

## सम्पादक-मण्डल

डा. रामकरण शर्मा

भूतपूर्व कुलपति, सम्पूर्णानन्द संस्कृतविश्वविद्यालय, वाराणसी; नयी दिल्ली

डा. रामचन्द्र नारायण दाण्डेकर

भण्डारकर प्राच्यशोधसंस्थान, पुणे

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## पुराणम्-PURĀṆA

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## IDENTITY OF HIRAṆYANĀBHA— A KṢĀTRIYA YOGIN

By

RAM SHANKAR BHATTACHARYA

### I

[स्मृतः कौसलदेशीयो राजपुत्रो हिरण्यनाभ-नामा । नान्यासु उपनिषत्सु स्मृतोऽयम् । शतपथब्राह्मणे तु सपुत्रोऽयम् उल्लिखितः । अयं परिव्राजको बभूवेत्यपि अत्रोक्तम् ।

हिरण्यनाभस्य जन्म-कर्मादि केषुचित् पुराणेषु समासतो वर्णितम् । अत्रोक्तं यदयं दाशरथिरामपुत्रस्य कुशस्य वंशे प्रादुर्भूतो विश्वसहस्य तनयरूपेण + दक्षिणकोसले चास्य राज्यमासीत् । अस्माद् याज्ञवल्क्येन योगोऽधिगतः । हिरण्यनाभकृते ग्रन्थे अध्यात्मयोगविद्या विवृता, विशेषतश्च मनोनाशप्रक्रिया हृदयग्रन्थिभेदनप्रक्रिया च ।

अयं सामवेदशाखाविशेषस्य प्रवर्तक आसीत् । अस्य शिष्याणां ख्यातिः प्राच्यसामग्रूपेण जाता । आसीच्चास्य कृत-नामा शिष्यः सामवेदशाखाकारः, योऽस्माद् योगं लब्धवान् । रघुवंशकाव्ये कालिदासेनायं वर्णितः । रघुवंशीयं विवरणं न सर्वांशतः प्रामाणिकमिति प्रतीयते ]।

In the Praśna-up. we find the following passage :

अथ हैनं सुकेशा भारद्वाजः पप्रच्छ-भगवन् हिरण्यनाभः कौसल्यो<sup>1</sup> राजपुत्रो<sup>2</sup> मामु-  
पेत्य एतं प्रश्नम् अपृच्छत्-षोडशकलं भारद्वाज पुरुषं वेत्थ.....(6.1)

No further information of this Hiraṇyanābha is found in the Upaniṣads.

Mention of Hiraṇyanābha is however found in some Vedic Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Śrautasūtras. The relevant passage in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa is noteworthy :

अभिजिदतिरात्रस्तेन ह पर आट्णार ईजे  
कौसल्यो राजा । तदेतद् गाथया अभिगीतम्—  
आट्णारस्य परः पुत्रोऽश्वं मेघ्यमबन्धत ।  
हिरण्यनाभः कौसल्यो दिशः पूर्णा अमंहत ॥

(XIII 5. 4. 4)

From the commentaries by Durga and Skanda on Nirukta 1.14 we know that आट्णार means : *āṭanaśīla* (one who habitually wanders, i.e. a *parivrājaka*). This shows that the rājaputra Hiraṇyanābha became a

*sannyāsin* in the last part of his life. See also Śaṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra XVI. 9. 13 and Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa 2.6.

Curiously enough the Purāṇas contain some passages that throw much light on the life and activities of this Hiraṇyanābha<sup>3</sup>. The life of Hiraṇyanābha as described in these works shows that not only Janaka and his descendants were *ātmavids* (see Viṣṇupurāṇa IV. 5. 14.) but a few kings of other dynasties also were yogins of high prominence.

Now we are going to quote relevant Puranic passages. It is needless to say that the readings of these passages are corrupt in some places which may be corrected with the help of comparative study. These verses occur in the description of the dynasty of Kuśa, son of Rāma.

The Vāyu-p. (88. 206b-209a) reads :

व्युषिताश्वसुतश्चापि राजा विश्वसहः किल ॥  
हिरण्यनाभकौशल्यो वरिष्ठस्तत्सुतोऽभवत् ।  
पौत्रस्य जैमिनेः शिष्यः स्मृतः सर्वेषु शर्मसु ॥  
शतानि संहितानां तु पञ्च योऽधीतवास्ततः ।  
तस्मादधिगतो योगो याज्ञवल्क्येन धीमता ॥  
पुण्यस्तस्य सुतो विद्वान् ..... ।

[The Beng. ed. reads व्युषिताश्व (206b) and पुष्य (209a)].

The Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa (II. 63.207b-210a) reads :

व्युषिताश्वसुतश्चापि राजा विश्वसहः किल ॥ 207  
हिरण्यनाभः कौशल्यो वरिष्ठस्तत्सुतोऽभवत् ।  
पौष्यश्चेच्च स वै शिष्यः स्मृतः प्राच्येषु सामसु ॥ 208  
शतानि संहितानां तु पञ्च योऽधीतवास्ततः ।  
तस्मादधिगतो योगो याज्ञवल्क्येन धीमता ॥ 209  
पुष्यस्तस्य सुतो विद्वान् ..... ।

It will be shown afterwards that here the readings in Brahmāṇḍa-p. (Venk. ed.) are better than those in the Vāyu-p. (Ananda. ed.).

The Viṣṇu-p. (IV. 4. 48) reads :

ततो व्युषिताश्वः, ततश्च विश्वसहो जज्ञे । हिरण्यनाभस्ततो महायोगीश्वरजैमिनि-  
शिष्यः, यतो याज्ञवल्क्यो योगमवाप

(Jiv. ed. with the comm. of Śrīdhara)

The Bhāgavata (IX. 12. 3-4) reads :

खगणस्तत्सुतस्तस्माद् विधृतिश्चाभवत् सुतः ।  
ततो हिरण्यनाभोऽभूद् योगाचार्यस्तु . जैमिनेः ॥ 3  
शिष्य कौसल्य आध्यात्म्यं याज्ञवल्क्योऽध्यगाद् यतः ।  
योगं महोदयमृषि हृदयग्रन्थिभेदनम् ॥ 4  
[v.1. विसृष्टि (3); v. 1. भेदकम् (4)]

The comm. Śrīdhara observes : जैमिनेः शिष्यो योगाचार्यः (verse 3); तदाह यतः सकाशात् कौसल्यो याज्ञवल्क्य ऋषिः आध्यात्म्यं योगमध्यगात् ।

The Śivapurāṇa (V. 38. 24-26) reads :

तत्सुतस्त्वगुणसत्त्वासीत् तस्माद् विधृतिरात्मजः ॥ 24  
हिरण्यनाभस् तत्पुत्रो योगाचार्यो बभूव ह ।  
स शिष्यो जैमिनिमुनेर्ह्यात्मविद्याविशारदः ॥ 25  
कौशल्यो याज्ञवल्क्योऽथ योगमध्यात्मसंज्ञकम् ।  
यतोऽध्यगानृपवराद् हृदयग्रन्थिभेदनम् ॥ 26

The Garuḍa-p. (1. 138. 42) reads :

उषिताश्वो गणाज् जज्ञे ततो विश्वसहोऽभवत् ।  
हिरण्यनाभस्तत्पुत्रः तत्पुत्रः पुष्पकः स्मृतः ॥

## II

From these Puranic passages we can gather the following facts about Hiraṇyanābha :-

(A) Hiraṇyanābha appeared in the dynasty of Kuśa, son of Rāma, after 15th or 16th generation. This is to be regarded as approximate for the simple reason that the readings in the printed Purāṇas are corrupt in many places. Moreover the enumeration of the descendants in the Puranic lists of royal dynasties is not always precise; a few non-significant kings may not have been mentioned by the authors of the purāṇas.<sup>4</sup>

(B) The name of the father of Hiraṇyanābha is विश्वसह as is read in the Vāyu, Viṣṇu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas. विधृति read in the late Bhāgavata and Śiva purāṇas seems to be of later origin. The name having the same sense as विश्वसह<sup>5</sup> seems to have been coined chiefly for metrical reasons. विसृष्टि is undoubtedly the corrupt form of विधृति. Hiraṇyanābha is said to be the eldest (*varīṣṭha*) son of his father. *Vasiṣṭha* (the reading in Vāyu-p.) is to be corrected to *varīṣṭha*.

(C) Hiraṇyanābha was an inhabitant of Kosala i. e. Ayodhya. Since he was a descendant of Kuśa, to whom the kingdom of Kosala was given by

Rāma with its capital Kuśasthalī on the table-land of the Vindhya hill,<sup>6</sup> he is rightly called Kausalya (or Kauśalya). This Kosala is sometimes called Dakṣiṇa Kosala, for which Kosala is also used by the authors of the Purāṇas; see Garuḍa-p. I. 68. 17 where Kosala is the same as Dakṣiṇa Kosala.

