

## सम्पादक-मण्डल

- डा. रामकरण शर्मा  
भूतपूर्व कुलपति, सम्पूर्णानन्द संस्कृतविश्वविद्यालय, वाराणसी; नयी दिल्ली  
डा. रामचन्द्र नारायण दाण्डेकर  
भण्डारकर प्राच्यशोधसंस्थान, पुणे  
डा. जोर्जो बोनाजोली

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## पुराणम्—PURĀṆA

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## NARA-NĀRĀYAṆA AS DESCRIBED IN THE PURĀṆAS

By

Ram Shankar Bhattacharya

The Purāṇas speak highly of the twin sages Nara and Nārāyaṇa and show the uniqueness of their character by saying that they, unlike other gods, conquered Kāma without being arrogant or wrathful to him. Followings pages embody a brief account of the life and activities of these two sages as described in the Purāṇas. That these two sages possess a highly glorified position in the field of Puranic lore may be known from the well-know verse नारायणं नमस्कृत्य नरं चैव नरोत्तमम्. ' read in the beginning of almost all the Purāṇas.

In the Purāṇas the word Naranārāyaṇa (containing the names of two sages) is, in many places, used in singular number<sup>1</sup>, which shows intimate relation or constant companionship between these two sages<sup>2</sup>. They are regarded as the two parts of one *sattva* (नारायणं नरं चैव सत्त्वमेकं द्विधा स्थितम्, Mbh. Udyoga p. 49. 20) . In the present article the word Naranārāyaṇa will usually be treated as one single name, unless there arises some necessity to mention the two names separately. We have hardly given any hyphen between the two names as there is no possibility of confusion in the names.

It should be clearly noted that Nārāyaṇa in this article is not the same as the god Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa. Here Nārāyaṇa is chiefly a sage though he is regarded as an *aṁśa* (portion) or incarnation of Viṣṇu or even aspects or forms of Viṣṇu and is given such epithets as are visually given to Viṣṇu. There are however a considerable number of Puranic passages where the precise character of Nārāyaṇa (whether he is a sage or the same as God Viṣṇu) is not clearly discernible. As for example in the Puranic statement that Śrī, the daughter of Bhṛgu and Khyāti, was married with Nārāyaṇa, Nārāyaṇa is the God Viṣṇu as may be known from relevant Puranic passages. Again when the Purāṇas say that in the churning of ocean Nārāyaṇa assumed the form of Mohinī, Nārāyaṇa is to be taken as the God Viṣṇu, but in the same incident when it is said that Nārāyaṇa appeared with Nara and fought against the demons, Nārāyaṇa is the sage Nārāyaṇa as is clear from the mention of Nara.

It is worth while to note the position of Nara-nārāyaṇa in the scheme of *avatār* as as conceived in the Gauḍīya school. According to this school these two sages belong to the class of *līlāvatāras* (who are twentyfour in number) and sometimes they are said to form one single *avatara*. They are also regarded as persons showing the glory of dispassion (*vairāgya*). In the fourfold classification of *avataras* (namely *āveśa*, *prabhava*, *vaibhava* and *parāvastha*) Nara and Nārāyaṇa fall under the *vaibhava* class (See the Bṛhad-bhāgavatāmṛta of Sanātana- gosvāmin and the Saṁkṣepabhāgavatāmṛta of Rūpagosvāmin). According to the Saṁkṣepabhāgavatāmṛta, the four brothers Nara, Nārāyaṇa, Hari and Kṛṣṇa constitute one single *avatara* (14).<sup>3</sup>

Though some Purāṇas expressly state that Nara and Nārāyaṇa were of human forms ( नररूपेण तिष्ठति, Sk. Badarikāśrama 8.19; see also D. Bhāg. 6.10.19-21, 30) and though words like *muni*, *ṛṣi* and the like are frequently used at the time of referring to them, yet it is reasonable to regard them as mythical, for they are said to be the offspring of Sādhyā or Mūrti (the daughter of Dakṣa) and Dharma ( born of Brahmā). The assertion that they appeared in the Cākṣuṣa manvantara also tends to prove the mythical character of these two sages.<sup>4</sup>

### Glorious position of Naranārāyaṇa

The highly exalted position of these two sages may be known from the statements of Puranic authors as given below:

(1) These two sages are regarded as the incarnations or portions of Viṣṇu, or even Viṣṇu himself.<sup>5</sup>

(2) Epithets like *praśānta*, *mahat*, *jñānin*, *mahāmatī*, *bhakta-pravara*, *lokabhāvana* and the like are frequently used for them. See Bhāg. 3.4.22; 11.4.6; Kālikā-p. 37.127; Br.Vai.p. 2.63.27-28; 4.22.48, etc.

(3) Besides the general epithets like *muni*, *ṛṣi*, *yogin*, *bhāgavata* etc<sup>6</sup>., more significant epithets are applied to them. They are regarded as *paramahansa-paramaguru* in Bhāg. 5.19.11 and D. Bhāg. 8.11.2 and *devar śis* in Vāyu-p.61.83. Nārāyaṇa is said to be the best of *munis* as Kumāra (i. e. Sanatkumāra) is the best of *brahmacārins* ( नारायणो मुनीनां च कुमारो ब्रह्मचारिणाम् Bhāg. 11.16.25).

(4) The celibacy of these two sages has been praised in a lofty way in Bhāg. 3. 31. 37 saying that there is no other being who cannot be deluded

by women (तत्सृष्टसृष्टेषु कोऽन्वखण्डितधीः पुमान् । ऋषिं नारायणमृते योषिन्मयेह मायया)<sup>7</sup>.

(5) The passages like नारायणं नरसखं शरणं प्रपद्ये (in Bhāg. 11. 7. 18) show that the two sages are regarded as capable of delivering people from the miseries of the mundane existence. Similarly, passages like अखिलात् प्रमादान् नारायणः पातु नरञ्च हासात् (Bhāg. 6. 8. 10) i. e. 'let Nārāyaṇa protect people from *pramāda* (heedlessness) and Nara from *hāsa* (*garva*, pride)' show the supremacy of the lordly powers of these sages.

