotirvidābharāṇa*, IV, 53, X, 110, 111, XXII, 13.
- 22 In the Charva stone inscription of the reign of Devapāladeva of Dhārā. line 7, the word Śāka is used to denote Vikrama saṁvat. It belongs to 1217-18 A.D. For some more examples, see *IA*, XIX (1890), pp. 24-25. No. 11.
- 23 On *BS*, VIII, 20.
- 24 शका नाम म्लेच्छजातयो राजानस्ते यस्मिन् काले विक्रमादित्यदेवेन व्यापादितः स कालो लोके शक इति प्रसिद्धः । तस्माच्छकेन्द्रकालात् शकनृपव्ययकालादारभ्य...
- 25 Also vide Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, II, p. 478.
- 26 शकनृपतिराज्याभिषेकसंवत्सरेष्वतीतेषु पञ्चमु शतेषु. *JA*, X, p. 58.
- 27 *Śaka-nṛpati-saṁvatsareṣu*, *IA*, VI, p. 73; *Śaka-nṛpa-saṁvatsareṣu*, *IA*, XII, p. 16; *Śaka-nṛpa-kāla*, *EI*, III, p. 109.
- 28 *Śaka-saṁvat*, *EI*, I, p. 56; *Śaka-varṣa*, *IA*, VI, p. 86; *Śaka-kāla*, *IA*, XI, p. 112 etc. See also G. H. Ojha, *Indian Palaeography* (Hindi), p. 171.
- 29 *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta*:—ऋषि कृनादीनि कलेर्गौर्गैकगुणा शकान्तेऽब्दाः ।
- 30 *Siddhānta-sīromāni*:—तन्दादीन्द्रगुणास्तथा शकनृपस्यात्ते कलेर्वंतराः ।
- 31 Kern. *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, Preface, pp. 6ff.
- 32 The possibility of referring these dates to Vikrama era was hinted at by Fleet. *IA*, XIX (1890) pp. 41-43 but he left the question open. In the light of the above discussion there can be no doubt that Utpala used 'Śāka' in the sense of Vikrama era; but astronomers of Ujjayini confused it with the Śaka era with 78 A.D. as its epoch and assigned him to Śaka 810.

- 33 Sachau, *op.cit.*, I, pp. 157, 298, 334, 336, 367.
 34 S. B. Dikshit, *op. cit.*, p. 235.
 35 *BS*, XXXIV.19; LXXXV. 29; XCII. 2; CIII. 61; *Yoga-yātrā*, I. 17.
 36 *BS*, LII.14.
 37 *EI*, IX, p. 247.
 38 *EI*, XIII, p. 115.
 39 जानुकविच्छे ये लोके एवकनके इति प्रसिद्धे, on *BS*, LVII. 17.
 40 मृदङ्गो वादित्रो मण्डलेति प्रसिद्धः, on *BS*, LXVII. 96.
 41 कश्चे डः मुखशब्दः षोडशिकेति प्रसिद्धः, on *BS*, LXXXV. 39; *YY*, XIV. 3.
 42 On *BS*, LXXXVII. 6.
 43 यदच मणीवक इति प्रसिद्धः, on *BS*, LIII. 113.
 44 शङ्कुः अङ्ग इति प्रसिद्धो लोके, on *BS*, LIX. 6.
 45 भरद्वाजः पक्षिविधेयः लटिति प्रसिद्धः on *BS*, LXXXV. 41. Besides, Utpala employs the word 'niṭāla' for threshold (on *BS*, LII. 26) which must have been in use in Kashmir in Utpala's time.
 46 Cf. the colophon of a manuscript of *Praśna-jñāna* noticed by A. Banerji-Sastri in the *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Mithilā*, Vol. III, p. 213, No. 184:—इति श्रीवराहमिहिरात्मजमट्टोत्पलेन विरचितं मट्टोत्पलो नाम प्रश्नज्ञानं समाप्तम्. Sir John William's view that Utpala was a son of Varāhamihira seems to have been based on such a misleading statement, cf *Asiatic Researches*, II, p. 390. For its criticism, see Colebrooke, *op. cit.*, II, p. 479.
 47 Some manuscripts of the *Praśna-mahodadhī* or *Ṣaṭpañcāśikā* state in their colophons that its author Pṛthuyāśas was a son of Bhaṭṭotpala. Cf. *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Government Oriental Manuscripts Library*, by Kuppuswamy, Madras, 1918, Nos. 13954, 13957, 13959.
 48 प्रणिपत्य महादेवं भुवनगुरुं च लोकेशम् ।
 मट्टोत्पलो लघुतरां जातकटीकां करोति शिष्यहिताम् ॥
 Colebrooke was wrong in taking the name Utpala to mean stone and his following remarks are unjustified:—"who (Utpala) in several places of his commentary names himself Utpala 'quibbling with simulated modesty on his appellation', for the word signifies stone;" and "stone (Utpala) frames the raft of interpretation to cross the ocean composed by Varāhamihira." *Vide, Misc. Essays*, II, pp. 478-479 and fn. I.
 49 वक्ष्येऽहं स्पष्टतरं प्रश्नज्ञानं हिताय दैवविदाम् ।
 50 आर्यासप्तत्येदं प्रश्नज्ञानं समासतो रचितम् ।
 51 *Triennial Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in Govt. Oriental MSS. Library*, Madras, Vol. II, Pt. 1, Sanskrit-A, 1917, p. 1294; Vol. VI, Pt. 1, p. 7197.
 52 *Ibid.*