The Bhāgavata also uses the word कौसल्य, which is wrongly construed with Yājñavalkya by the commentator Śrīdhara. This means that Yājñavalkya, the disciple of Hiraṇyanābha, was an inhabitant of Kosala. This is untenable as there is no grounds to hold this view. Kausalya ought to have been construed with हिरण्यगर्भः योगाचार्यः. The Śiva-p. (कौशल्यो याज्ञवल्क्योऽथ) seems to be misled by the Bhāgavata.

(D) The Viṣṇu-p. clearly says that Hiraṇyanābha was a disciple of Jaimini, a great yogin. The Bhāgavata is also of the same opinion (योगाचार्यो हिरण्यनाभो जैमिनेः शिष्यः—words so arranged as to yield the sense clearly).

A question may be raised about the validity of this view as no sage named Jaimini is described as a great yogin in the Itihāsa-purāṇas or in the yogic works.

The problem may be solved if we think that Hiraṇyanābha was one of the later promulgators of Sāma-veda-recensions and that Jaimini was the first promulgator of the Sāma-veda-śākhās. Thus it may reasonably be concluded that Hiraṇyanābha was an indirect disciple of Jaimini in the field of Sāmaveda.

The problem may be solved in another conjectural way. We may read the Viṣṇu-p. passage as हिरण्यनाभस्ततो महायोगीश्वरः जैमिनिशिष्यः, thus construing महायोगीश्वरः not with Jaimini but with Hiraṇyanābha. It is not necessary that all epithets of a substantive are to be read before it as is held by Rhetoricians.

(E) The Vāyu and other Purāṇas declare that Yājñavalkya achieved yoga from Hiraṇyanābha.

It is unfortunate that such a valuable information is not found in the available works on yoga. Even the yogic works ascribed to Yājñavalkya, namely योग (गि)—याज्ञवल्क्य and बृहद्योगियाज्ञवल्क्य (or बृहद्योगियाज्ञवल्क्यसंहिता) do not speak of Hiraṇyanābha as the teacher of Yājñavalkya.

There is however no doubt about the existence of Yājñavalkya, the yogin.<sup>7</sup>

It is remarkable to note that the Gita press edition of the Viṣṇu-p. reads : तस्माद् हिरण्यनाभः, यो महायोगीश्वराञ्ज् जैमिनिशिष्याद् याज्ञवल्क्याद् योगमवाप (4. 4. 107). Unless a critical edition of the Purāṇa is available nothing can be said on this point. That Yājñavalkya was a disciple of Jaimini is unknown to the Purāṇas.

(F) We get no precise description of the treatise composed by Hiraṇyanābha. The Purāṇas simply say that it deals with yoga which is आध्यात्म्य, अध्यात्मसंज्ञक, हृदयग्रन्थिभेदन (or भेदक) and महोदय. [अध्यात्मन्+अण्=आध्यात्म; cp अध्यात्मन्+इक (ठक्)=आध्यात्मिक].

For the first two epithets, cp. Kaṭha-up. 1. 2. 12 (अध्यात्मयोगाधिगमेन देवं. ....). This is the reason for describing a yogin as अध्यात्मचिन्तक, अध्यात्मज्ञ or अध्यात्म्यविद् (see Śānti-p. 275. 18; 310. 10, 15; 202. 4; Aśvamedha-p. 39. 24; Manusmṛti 6. 82). For the entities discussed in *adhyaṭmavidyā*, see Śānti. p. Chaps. 194, 247 and 285; Nāradya-p. I. 44.

According to the comm. Śrīdhara *mahodaya* means 'one endowed with supernormal powers (महान्त उदयाः सिद्धयो यस्मिन् तम्). The explanation does not seem to be original. The word *mahodaya* occurs in the Mukṭika-up. (2.39) in the sense of *manonāśa*. This sense may be accepted here, for *manonāśa* is one of the chief themes of yoga works. This may be compared with Praśastapāda's use of the word *mahodaya* in the benedictory verse of his bhāṣya (पदार्थधर्मसंग्रहः प्रवक्ष्यते महोदयः) which is explained to mean आत्यन्तिकी दुःखनिवृत्तिः (vide Nyāyakandalī).