(6) The two eulogistic verses uttered at the birth of these two sages as given in Bhāg. 4. 1. 46-47 (such verses are not found at the birth of other sages) and Nārada's song, directed to these two sages as given in Bhāg. 5. 19. 12-15 also point to their highly glorified position. The eulogies addressed to Nara-nārāyaṇa by various persons (see Bhāg. 4. 1. 56-59; 12. 8. 40-49 etc.) may also be considered in this connection.

(7) The worship of Naranārāyaṇa as shown in the Purāṇas is a positive proof of their deified character, see Bhāg. 5. 4. 5 (नारायणं भगवन्तं वासुदेवमुपासीनः). There are *āvāhana-mantras* of these sages in V. Dh. U. 3. 106-96-97 and also *mantras* for worship in Bhāg. 5. 19. 11 (ओं नमो भगवते - - - नरनारायणाय----) and in D. Bh. āg. 8. 11. 2 (ओं नमो भगवते - - )<sup>8</sup>.

#### Naranārāyaṇa—two sādhyā devas

The Purāṇas, expressly declare that Nara and Nārāyaṇa, the sons of Dharma, are *sādhyas*.<sup>9</sup> It is also stated that Nārāyaṇa was made king or lord of the *sādhyas* by king Pṛthu (नारायणं तु साध्यानाम्, Vāyu-p. 30. 6; Brahmanḍa-p. 2. 8. 6). These clearly show that these two sages belong to the *sādhyā* class. Since these two sages belong to the *sādhyā* class, they are regarded as *devarṣis* (Vāyu-p. 61. 83) (*sādhyā* being one of the *gaṇadevatās*, see Amarakośa 1. 1. 10).

According to the Purāṇas the *sādhyā devas* are the offspring of Dharma and Sādhya,<sup>10</sup> they are twelve in number and they appeared in the Cākṣuṣa manvantara (Vāyu-p. 66. 14; 67.41; Matsya-p. 203. 10-12; 213. 11-12).<sup>11</sup>

#### Parentage of Naranārāyaṇa

Since Naranārāyaṇa belongs to the *sādhyā* class of beings and since this class is born of Sādhya (one of the daughters of Dakṣa)<sup>12</sup> and Dharma, it is needless to say that Dharma and Sādhya were the parents of Naranārāyaṇa.<sup>13</sup> There are even express statements on this. As for

example Sk. Revā 192.9-10 says that Dharma and Sādhya gave birth of Nara, Nārāyaṇa, Hari and Kṛṣṇa.<sup>14</sup> The Purāṇas have little to say about Hari and Kṛṣṇa and it would be too much to assume any real connection of this Kṛṣṇa with Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa.

A different view about the name of the mother of Naranārāyaṇa is found in the Bhāgavata, which seems to be followed by two Puranic works of Vaiṣṇava character. According to the Bhāgavata the name is Mūrti.<sup>15</sup> That Mūrti is the name of the wife of Dharma is stated in the Purāṇas in various occasions.<sup>16</sup>

There must be some reason for this difference in the name of the mother of Naranārāyaṇa, especially when the view is not found in comparatively earlier Purāṇas. It seems that since the Bhāgavata is based on the Vaiṣṇava āgama, the present view must have been taken from some Agamic work. It is gratifying to note that the Bhāgavata view is found in the Sāttva-saṁhitā 2.12 (नारायणो नर ऋषिप्रवरावभूतां धर्मस्य दक्षदुतयिहिमूर्तिं पत्न्याम्) -Mūrti is the daughter of Dakṣa.

There is another point of difference in the Bhāgavata view. According to the Bhāgavata-p. Mūrti is the daughter of Svāyambhuva Dakṣa and Prasūti (4. 1. 49) while Sādhya is said to be the daughter of Prācetasā Dakṣa.

There is an important problem concerning the view of the Sāttvatasāṁhitā, which holds another view about the parentage of these sages. It says that Dharma and Ahimsā gave birth to Nara, Nārāyaṇa, Hari and Kṛṣṇa (12. 139)<sup>17</sup>.

The view is found in the Vāmana-p. also (धर्मं च स समाहूय भार्ययाऽहिसया सह, 2.12). Apparently this is a problem. But the Purāṇa itself in its later chapter says that Ahimsā, the wife of Dharma gave birth to four sons, namely Sanatkumāra, Sanātana, Sanaka and Sanandana who were devoted to *yogaśāstra* (34. 69-70 Cr. ed.). This shows either Ahimsā is another wife of Dharma, or this Dharma is different from Dharma, the father of Naranārāyaṇa.

Sectarian views about the birth of Naranārāyaṇa are also found in the Purāṇas. According to the Kālikā-p. Nara and Nārāyaṇa are born of the Narasiṁha incarnation—Nara from the human part and Nārāyaṇa from the lionine part (30. 124-126). As to why the two sages were connected with these two parts an explanation may be hazarded: it is quite natural to associate Nara with the human part, for Nara means a man. Since

Nārāyaṇa is depicted as more powerful than Nara<sup>18</sup> in Puranic stories,<sup>19</sup> Nārāyaṇa seems to have been associated with the lionine part.

In the Avantikhaṇḍa (3.29-30) of the Skānda-p. these two sages are said to come out from the blood of Śiva. This view seems to be based on the warrior-character of these sages as depicted in the Purāṇas; see Skānda, Badarikāśrama 8.19; Nārādīya-p. 2. 67, 66-67; D. Bhāg. 4.9 and Vāmana-p. 7.39-8.32 (battle between Prahlāda and Naranārāyaṇa).

**Relation between Nara and Nārāyaṇa and their characteristics**  
According to the Purāṇas Nara is the younger brother of Nārāyaṇa;<sup>20</sup> he is the companion as well as the helper of Nārāyaṇa in his deeds<sup>21</sup>; the name Nara has some basis.<sup>22</sup> The Purāṇas sometimes describe them as warriors.<sup>23</sup> Bodily characteristics of these sages are stated in some Purāṇas. They are described as wearing skin of the black antelope, as possessing matted hair, as holding water-jars, stuffs, rosaries of beads, as having *pavitra*s in hand etc.<sup>24</sup> According to the Bhāgavata and Padma Purāṇas the complexion of Nara and Nārāyaṇa is white and black respectively, while according to the Viṣṇudharmottara the complexion of these two sages is *śyāma* and *nīla* respectively. Again, while according to the Bhāgavata-p. the sages have four arms each, according to the Viṣṇudharmottara Nara and Nārāyaṇa have two and four arms respectively. The reason for the difference in the views of these two Purāṇas is difficult to determine. The V. Dh. U. seems to follow the tradition of artistes. Is this tradition partly different from the tradition of the Purāṇas?