- 53 MS. No. 910 in Sarasvati Bhavan, Banaras, is *Praśna-grantha* of Bhaṭṭotpala. But it is said to contain 100 ślokas. Also BORI, MS. No. 346 of 1879-80; *JBBRAS*, 1948-49, p. 29, fn. 57.
- 54 इति श्री षट्कोट्यलविरचितायां ज्ञानमालायां प्रश्नग्रन्थः समाप्तः, *ibid.*
- 54^a *Manuscripts from Indian Collections*, National Museum, New Delhi, 1964, pp. 9-10.
- 55 Ch. II, pp. 35, 64, 65 of Sudhakara Dvivedi's edition.
- 56 Sachau, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 157-158, 334, 336, 361.
- 57 The severe criticism levelled against Utpala by A. N. S. Aiyangar in Introduction to his *Varāhamihira-horāśāstram (Bṛhaj-jātaka Chs. I-X, Adyar Library, pp. XXI-XXV)* is quite unjustified and motivated by his desire to prove the superiority of his own gloss.
- 58 Introductory verse No. 3 of the commentaries.
- 59 चिन्तामणिरिति ख्याता टीका शास्त्रज्ञवत्सला, concluding verse No. 2.
- 60 R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. II, p. 166; Aufrecht, *Catalogue Catalogorum*, Vol. I, p. 64.
- 61 *Notices of Skt. MSS.*, I, p. 28, No. XLVII; *Catalogue of Skt. and Prakrit MSS. in Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, pp. 128-129, No. 389.
- 62 Sachau, *op. cit.*, I, p. 157.
- 63 *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, IV, p. 113, No. 1522; *Report on Sanskrit MSS. in Bombay Province*, No. 837. It deals with the span of animal life and divination by means of putting questions to persons whose future life has to be foretold.
- 64 Many old works like the *Kiraṇākhyatantra* on architecture and Siddhasena's anonymous work on meteorology are known to us from Utpala's commentary alone.
- 65 Utpala declares *BS*, XXV. 6, XXVII. 9-10 and XXVIII. 17 to be spurious (*anārṣa*), *BS*, XXVIII. 23-24 are left uncommented by him and must be regarded as a later addition. He also states that Ch. 27 on Wind-circle (*Vātacakra*) is not of Varāhamihira. He regards Chs. 50 (*Aṅgaridyā*) and 51 (*Pitaka-lakṣaṇa*) as forgeries. Ch. 102 on Marriages was, according to him, composed by Vindhyavāsin. Ch. 38 of V. Subrahmanya Sastri's edition is not found in Dvivedi's edition and is spurious.
- 66 on *BS*, LXXVI. 4 :—पाकवेधगन्धघूपनानि लोकतो ज्ञेयानि । आचार्येण नोक्तानि । अस्मान्निर्विस्तरभयात् प्रदक्षितानि । यतः सकलसंहितास्मान्निर्व्याख्यातुभाग्वा केवलमत्राक्षराणां व्याख्या क्रियते । न ज्ञास्माकमत्र तथाविधं प्रावीयम् ।
- 67 *E.g.* on *BS*, IV. 24; V. 39, 67; X. 13, etc.
- 68 Sachau, *op. cit.*, I, p. 298.
- 69 *Cf.* Utpala on *BS*, Ch. II, pp. 20, 66; V. 25; VI. 13; VIII. 2; XI. 7; XXIV. 10; XXVIII. 5; XXXII. 7; XXXV. 3; LII. 73; LXXV. 11;