The expression हृदयग्रन्थिभेदक (or भेदन) meaning 'the breaker of the knots of the heart' (the suffix *ana* in the sense of agent) shows an established conception of *yogavidyā*; cp. भिद्यते हृदयग्रन्थिः (Muṇḍaka-up. 2. 2. 8) and गुहाग्रन्थि (Muṇḍaka-up. 3. 2. 9); in the latter *guhā* stands for *hṛdaya*; cp. तस्मादिदं गुहा हृदयम् (Śatapatha Br. XI. 2. 6. 5).

### III

From the passages (in the chapters on *vedaśākhāvibhāga*) of the Vāyu and other Purāṇas it appears that Hiraṇyanābha was one of the promulgators of Sāma-veda-śākhās. It is stated that Hiraṇyanābha was the direct disciple of Sukarman in Sāma-veda, who was the grandson of Jaimini, the first promulgator of Sāmaśākhās. Hiraṇyanābha is said to have composed 500 Sāma-saṁhitās and taught them to his disciples who were afterwards called *prācyā-sāmagas* (Eastern sāman-chanters)<sup>8</sup>. स्मृतः

सर्वेषु शर्मषु (the reading in Vāyu-p.) requires to be corrected to स्मृतः प्राच्येषु सामसु (the reading in Brahmāṇḍa-p.).

Kṛta (sometimes read as कृति or कत in the Purāṇas) was another disciple of Hiraṇyanābha in yoga as well as in the Sāmaveda. He was the son of the King Sannati or Sannatimat, who belonged to the dynasty of Pūru of the lunar race.<sup>9</sup>

Kṛta was a versatile scholar of the Sāmaveda. He is said to be one of the Udīcyasāmaga disciples of Hiraṇyanābha in some Purāṇas, while in others one of the prācyā-sāmaga disciples. He had twenty-four disciples in the Sāmaveda, who were called Kārtas or Kārtis.<sup>10</sup>

Between the two readings पौत्रस्य जैमिनेः शिष्यः (Vāyu-p.) and पौष्यञ्जेश्च स वै शिष्यः (Brahmāṇḍa-p.) concerning Hiraṇyanābha the first reading seems to be acceptable, for Hiraṇyanābha was the disciple of Sukarman, who was the *putra* of Jaimini according to the Viṣṇu-purāṇa. None of the Purāṇas say that Hiraṇyanābha was the disciple of Pausyīñji.

In the Raghuvamśa (18. 24-27)<sup>11</sup> Kālidāsa referred to this yogin and said that he was a Kausalya, i. e. an inhabitant of the Kosala *Janapada*. The poet further informs us that Viśvasaha became an ascetic after appointing his son Hiraṇyanābha king of his country who ruled the Uttarakosala *janapada*.

The mention of Uttarakosala in connection with Hiraṇyanābha presents some difficulty, for he appeared in the dynasty of Kuśa to whom the *janapada* on the table land of the Vindhya hill was given by Rāma, while Uttarakosala was given to the other son Lava (Rāmāyaṇa 7. 107. 17; Vāyu-p. 88. 199-200). Does it suggest that Uttarakosala came to be ruled by the descendants of Kuśa afterwards ?

According to Kālidāsa Kausalya is the name of the son of Hiraṇyanābha (18. 27; कौसल्य इति प्रसिद्ध औरसो धर्मपत्नीजः सुतोऽभूत्—Mallinātha). The view is, however, not countenanced by any Purāṇa. The reason for this non-traditional view requires to be determined.

The name of the son of Hiraṇyanābha is given as पुष्य, पुण्य or पुष्पक in the Purāṇas, while the Śatapatha Br. gives the name as पर (who performed a horse-sacrifice). In the absence of manuscript material it seems proper to correct the Puranic name.

A doubt may be raised as to how a person highly devoted to songs (sāmans are really songs; cp. गीतिषु सामाख्याः Pūrvamīmāṃsā-sūtra 2. 1. 36) may become a yogin of high order. In reply we may simply say that

sāman songs are helpful in attaining one-pointedness, which is the firm basis of all yoga practices, as has been stated in the Yājñavalkya-smṛti : यथाविधानेन पठन् सामगानमविच्युतम् । सावधानस्तदभ्यासात् परं ब्रह्माधिगच्छति ॥ (3. 112). Puranic authors were fully aware of the power of sāman songs; that is why they emphatically declared 'सामानि यो वेद स वेद ब्रह्म' (Vāyu-p. 79. 95; Brahmāṇḍa-p. II. 15. 68). The Puranic statement is found in slightly different form in an authoritative work of the Vedic tradition also; see Bṛhaddevatā 8. 130 (सामानि यो वेद स वेद तत्त्वम्).<sup>12</sup>

1. Śāṅkara explains कौसल्य as कौसलायां भवः. Madhvācārya also explained it in the same way. Kosalā is another name of Ayodhyā (see Vaijayantikos'a 4. 3. 5; Kalpadru-kos'a. p. 17, verse 15).