#### Place of ansterities practised by Naranārāyaṇa

Almost all Puranas declare that Nara-nārāyaṇa practised austerities at Badarī, sometimes called Badarī-āśrama, Badarī-āśrama-maṇḍala. Badarikā or Badarikāśrama<sup>25</sup>. The place is called so on account of its having a forest of Badarī trees<sup>26</sup>. It is situated on the hill called Gandhamādana<sup>27</sup>. in the Himalayan region<sup>28</sup>. The hill seems to have two peaks<sup>29</sup>. The two sages are said to remain there for a long time or for the whole life as the epithets सुचिरोषित (Mbh. An u ś ā sana-p. 167. 43). and आकृष्यादास्थितो तपः (Nārādīya-p. 2. 67. 5) indicate. Sages are said to repair to this place to meet Nara-n āryāna; see Mbh. Śānti-p. 339. 111.

This place of practising penance by Nara-nārāyaṇa came to be called Naranārāyaṇa-sthāna, Naranārāyaṇālaya and Naranārāyaṇa-āśrama for obvious reasons<sup>30</sup>.

Badarī is also called by the name Viśālā (Skānda Badarikāśrama 1.59). It is also said that it is called Muktipradā, Yogasiddhidā, Viśālā and Badarikāśrama in the four yugas respectively (Sk. Badarikāśrama 1.57). Badarī is said to be a seat of Devī in the name Urvaśī 7. 30. 79). The Urvaśīsaṅgama-tīrtha is situated here (Nārādīya-p. 2. 67. 76 ) For a charming description of Badarī, see Kālikā-p. 32. 34-37<sup>31</sup>.

A few other places are also connected with Naranārāyaṇa. Hiraṇyāsaṅgameśvara is said to be a place of practising austerities by these sages in Padma-p. 6. 135. 5-6. It is situated on (or near) the Sābhramatī river (modern Sabarmati).

Similarly Viṣṇusaras is said to be a seat of Naranārāyaṇa (Padma-p. 1. 3. 61)<sup>32</sup>.

#### Performance of austerities by Naranārāyaṇa

The Purāṇas describe the practice of austerities by Naranārāyaṇa in various ways. On account of the performance of *tapases* such epithets as तापस, तपस्विन्, तपःकर्तृ and the like are given to these sages<sup>33</sup>. The Purāṇas further inform us that the sages performed austerities by remaining unmarried (i.e. by following the vow of celibacy)<sup>34</sup>. and that the purpose<sup>35</sup> of practising austerities was to attain liberation or to propagate *dharma* and to establish peace for people. It is gratifying to note that according to the Bhāgavata 5. 19. 9 and Śiva-p. 4. 19. 1 it is Bhāratavarṣa where the sages performed austerities and the sages will continue their practice till the end of the *kalpa* (i. e. Śvetavarahakalpa).

From the Puranic descriptions of austerities<sup>36</sup> it appears that the austerities were awful, severe, acute and violent, that the sages remained without food and drink for long periods of time, that they were not disturbed by lust, greed, grief, etc. and that they controlled their senses and placed the mind on *ātman*. Miraculous powers resulting from their austerities have also been stated in some Purāṇas (Sk. Revā 192. 13b-16). The Sāttvata-saṁhitā on which the story of Nara-nārāyaṇa as given in the Bhāgavata-p. is based, also speaks of several austerities of these sages (धीरोपकारकरुणाशयकायशुद्धं तीव्रं तपः प्रचरतां सुरराजातापम्, 2. 12).

### Acts of Naranārāyaṇa

A few acts of Naranārāyaṇa are described in the Purāṇas. It is needless to say that in the Puranic accounts of these acts there are differences in details. As for example in the episode of the churning of the ocean some Purāṇas simply speak of the presence of Naranārāyaṇa, while others describe the fight of these sages with the demons. There is no definite means to determine whether the mention of the fight is a later augmentation or the non-mention of the fight is the result of condensation.

It may be easily observed that there are such epithets of these two sages in the Purāṇas as are based on various acts performed by them. As for example the epithet अनेकजयिनो संखे (Mbh. Udyoga 196. 12) is based on the victories of these two sages in battles with demons.

From the Puranic statements about the nature of Naranārāyaṇa it appears that these two sages chose that path which, in the words of Gītā, is known as *lokasaṁgraha*. (the guidance of people).

It is remarkable to note that the Devībhāgavata put up some questions about the reason for the various acts done by Nara-nārāyaṇa in 4.1.12b-20 and 4.10.1-16<sup>37</sup>. It is the curse of Bhṛgu that is said to be the reason for assuming various incarnations by Viṣṇu (D. Bhāg. 4.10.29). The incident of the curse is elaborately described in 4.10.32-12. 8. The curse of Bhṛgu is stated in other Purāṇas also (भृगुशापच्छलेनैव मानयन् मानुषी तनुम् |...Kūrma-p. 1. 23. 72 Cr. ed.).

In the present article no attempt will be made to take up a comparative study of the Puranic description of these episodes for reasons of space. Here we will simply give Puranic references along with very brief accounts of the episodes.

Following acts of Naranārāyaṇa are chiefly described in the Purāṇas:

#### 1. Victory over Kāma and creation of Urvaśī

These two (two aspects of one single act) are the most meritorious acts of Naranārāyaṇa (especially of Nārāyaṇa). The Purāṇas describe this incident in a highly eloquent manner and remark that Nārāyaṇa conquered Kāma without being enraged to him, thus showing his supreme position in comparison to other divinities (Bhāg. 11. 4. 11).