LXVII. 1, 36, 63; LXXXV. 12, 35, 68, 79, LXXXVII. 6; XCV.16:
XCVII 13.

70 *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in Govt Oriental MSS. Library Madras*, 1918, p. 9173, Nos. 13585-89; *Cat. of Skt. MSS. in Govt. Oriental Library, Mysore*, 1922, pp. 329, 643.

71 वर्षसतानां मध्ये केनचिदित्यं न पूरिता वृत्ता च जनैः ।

सद्वोत्पलस्तु पूर्णां चकार सारावली सकलाम् ॥

Catalogue of Skt. and Prakrit MSS. in Bombay University Library, Vol. I, p. 344, p. 198, No. 476.

Appendix iii

Vedha and Bodha : Two Processes in the Manufacture of Cosmetics

[Gaṅgādhara in his *Gandhasāra* speaks of six processes (*karman*) employed in the preparation of perfumes, two of them being *vedha* and *bodha* which are not properly understood owing to the defective condition of the manuscript. On *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, LXXVI. 11, Bhaṭṭotpala cites a stanza from a certain Īśvara's Prakrit work entitled *Gandhayukti* according to which mixing the liquid with the liquid is known as *vedha* and mixing powder with powder is called *bodha*. The Buddhist writer Padmaśrī in his *Nāgara-sarvasya* refers to Lokeśvara's work on *Gandha-śāstra* as an authority on cosmetics. It is suggested on the basis of the popular practice of dropping the *pr̥va-pada* (first part) and referring to a person by only the *uttara-pada* (second part, which is referred to by Patañjali in his *Mahā-bhāṣya*, that both Lokeśvara and Īśvara were identical.]

P.K. Gode's papers have thrown considerable light on the history of ancient Indian cosmetics and perfumery. In course of his studies he has been able to discover two Sanskrit treatises devoted exclusively to the science of cosmetics and perfumery viz. the *Gandhasāra* of Gaṅgādhara and the *Gandhavāda* by an anonymous author with a Marathi commentary on it (belonging to the Raddi collection under the possession of the B.O.R. Institute). The former work records the following six processes in the manufacture of perfumes :

भावनं पाचनं बोधो वेधो घृणनवामने ।

एव पञ्च कर्माणि द्रव्यैपूक्तानि कोविदः ॥

—गन्धसार, folio 1, verse 6, first in the परिभाषाप्रकरण.

While explaining these terms Gode observes that owing to the defective condition of the text of the *Gandhasāra* the term *vedha* (verses 23-25) does not admit of a satisfactory explanation. We may, however, note in this connection that in course of our studies we have come across the definition of the two terms, namely, *bodha* and *vedha*, contained in the following verse from *Gandhayukti*, a Prakrit work dealing with the science of cosmetics and perfumery, by one Īśvara, as quoted by Utpala in his commentary on Vaiāhamihira's *BS*, Chap. 76, verse 11 :

ओल्लंभि ओल्लओ जो दिज्जई वेह इति सो भणियो ।

वोहो उण जो चुण्णो चुण्णविणि अचछगन्धो सो ॥

Bṛhat-saṃhitā with Bhaṭṭotpala's commentary, edited by Mahāmahopādhyāya Sudhākara Dvivedī (Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series, Banaras (1895), Vol. X), Vol. II, p. 948. H. Kern (*JRAS*, N.S., Vol. VII (1875), p. 113, fn. 1) furnishes a somewhat different reading : उवतमोद्वरेण स्वत्या गन्धयुवतो :

उल्लसिओ उल्लसिए जो दिज्जई वेहो इति सो मणिओ ।

वोहो उण जो चुणो चुणे विणि आस्स गन्धस्स ॥

He also proposes to correct the last words as विणिअत्यु गन्धस्मि (or गन्धस्सि or गन्धस्मि) and renders it into Sanskrit as विन्यस्तो गन्धे.