- Some editions seem to read kausalya with *palatal s'*. According to Max Muller 'there is no authority for the *palatal s'*', (S. B. E. vol. 15, p. 283 fn.) In the Purāṇas also the word is sometimes read with *palatal s'*. According to the Paninian tradition the word is to be spelt with dental s; see commentaries on Pā 4. 1 .171 (वृद्धेत्कौसलाजाद—), Tattvabodhini on Uṇādi-sūtra 106 (वृषादिभ्यश्चित्) and Aṇadikapadārṇava 1.443. The Bhāgavata verse हिरण्यनाभः कौसल्यः ..... (12.7. 77) is quoted in the Carañavyūha (sec. on Sāmaveda). The comm. Mahīdhara explains कौसल्य by *kosala-putra* (p. 46), which is unacceptable.
2. Śāṅkara explains *rājaputra* as जातितः क्षत्रियः.
3. In many passages of the printed Purāṇa the name is read as हिरण्यनामिन् or हिरण्यनाभि. There is no doubt that the correct form is हिरण्यनाभ. Names of kings ending with नाभ are found in the Purāṇas, e. i. कुशनाभ (the name of the son of Kuśa, son of Rāma, Rāmāyaṇa 1. 32. 2).
4. cp. एते इक्ष्वाकुदायादा राजानः प्रायशः स्मृताः । वंशे प्रधाना ये तेऽस्मिन् प्राधान्येन तु कीर्तिताः ॥ (Vāyu-p.88. 213); सर्वे प्राधान्यतः प्रोक्ताः समासेन (Kūrma-p. I. 214 in कुरुवंशवर्णनं).
5. Use of synonyms in proper names is often found in the Purāṇas. As for example अन्तर्धान is used for the king अन्तर्धि, शत्रुमर्दन for the king अरिमर्दन; पिपुलाशन for the sage पिपुलाद; शिलाशन for शिलाद; हिरण्यचक्षुस् for the demon हिरण्यक्ष etc. As the proper names were often based on the *guṇa-karmans* of persons, the tendency of using synonyms came into existence in natural course.
6. कुशस्य कौशला राज्यं पुरी चापि कुशस्थली । रम्या निवेशिता येन विन्ध्यपर्वतसानुषु ॥ (Vāyu-p. 88. 199; Brahmāṇḍa-p. 2. 64. 199). The division of Kosala into northern and southern is not stated in Vedic literature.
7. See Yājñavalkya-smṛti 1. 2 (मिथिलास्थः स योगीन्द्रः) and 3. 110 (योगशास्त्रं च मत्प्रोक्तम्) and the Janaka-yājñavalkya dialogue on Śāṅkhyā-yoga views in Śānti-p. (Chaps 303-306 cr. ed. ).

8. For a detailed treatment of the contribution of Hiraṇyanābha in the field of the Śāma-veda, see the present writer's work पुराणगत वेदविषयक सामग्री का समीक्षात्मक अध्ययन, pp. 299-305.
9. सन्नतिमतः कृतोऽभूद् यं हिरण्यनभो-योगमध्यापयामास, यः चतुर्विंशतिं प्राच्यसामगानां चकार संहिताः (Viṣṇu-p. 4. 19. 13); तस्य वै संनतेः पुत्रः कृतो नाम महाबलः ॥ ४२ ॥ शिष्यो हिरण्यनाभस्य कौशलस्य महात्मनः । चतुर्विंशतिधा तेन सप्राच्याः सामसंहिताः ॥ ४३ ॥ स्मृतास्ते प्राच्यसामानः कार्तयो नाम सामगाः । (Harivaṁs'a 1.20. 42b-44a).
10. For a detailed account of the activities and disciples of Kṛta, see पुराणगत वेदविषयक सामग्री का समीक्षात्मक अध्ययन, pp. 303-304.
11. आराध्य विश्वेश्वरमीश्वरेण तेन क्षितेर्विश्वसहो विजज्ञे । पातुं सहो विश्वसखः समग्रां विश्वंभरामात्मजमूर्तिरात्मा ॥ २४ ॥ [v.1. विश्वसखो, विश्वसमो, विष्णुसमो for विश्वसहो; v.1 विश्वसहः, विश्वसृजः for विश्वसखः] अंशे हिरण्याक्षरिपोः स जाते हिरण्यनाभे तनये नयज्ञः । द्विषामसह्यः सुतरां तरूणां हिरण्यरेता इव सानिलोऽभूत् ॥ २५ ॥ पिता पितृणामनृगंस्तमन्ते वयस्यनन्तानि सुखानि लिप्सुः । राजानमाजानुविलम्बबाहुं कृत्वा कृती वल्कलवान् बभूव ॥ २६ ॥ कौसल्य इत्युत्तरकोसलानां पत्युः पतङ्गान्वयभूषणस्य । २७ क.
12. About the date of Hiraṇyanābha the view of Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri is given here : "According to the Praśna Upaniṣad, Hiraṇyanābha, the father, was a contemporary of Sukeśa Bhāradvāja (6.1) who was himself a contemporary of Kausalya Āśvalāyana (1. 1). If it be true, as seems probable, that Āśvalāyana of Kosala is identical with Assalāyana of Sāuatthī mentioned in the Majjhima Nikāya (II. 147 et. seq.) as a contemporary of Gotama Buddha, he must be placed in the sixth century B. C. Consequently Hiraṇyanābha and his son Hairaṇyanābha too, must have flourished in that century" (P.H.A.I.p. 91). As the identity shown above is extremely doubtful, the date of the teacher is to be determined afresh.