It is said that while Nara and Nārāyaṇa were practising austerities in the Gandhamādana mountain, Indra became afraid of them thinking that they would conquer his kingdom (heaven). Consequently he sent Kāma with some *apsarases* to disturb the sages. The sages, instead of being disturbed, welcomed Kāma and the *apsarases* calmly with a composed

mind. Nārāyaṇa, with a view to showing his indifference to physical beauty, created from his thigh an *apsaras* called Urvaśī (as she was born of the ūru, thigh, of Nārāyaṇa) whose superb beauty excelled that of the *apsarases* (who had come there with Kāma to delude him) and graciously presented her to Indra who wanted to distract him from performing austerities. The *apsarases* and Cupid became ashamed of their behaviour; they came back to Indra and informed him that the sages had no intention to occupy his kingdom.<sup>38</sup>

The episode with differences in details is stated in several Purāṇas; see D. Bhāg. 4. 5-7; Matsya-p. 61. 21-26; Bhāg. 11. 4. 7-15 (here the name Nārāyaṇa is absent though the sage is called *dharmasuta*), Vāmana-p. 6. 1-7. 20 (Cr. ed.), Padma-p. Sṛṣṭi 2. 23-28); V. Dh. U. Kh. 1, Ch. 129; 3. 35. 1-5a); Sk. Revā 192-193; Sk. Badarikāśrama 17. 62-65; Sk. Avantī, Chap. 8; Viṣṇudharma 102-103 (see Studies in the Upapurāṇas, Vol. I, p. 129).

(1A) in connection with the above episode there is one remarkable incident in the description given in the Revākhaṇḍa of the Skanda-p. it is the *viśvarūpadarśana* (the vision of the universal form) of the *apsarases* (Ch. 193) through the power of Nārāyaṇa.

#### (2) Fight with the demon Prahlāda

Prahlāda once came to Naimiṣāraṇya and he saw there Nara and Nārāyaṇa practising austerities though they held bows and arrows. The dialogue between the sages and Prahlāda gave rise to a fight and at last Prahlāda was defeated by Naranārāyaṇa and was ordered to go to his kingdom; See Vāmana-p. 7. 39-8.72 and D. Bhāg. 4. 7. 18-4. 16; see also D. Bhāg. 4. 16. 17-19.

#### (3) Fight with the king Dambhodhava

Dambhodhava was highly proud of his power and prowess and being advised by Nārada he came to Badarī and requested Naranārāyaṇa to fight with him. The king was defeated by Nara and came back to his capital; See Mbh. Udyoga-p. 96.5-39. The incident was known to Kauṭilya ( मदाद् दम्भोद्भव इति, Arthaśāstra 1.6). A very brief account of the incident may be found in the Jayamaṅgalā comm.<sup>39</sup> on Arthaśāstra, which evidently seems to have summarized the description given in the Udyoga-p.

## (4) Naranārāyaṇa's worship of Śiva

While Naranārāyaṇa was practising austerities at Badarī, Śiva came to the Kedāraliṅga and told the sages to receive boons from him. The sages requested Śiva to remain in the Kedāraliṅga. Śiva agreed and he remained in the *liṅga* in the form of *jyotis*; see Śiva-p. 4. 19. 6-7.

## (5) Naranārāyaṇaś bringing devas to the world

Nara and Nārāyaṇa are said to bring the *devas* and *devarṣis* of the Janaloka to the world through their power of austerities; see Kālikā-p. 34. 25-28.<sup>40</sup>

## (6) Protection of yajña by Naranārāyaṇa

Seeing the wrathful Śiva, *yajña* fled to the Naranārāyaṇaśrama and Śiva, holding a bow and arrows, followed *yajña*. When Nārāyaṇa pressed Śiva's neck (*kaṇṭhapīḍana*) Śiva was overcome with fear (*viḥvala*) and *yajña* fled to the heaven (*div*); see V. Dh. U. 1. 235. 4-11.

## (7) Naranārāyaṇa's fight with the demons in the incident of the churning of the Kṣīroda ocean

In this incident Nārāyaṇa and Nara appeared for the *devas* and fought with the demons by using discus (*cakra*) and arrows respectively (Matsya-p. 250. 25-28). (The mention of the use of arrows of Nara is worth noticing, for Nara's association with weapons has been expressly stated in the Purāṇas). See also V. Dh. U. 1. 43. 30 ff.

## (8) Giving boon to Mārkaṇḍeya

In Bhāg. 12. 8.6-9.34 sage Mārkaṇḍeya is said to practise austerities somewhere in the northern slope of the mountain Himālaya. When his mind was engrossed in Lord, He appeared before him in the form of Naranārāyaṇa (Mārkaṇḍeya's eulogy to Naranārāyaṇa is given in 8.40-49). Being asked by Nārāyaṇa to take a boon from him, Mārkaṇḍeya prayed Him to show his *māyā*. Mārkaṇḍeya's vision of *māyā* is described in detail in 9. 10-34.

## Teachings and doctrines of Naranārāyaṇa

Views of Naranārāyaṇa are found in two forms in the Purāṇas—in the form of teachings, or instructions or advices given to sages etc. and in the form of doctrines (mostly on philosophical matters) ascribed to those sages. A modest list of Puranic passages containing these two kinds of

views is given here. We are not going to take up any kind of discussion on these views here for reason of space.

In this connection it is to be noted that the views of the sage Nārāyaṇa are not to be confounded with the views of God Nārāyaṇa. This distinction is however not always easily discernible. Even the use of the word *ṛṣi* with Nārāyaṇa is not always the sure sign in taking Nārāyaṇa as the sage. An attempt is made here to give those Puranic passages only that seem most probably to belong to the sage Nārāyaṇa (son of Dharma).

## Bhāgavata-p.

1. Mentioning Nara-nārāyaṇa as the sons of Dharma and his wife Mūrti, the Purāṇa tells us that the sages preached that kind of karma which leads to the knowledge of the self and further inform that they themselves practised it (निष्कर्म्यलक्षणमुवाच चचार कर्म, 11. 4. 6.).