The following is a Sanskrit rendering of the verse by Sudhākara Dvivedī (*BS*, II, p. 948, note 1) :

आद्रो आद्रो यो दीयते वेध इति स मणितः ।

वोधः पुनयंश्चूर्णंश्चूर्णिते अच्छगन्धः सः ॥

If the definition of *vedha* and *bodha* quoted by Bhaṭṭotpala¹ be correct—and we are justified in believing that it is so—the *former* should be taken to denote the *process of mixing the liquid with the liquid* and the *latter that of mixing powder with powder* in manufacturing perfumes.

Scholars should now, however, try to ascertain if Īśvara's Prakrit work *Gandhoynkti*, devoted to the ancient Indian science of cosmetics and perfumery, is available anywhere. As the aforesaid Prakrit verse from the *Gandhayukti* is quoted by Utpala, who flourished in the first half of the ninth century A.D., it would not be quite presumptuous to suppose that Īśvara, the author of the *Gandhayukti*, must have flourished and composed his work sufficiently early so that he might be referred to as an authority on cosmetics in the ninth century A.D. by so great an astronomer and scholiast as Utpala. We shall not be far removed from truth in assigning the work under consideration to the seventh or eighth century of the Christian era.²

In this connection Dr. Gode draws our attention to the fact that the Buddhist writer Padmaśrī (*cir.* 1000 A.D.) in his *Nāgara-sarvasva*, a work on erotics, refers to a work on *Gandha-śāstra* by Lokeśvara as follows :

नानाविदग्धवासा मुख्या मदनप्रदीपकाः ख्याताः ।

वरकामुकः प्रयत्नाच्छिश्येतादौ सुगन्धशास्त्रेभ्यः ॥१॥

लोकेश्वरादिकेभ्योऽपटुमतिर्दुर्बोधगन्धशास्त्रेभ्यः ।

सङ्गृह्य सारमार्गं प्रविधास्ये सुप्रसिद्धपदैः ॥२॥

—P.K. Gode's *Studies in Literary History*, III,
(Poona, 1956), pp. 10-11.

As Padmaśrī flourished in *cir.* 10th century A.D., both the reference to Īśvara (or Lokeśvara) and his work on *Gandha-śāstra* belong to the same period. Moreover, Pāṇini's students are aware of the fact that it was quite common in ancient times to call an individual by a cons-

tituent part of one's name, either beginning or end (e.g., Śatānanda in his *Bhāsvat-karaṇa* (1098 A.D.) mentions one Varāhamihira simply by the name-ending Mihira—अथ प्रवक्ष्ये मिहिरोपदेशात् नत्सूर्यसिद्धान्तसम समासात् । —Colebrooke, *op. cit.*, p. 389)—*cf.* अथवा पूर्वपदलोपोऽत्र द्रष्टव्यः । अत्यन्तसिद्धः सिद्ध इति । तद्यथा । देवदत्तो दत्तः सत्यमामा भामेति । —*Mahābhāṣya*, Keilhorn's ed., Vol. I (Bombay, 1880), p. 6. Thus the word Īśvara alone (उत्तरपद) could well stand for *Lokeśvara*.

From all these considerations it appears quite likely, though by no means certain, that Bhaṭṭotpala's Īśvara and Padmaśrī's Lokeśvara are one and the same person. T. Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* (Leipzig, 1891) mentions neither Īśvara (or Lokeśvara) nor his work on *Gandha-śāstra*. Its discovery will go a long way in elucidating the history of the ancient Indian science of cosmetics and perfumery.

Footnotes

- 1 *Circa* middle of the 9th century A.D. The problem of his date has been discussed in *Appendix ii*.
- 2 It is not impossible that the work dates from an earlier period and was known to Varāhamihira himself though he does not refer to it in his chapter on cosmetics.