## THE UPPER DATE OF AYODHYĀMĀHĀTMYA OF SKANDA PURĀṆA

BY

JAHNAWI SHEKHAR ROY

[बाकरमहोदयेन स्कन्दपुराणीयायोध्यामाहात्म्यखण्डरचनायाः कालस्य पूर्वसीमा ख्रीष्टीय १०९३ रूपेण निर्धारिता । एतत्-प्रयुक्ताभिर्युक्तिभिः एतत्खण्डरचनायाः कालः ख्रीष्टीय ११८४ वर्षादवागु इति सिध्यति । पूर्वोक्तं मतं पाठक-तिवारीभ्याम् इतिवृत्तविद्भ्याम् अभ्युपगतम् । एताभ्यामिदमपि उक्तं यद् एतत्खण्डरचनायाः कालस्यावरसीमा ख्रीष्टीय- ११४८ भवितुमर्हतीति ।

एतेषां विदुषां विशेषतश्च बाकर-महोदयस्य मतानि लेखकेन ऐतिहासिकदृष्ट्या शिलालेखाद्याधारेण च विशदं समीक्षितानि; अयोध्यागतानां नदीतीरार्थादीनां यत् परिवर्तनं जातं तदपि स्फुटं दर्शितम्-ग्रन्थकालनिर्धारणे एवंविधभौगोलिकपरिवर्तनानां उपयोगस्य सार्थक्यमपि व्यक्तीकृतम् । सिद्धान्तितं च गहडवालवंशीय-जयचन्द्रस्य राज्ञः कतिभ्यश्चित् शताब्दीभ्यः प्राग् विरचितोऽयं खण्डः । अवरसीमाविषये इदमेव निश्चप्रचं वक्तुं शक्यते । पूर्वसीमायाः निर्धारणं दुःशकं; दृढप्रमाणेषु उपलब्धेषु सत्त्वेतव तत् कर्तुं शक्यते । ]

### [Introduction]

Dr. Bakker has put the upper date of Ayodhyāmahātmya (AM) as 1093 A.D., that is, the date of the Candradeva inscription of Ayodhyā.<sup>1</sup> Rather, he pushes the date a little more forward. If we accept his argument, AM must have been composed after 1184 A.D., that is, the date of the installation of Tretā-kā-Ṭhākur temple by king Jaycandra. Dr. Pathak, V.S. and Dr. Tiwari, J.N<sup>2</sup> agree with it (1093 A.D.) and further add that the lower limit of the date of the composition of AM should be 1148 A.D., viz, the date of the construction of Tretā-kā-Ṭhākur at Svargadvāra as given in Jaycandra's inscription found in the ruins of the Tretā-kā Ṭhākur mosque built by Aurangzeb<sup>3</sup> Apparently, it seems that both, Dr. Bakker and on the other hand Dr. Pathak and Tiwari, agree on the upper date. But actually it is not so. Dr. Pathak and Tiwari in fact, dismiss the main argument of Dr. Bakker as speculative.<sup>4</sup> The two set of arguments annul each other. So, it becomes imperative to