2. It is said that Nārāyaṇa, the dear companion of Nara, spoke to Nārada that pure wisdom which cannot be attained easily. This knowledge may be attained by those embodied beings that bathed themselves in the dust of the lotus-feet of the devotees of the Lord, who claim nothing as their own;

ज्ञानं तदेतदमलं दुरवापमाह नारायणो नरसखः किल नारदाय ।  
एकान्तिनां भगवतस्तदकिञ्चनानां पादारविन्दरजसाप्लुतदेहिनां स्यात् ॥

(7. 6. 27)

3. Nārada is said to proclaim *sanātanadharmā* which he heard from Nārāyaṇa, the son of Dharma and the daughter of Dakṣa (7. 11. 5-6). The discourse is in five chapters (11-15), dealing with *āśrama-dharma*. Chap. 11 has a very brief account of *Varṇadharmā* and *sāmānyadharmā*, and chap. 15 has a good number of verses on *mokṣadharmā*.

4. From Bhāg. 10. 87. 4-11 it appears that the views proclaimed in the Śruti-stuti verses (10. 87. 14-41) were originally stated to Nārada by Nārāyaṇa who dwelt in the Nārāyaṇaśrama i. e. Badarikāśrama.

5. The sage Nārāyaṇa is said to speak out the Bhāgavata-p. to Kṛṣṇa-dvaipāyana and Nārada (Bhāg. 12. 4. 41).

6. The sage Mārkaṇḍeya was taught by Hari in the form Naranārāyaṇa (Bhāg. 12. 8. 32-9. 7). (The sage realized the nature of *māyā* through the grace of the Lord).

**Devībhāgavata**

When the *apsarases* became love-smitten to Nārāyaṇa (after the creation of Urvāṣī by him from his thigh) Nārāyaṇa promised to become their husband when he would be born as Kṛṣṇa in the 28th Dvāpara (4. 6; 4. 17). In Chap. 17 while talking with *apsarases*, Nārāyaṇa spoke about the erotic sentiment-(*srīgārārasa*) and its sthāyi-bhāva (the lasting feeling) and declared कारणेन विना कार्यं न भवेत् (4. 17. 11-12; no effect comes into existence without a cause).

From 8. 1.6 to the end of the 8th Skandha there is a dialogue between the sage Nārāyaṇa (speaker) and Nārada (Vyāsa here reproduces to Janamejaya what Nārāyaṇa said to Nārada). Here the well-known Puranic tales are told, along with the geography of the earth, method of Devī-worship etc.

The ninth skandha is also in the same dialogue (in 50 chapters). Here is the description of the five forms of Prakṛti (namely Durgā, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, Sāvitrī and Rādhā) and the five parts of Prakṛti (namely Gaṅgā, Tulasī, Manasā, Śaṣṭhī and Maṅgalacaṇḍī) with necessary details. The tenth skandha also is in the same dialogue. It deals with the worship of Devī; the story of the Vindhya mountain, lives of some of the Manus and the killing of the demon Aruṇa by Devī. The eleventh skandha (in the same dialogue) deals with *sadācāra* elaborately describing Tantric and Vedic processes. The twelfth skandha (in the same dialogue) deals with Gāyatrī, dīkṣā, Devī Bhūvaneśvarī etc.

It appears that in these chapters the author of the Purāṇa made Nārāyaṇa speak chiefly about the popular themes of his times. Such long dialogues dealing with heterogeneous matters are usually not meant to present the views actually held by the speaker. In such dialogues the names of the speaker and the hearer are given to show authoritativeness and antiquity of the topics discussed.

**Skanda-p.**

In the Revākhaṇḍa the incident of creating Urvāṣī is given with much detail. At the time of speaking to the *apsarases* Nārāyaṇa spoke about the nature of *paramātman*, *jīvas*, and the world (192. 70-81 and 86). The views propounded here are : omnipresence of Viṣṇu-Vāsudeva, creation of all creatures by *paramātman*; *samadr̥ṣṭi* (the eye of evenness) to all is the *samyadr̥ṣṭi* (right knowledge); in reality there is no difference in the world.

**Varāha-p.**

Nara said that Nārāyaṇa who was लोकमार्गप्रदर्शक (48. 16) and who had practised austerities with me in the Badarī tīrtha, assumed the forms of various avatāras (Matsya, Kūrma etc.) and performed various acts (48. 16-26).

**Brahmavaivarta-p.**

The whole of the second Khaṇḍa (called Prakṛtikhaṇḍa) of this Purāṇa is in the dialogue of Nārāyaṇa (speaker) and Nārada. (Here Nārāyaṇa is the sage of the Badarī tīrtha; see. 1. 29. 1). The subjects are mostly popular tales. As this Purāṇa is apocryphal, it is needless to mention the topics of this dialogue here.

The third Gaṇapatikhaṇḍa is also in the same dialogue.

**Viṣṇudharmottara-p.**

The sage Nārāyaṇa instructed Nārada about the method of worshipping Vāsudeva in Kh. 3, Chap. 352.

**Mahābhārata**

In the story of Dambhodbhava (Udyoga, Ch. 96) there are no verses bearing *upadeśas* on some philosophical matters, yet there are a few verses on proper duties of a Kṣatriya king ( ब्रह्मण्यो भव धर्मात्मा....अविदित्वा बलाबलम्, 34a-37).

In Śānti-p. 61 we find some verses of Nārāyaṇa (Nārāyaṇa-gītam, 13) on the duties of four stages of life (*āśramadharmas*) (verses 13-21). This Nārāyaṇa seems to be the sage Nārāyaṇa as the expression अत्यन्ततपःप्रयुक्तम् उच्यमानम् suggests. This expression serves no purpose if Nārāyaṇa is taken as God.

There is a dialogue between the sage Nārāyaṇa (speaker) and Nārada in Śānti-p. Chaps. 334. 7-345. 28. In this dialogue we find teachings of Nārāyaṇa along with tales etc., see 343. 28-45 (about *kṣetra*, *avyakta* etc.; it is called *guhya-samuddeśa* in 334. 45); 339. 18-76 (God, the three guṇas, the four vṛyūhas, māyā, the Śvetadvīpa and its inhabitants, Brahmā); Ch. 344. 1-24 (teachings of Nara-nārāyaṇa on the glory of Vāsudeva).