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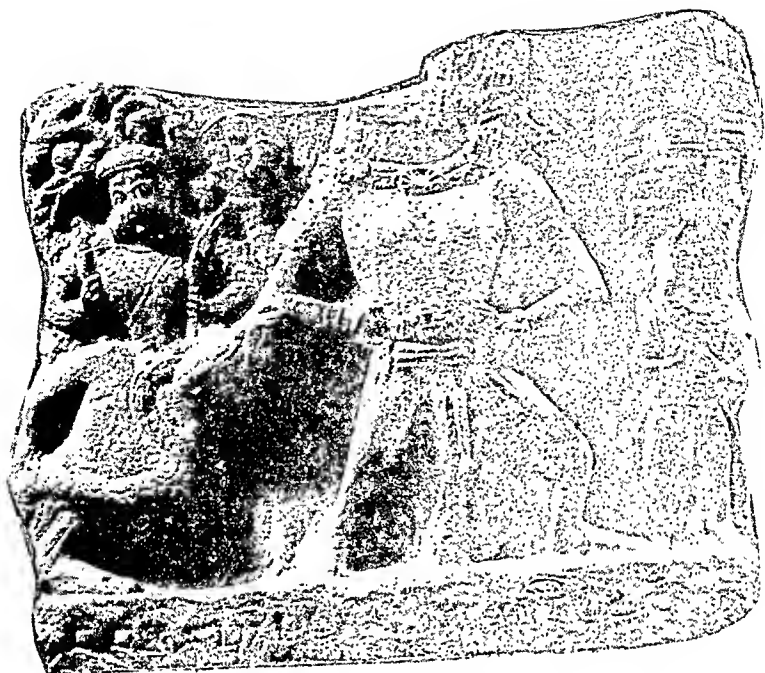
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Addenda

Add before III at p. 19 as a paragraph

Many regions of India were keen to associate themselves with Varāhamihira as with several other literary celebrities like Kālidāsa, and people point to several places in connection with him. There is one site near Barachampa in the 24-Parganas District of West Bengal persistently associated with Varāhamihira. The mound known as Varāhamihira's house is situated to the north-east of the Barachampa Railway Station. It has been cut by a road passing through it and a large number of bricks of large dimensions were reportedly lying on the roadway and on its either side, indicating the existence of the remains of an ancient building, (see *ASI. AR*, 1922-23, pp. 109-110). The great fame of Varāhamihira in Bengal at least in recent times is vouched for by the tremendous popularity of agricultural proverbs regarding rainfall and crops attributed to Khānā among the village folk. Khānā is popularly believed to have been brought by the demons in Śrīlaṅkā and later married off to Mihira, the son of Varāha, who had discarded his son who was later picked up by the Śrīlaṅkan demons. Mihira grew up to be an excellent astrologer and on learning of his parentage by calculations came to India in Vikramāditya's territory where his father (Varāha) was a well-known figure and one of the nine jewels of Vikramāditya's court. The father and son lived together and later Mihira was elevated to the rank of the tenth jewel by the king. The fame of Khānā as an astrologer also spread far and wide, and overcome with anger and the feeling of insult due to Khānā's growing popularity, the father and the son conspired against her and cut off her tongue which resulted in her death. This overgrowth of legends has no historical value and is an excellent example of confused traditions which split up the name of Varāhamihira into two (Varāha and Mihira) regarded as the father and the son. For collections of Khānā's proverbs, see Kali Prasanna Vidyaratna (ed.), *Khānār Vacana* (Bengali), Calcutta, Bengali Saṁvat 1361; Pashupati Chattopadhyaya (ed.), *Jyotiṣa-sāra Khānār Vacana*, Calcutta.