The Śānti-p. referred to the philosophical views of the sage Nārāyaṇa in more than one place:

(i) प्रवृत्तिलक्षणं धर्ममूर्धनिरायणोऽब्रवीत् (217.2)

(ii) प्रवृत्तिलक्षणश्चैव धर्मो नारायणात्मकः (347.91)



(iii) प्रकाशं भगवानेतद्वृषिर्नारायणोऽमृतम् ।

भूतानामनुकम्पार्थं जगाद जगतो गतिः ॥ (217.38)

The illuminating knowledge (*prakāśam*) is depicted in 217.37 which speaks of *vikāra*, *prakṛti* and the eternal *puruṣa*. Thus it is clear that Nārāyaṇa is also the promulgator of Sāṅkhya.

In passing we want to quote an *upadeśa* of Nārāyaṇa given to warriors (quoted in a non-Puranic work) with a view to encouraging them to embrace death in the battle-field:

यदि समरमपास्य नास्ति मृत्यो-

र्भयमिति युक्तमतोऽन्यतः प्रयातुम् ।

अथ मरणमवश्यमेव जन्तोः

किमिति मुधा मलिनं यशः कुरुष्वम् ॥

(quoted in Nītimayūkha, p. 105).

(0 warriors), if you can escape the fear of death by leaving fighting in the battle field, it is reasonable to go elsewhere; but if death is inevitable to all creatures, then how is it that you defile your fame by running away from the battle-field.

(It appears that the verse is quoted from some work which was ascribed to the warrior-sage Nārāyaṇa).

#### Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna as incarnations of Nārāyaṇa and Nara

A remarkable declaration is found in several Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata that Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍava Arjuna of the Dvāpara-yuga are the incarnations or the portions of Nārāyaṇa and Nara respectively.<sup>41</sup> This identification seems to have some Agamic basis as may be known from the statement of Jīvagovāmin: अर्जुने तु नरावेशः कृष्णो नारायणः स्वयम् इत्यागमवाक्यं तु श्रीमदर्जुने नर-प्रवेशापेक्षया, Kramasandarbhā on Bhāgavata-p. 2. 1. 57).

The Purāṇas inform us that Viṣṇu's assuming the bodies of Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna is caused by the curse of the sage Bhṛgu (भृगोः शापवशात्, D. Bhāg. 4. 17. 23) and that this curse is the result of their *prārabdha karman* (momentum of past actions).<sup>42</sup>

Puranic works are unanimous in asserting that the purpose of assuming the bodies of Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna by these two sages is 'to remove the burden of the earth' (भूभारहरण)<sup>43</sup>

The reason for taking Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna as the incarnations of Nārāyaṇa and Nara respectively is not difficult to seek. It is, according to us, the actively following of the path of *karmayoga* for *lokasaṅgraha*

(chiefly by Kṛṣṇa and secondarily by his follower-companion Arjuna) which is said to have been promulgated and taught by Nārāyaṇa and Nara in the days of yore.

Since Kṛṣṇa was conceived as an *aṁśa* or an incarnation of Viṣṇu, or even as Viṣṇu himself and Arjuna as his devoted disciple and a dear friend and since both of them fought against unrighteousness and acted to establish dharma, it was quite natural to consider them as the incarnations of Nārāyaṇa and Nara respectively. The *śyāma* (dark-green) and *nīla* or *kṛṣṇa* (black) complexion of Naranārāyaṇa (as stated in the Purāṇas) seems to strengthen this notion.

It may be further stated that since the entering in the householder's stage by Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna was not in consonance with the character of Nārāyaṇa and Nara as they were life-long celestials, a story was framed by Puranic authors to justify the marriage of Kṛṣṇa (incarnation of the elder brother Nārāyaṇa) with many women (Nārāyaṇa's promise to marry the *apsarases* in some future birth). The marriage of Kṛṣṇa justifies the marriage of Arjuna who was a little younger than he.

An esoteric explanation of the relation between Nara (Arjuna, the embodied self) and Nārāyaṇa (Kṛṣṇa, the supreme self) is also given in the Br. Dh. P.<sup>44</sup> Here the statement नरनारायणमयं तन्महाभारतं विदुः (1. 30. 34) shows the importance of the role played chiefly by Kṛṣṇa and secondarily by Arjuna in the Mahābhārata war and the incidents connected with it. (Cp. the well-known saying that the Mahābhārata is the *kāṛṣṇa-veda*).

About the incarnations of Naranārāyaṇa in the Dvāpara yuga the Purāṇas are found to contain two such views as are more or less different from the above view.

1. It is stated in Sk. Avantī-khaṇḍa (27. 107-109) that Sāndīpani, the teacher of Kṛṣṇa, declared that Kṛṣṇa and his elder brother Balarāma were the incarnations of Nārāyaṇa and Nara respectively. As this view is not in other Purāṇas it is quite reasonable to hold that the view is simply a revised form of the previous view. Since Arjuna was not the brother of Kṛṣṇa (while Nara was the brother of Nārāyaṇa) Balarāma was given the place of Arjuna (though he was elder than Kṛṣṇa). As Balarāma was fond of quarrel and battle, it was natural to conceive him as the incarnation of the warrior-like Nara.

2. The Vāyu-p. (66. 61) says that Indra and Viṣṇu appeared as Nara and Nārāyaṇa in the Vaivasvata manvantara.<sup>45</sup> This passage undoubtedly refers to Arjuna (Nara) and Kṛṣṇa (Nārāyaṇa) as is



indicated by the expression 'vaivasvata manvantara' (Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna appeared in the Vaivasvata manvantara). This conception seems to have some basis. Since Arjuna is regarded as the son of Indra, the Purāṇa mentions Indra as appearing as Nara, who is said to appear as Arjuna. In fact both Nara and Nārāyaṇa are regarded as the two forms of one and the same Viṣṇu.

### Date of the appearance of Naranārāyaṇa

Only a few Puranic passages speak of the date of the appearance of the sages Nara and Nārāyaṇa which are going to be shown here.

Some Purāṇas use the word *turya* (fourth) while referring to the incarnation of Naranārāyaṇa<sup>46</sup> Apparently it means that Naranārāyaṇa appeared after the appearance of the first three incarnations.

A careful study of the Puranic passages reveals that here the word *turya* is not used to show chronological order, it simply shows the order of enumeration (*gaṇanākrama*) as has been rightly remarked by the commentator Śrīdhara on Bhāgavata 1.3. 6 (प्रथमद्वितीयादिशब्दा निर्देशमात्र-विवक्षया)।

The Br. Dh. P., at the time of dealing with the incarnations of Viṣṇu, uses the word *tatas* ('after that') while speaking of the appearance of Naranārāyaṇa: ततो भूयस्तपःकर्ता नरो नारायणस्तथा (2.11.63), i. e. Naranārāyaṇa appeared after the Varāha incarnation which is preceded by the two other incarnations, namely Nārada and Brahmācārin (i. e. Sanatkumāra). This however does not help us decide the date precisely.

It is gratifying to note that some Purāṇas mention a particular period of the appearance of Naranārāyaṇa.<sup>47</sup> According to these Purāṇas the two sages appeared, with other Sādhya devas, in the sixth manvantara called Cākṣuṣa. It is also stated that these two sages appeared in other manvantaras also. It is needless to say that in some places the printed readings of the Puranic verses given in the footnote are so corrupt that it becomes difficult to understand them fully, though the general meaning is more or less clear.

It may also be noted that the Mahābhārata informs us that Nara and Nārāyaṇa began to practise austerities when Prajāpati Dakṣa performed the sacrifice (Śānti-p. 342. 107-108). That Dakṣa performed the sacrifice in the Cākṣuṣa manvanara is stated in some Purāṇas.

1. भगवते...नरनारायणाय ( Bhāg. 5.19.11); ऋषिकृष्णभय नरनारायणाय ( D. Bhāg. g 11.2); नरनारायणो भूत्वा तुर्ये तेपे स्वयं हरिः (Garuḍa-p.1.1.18.).
2. Cf. Bhāg.-p. 5.19.9 (भगवान् नरनारायणाख्यः) Where Naranārāyaṇa is taken as a single name of Bhagavat. Cf. Śrīdhara's remarks: ऋषी भूत्वेति एकावतारत्वं दर्शयति (on Bhāg 1.3.9).
3. Similarly Sanaka and three other sages (known as चतुस्त्रय as सन occurs in each of these names) are said to constitute one Avatāra (see Saṁkṣepabhāgavatāmṛta 14).
4. It is needless to say that both these names are found in other fields also. As for example there is a Nara in the dynasty of Pṛthu (Vṣṇu-p. 2.1.38) and of Pūru (Bhāg. 9.21.1). Similarly Nārāyaṇa is found to be the name of several persons one of the prominent example being the son of Ajāmila (Bhāg. 6.1.24).
5. विष्णोरंशौ ( V. Dh. U. 1. 129. 2; D. Bhāg 4. 1. 14); हरेरंशौ (Bhāg. 4. 1. 59); अंशेन .... ( Br. Vai. p. 4. 22. 48); The Viṣṇudharma describes them as extremely small of Vāsudeva (Studies in the Upapurāṇas, vol. I, p. 133). अनुग्रहायाविरासीद् नरनारायणो हरिः (Bhāg. 12. 8. 32; नरनारायणरूपो हरिः, Comm.); अवतारे हरेः (Śīva-p. 4. 19. 1); नरनारायणौ साक्षाद् भगवानेव केवलम् (Sk. Badarikāśrama 7.60); मदशः (Br. Vai. p. 4. 124. 94); वैष्णवांशौ (D. Bhāg 4. 10. 1); विष्णोरंशांशकाः (Sk. Revā. 192. 10); हरेरंशौ (Kalki-p. 20. 11).
6. Bhāg. 1. 3. 9; 3. 4. 22; 5. 19. 11; D. Bhāg. 4. 1. 17; 6. 12. 12; V. Dh. U. 1. 129. 2; Br. Vai. p. 4. 22. 48; Kālikā-p. 34. 25-26; Mbh. Śānti-p. 217.2, 38; ज्ञानिनां श्रेष्ठौ (Br. Vai. P. 4. 22. 48).
7. On account of the life-long observance of celibacy Nārāyaṇa told the *apsaras* (who came to delude him at the bidding of Indra) who were love-stricken to him that as he could not marry them in his present life he would marry them in the 28th Dvāpara assuming the form Kṛṣṇa: अस्मिन् जन्मनि चार्वाङ्ग्यः कृतसंकल्पवानहम् । आवाभ्यां च न कर्तव्यः सर्वथा दारसंग्रहः ॥ ( D. Bhāg. 4. 17. 9).
8. It is interesting to note that the Brahmanḍa-p. speaks of the characteristics of a stone (śilā) called Naranārāyaṇa:  
नरनारायणो देवः शोणचक्रः सुशोभनः ।  
तमालदशसंकाशः स्वर्णपङ्कजविलेपनः ॥  
(quoted in Prāṇatoṣiṇi. p. 353). The Nāradiya-p. also speaks of the Naranārāyaṇa śilā (along with four others) in the Badarikṣetra in 2. 67. 29.
9. साध्यौ धर्मसुतौ प्रोक्तौ नरनारायणावृषी ( V. Dh. U. 1. 129. 2); धर्मान् नारायणः साध्यः (Sk. Prabhāsa 19. 93); in Vāmana-p. 8.5 and 8.29 the word *sādhya* refers to Nārāyaṇa. Afterwards *sādhya* came to be used conventionally for these two sages; see Nāradiya-p. 2. 6. 75 where साध्यसन्निधि refers to Naranārāyaṇa.
10. साध्याः साध्यसुताः स्मृताः ( Matsya-p. 203. 10); see also Matsya-p. 5. 17; साध्या साध्यान् व्यजायत ( Garuḍa-p. 1. 6. 26; Saura-p. 28.6; Kūrma-p. 1. 15. 8 cr. ed; Śīva-p. 5. 31. 20; Brahma-p. 3.30).