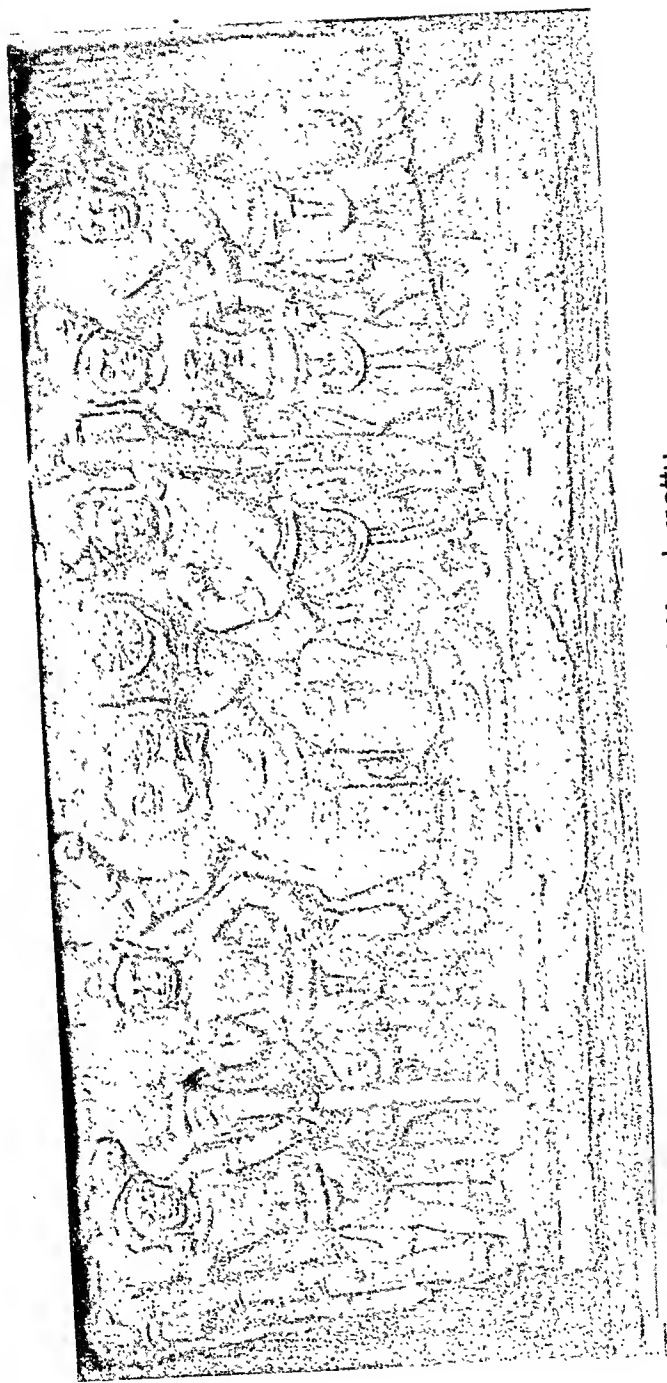
1. Varaha, Mathura.



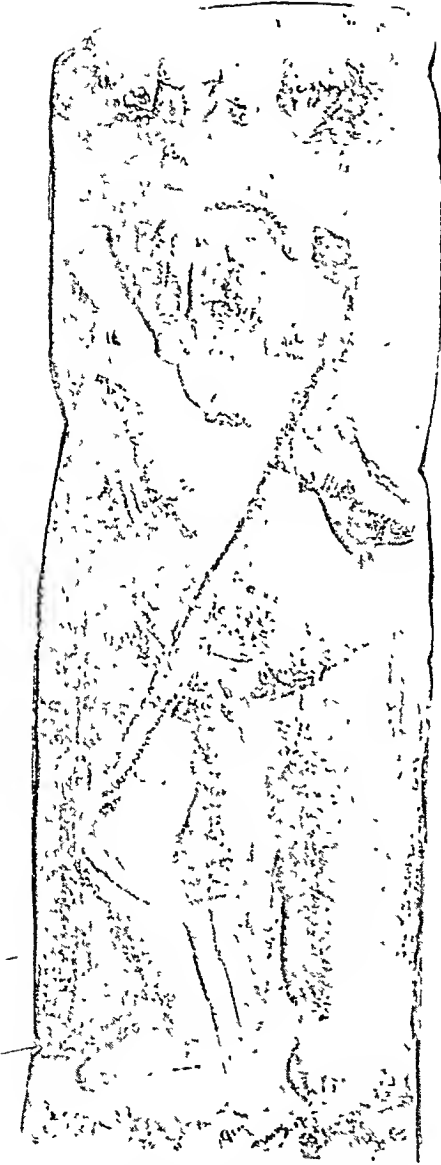
2. Varaha, Bazaklik.



3. Four-armed Visnu, Mathura.



4. Pancavira Panel, Kondamottu.



5. Baladeva, Mathura.



6. Baladeva. Paharpur.



7. Ekanamasa, Mathura.



8. Skanda, Varanasi.



9. Indra, Paharpur.



10. Siva-Parvati Marriage Panel, Kanauj.



11. Ardhanarisvara, Mathura.



12. Surya, Mathura.



13. Revanta, Central India.



14. Revanta, Jahangira Hill, Sultanganj.



15. Revanta, Pachar, Gaya.



16. Revanta, Indian Museum, Calcutta.



17. Yama, Brahmesvara Temple, Bhubneshwar



18. Varuna, Pal arpur.



19. Kubera, Bharhut.