11. Some important pieces of information about the *sādhya devas* are found in the Purāṇas. They are said to appear in other manvantaras also. It is not necessary to deal with this matter here.
12. The names of ten daughters are: अरुन्धती, वसु, यामा, लम्बा, भानु, मरुत्तवी, संकल्पा, मुहूर्ता, विश्वा and साध्या; see Matsya 203; Brahma 3.29; Vāyu-p. 66. 2-3; Āruṇa 1. 6. 24; Kūrma-p. 1. 15. 7 Cr. ed; Sk. Revā 192.8-9. There are slight variations in these names as read in the Purāṇas.
13. Naranārāyaṇa is usually described as born of Dharma; mention of Sādhya as the mother is found in a few places. The word Dākṣāyaṇī (for the mother) simply means 'the daughter of Dakṣa'; it may be sādhyā or Mūrti (according to a few Purāṇas) which is to be decided with the help of the context. Mark the following passages: धर्मपुत्री (D. Bhāg. 4. 1. 12); नरनारायणौ धर्मपुत्री D. Bhāg. 4. 16. 5; तथा नारायणो राजन् नरश्च धर्मजातु D. Bhāg. 6. 10. 2; धर्मात् स्वायंभुवात् पुनः, नरनारायणौ तत्र जज्ञाते Vāyu-p. 66. 13-14; धर्मसुतौ प्रोक्तौ नरनारायणौ (V. Dh. U. 1. 129. 2); तुर्ये धर्मकलासर्गे नरनारायणावृषी (Bhāg. 1.3.9; here *kalā* means part, i. e. the wife, whose proper name is not mentioned); धर्मसुतो भूत्वा.. (Br. Vai. P. 4.22. 48); Dharma married ten daughters of Dakṣa and in them he gave birth to four sons Nara and others (D. Bhāg. 4. 5. 9 to 15; here there is no mention of the name of the wife of Dharma); धर्मपुत्री तपोधनी D. Bhāg. 4. 10. 1; धर्मसुतः श्रीमान् नारायणः D. Bhāg. 4. 22. 31; see also Br. Vai P. 1. 1. 59-61 (धर्मेण दत्तं पुत्राय.. नारायणाय); Padma-p. 5. 22. 23-24; तासां साध्या महाभागा पुत्रानजयद्वप ॥ नरो नारायणश्चैव हरिः कृष्णस्तथैव च । (Sk. Revā 192. 9 b-10 a); हृद्भवो ब्रह्मणो योऽसी धर्मो दिव्यवपुर्मुनि । दाक्षायणी तस्य भार्या तस्यामजनयत्सुतान् ॥ हरिं कृष्णं च देवर्षे नरनारायणी तथा । Vāmana-p. b. 1-3 Cr. ed.) नारायणो नाम..पुत्रो धर्मस्य Mbh. Droṇa 200.57) .
14. Devībhāgavata 4. 5. 9 b-15 and Vāmana-p. 6. 1-2 Cr. ed. say that both Hari and Kṛṣṇa were engaged in yoga-practice. These two sages accepted house holdership as has been remarked by Rūpagosvāmin -एतौ गृहिणौ बभूवतुरिति तत्रैव उच्यते (Laghubhāgavatāmṛta, p. 54; तत्र refers to the Nārāyaṇīya sec. of the Śānti-parvan.
15. धर्मस्य दक्षदुहितर्यजनिष्ट मूर्त्या नारायणो नर इति स्वतपःप्रभावः (Bhāg. 2. 7. 6); धर्मस्य दक्षदुहितर्यजनिष्ट मूर्त्या नारायणो नर ऋषिपुत्रः सुशान्तः Bhāg. 1. 4. 6); मूर्तिः सर्वगुणोत्पत्ति-नरनारायणावृषी... (Bhāg. 4. 1. 52); योऽवतीर्णत्सनांशन दाक्षायण्यां तु धर्मतः (Bhāg. 7. 11. 6; here Dākṣāyaṇī must be Mūrti). धर्मान्मूर्त्या लब्धजनी.....(Nāradiya-p. 2. 67. 4); धर्मस्य पत्नी मूर्त्यासीत्तस्यां जातौ.....नर-नारायणौ... (SK. Badarikāśrama 7. 60).  
Mūrti is read here with a longī. Readers should carefully note the similarity of the verses of the Bhāgavata and the Sātvata-saṁhitā. It appears that the verse of the Sātvatasāṁhitā (or a similar verse of any other Āgamic work) is imitated by the author of the Bhāgavata. That Mūrti is one of the wives of Dharma is stated in later Purāṇas; see Kalki-p. 20. 122-12.
16. देवसेना यथा स्कन्दे धर्मे मूर्तिस्तथा सती (D. Bhāg. 9. 18. 98); यथा मूर्तिर्महासाध्या धर्मवक्षःस्थलश्रिता (Br. Vai. p. 4. 59. 20).

17. Though this view is not found in other Purāṇas, yet it was wellknown to the scholars of modern times. John Dowson in his Dictionary on Hindu Mythology refers to this view (sons of Dharma and Ahimsā, s. v. Nara-nārāyaṇa). According to Dr. Bhandarkar the name Ahimsā is significant for it shows the introduction of a new system of religion (Vaiṣṇavism Śaivism —p. 33).
18. ततो गुणैः सुबहुभिः श्रेष्ठो नारायणोऽभवत् (Mbh. Udyoga 96.40)
19. Nārāyaṇa is said to be नराग्रज (elder brother of Nara) in Vāmana-p. 8. 28 Cr. ed.; नरस्तस्यानुजः (D. Bhāg. 4. 22. 32)
20. एष नारायण सखा नरस्तव भविष्यति । तव एकाकिनः संख्ये तमसम्ब महामुनिः । विज्ञानस्य परीक्षायै तेजो लोके भविष्यति (SK. Avantikṣetra 3. 29-30); संग्रामदेवकार्येषु लोकानां परिपालने ॥ एष नारायण सखा नरस्तव भविष्यति। अयासुरवधे सख्यं तव कर्ता महामतिः ॥ (Padma-p. 5.14. 28le-29).
21. नरो नामैष पुत्रः परमास्त्रविदारः । भवतोक्तो नर इति नरस्तस्माद् भविष्यति ॥ (Padma-p. 5. 14.27)
22. धनुर्बाणधरः (for Nārāyaṇa) (SK. Badarikāśrama 8.19); नरनारायणौ यत्र शस्त्रं न्यस्य तपस्थितौ (Nāradiya-p. 2. 67.67; यत्र refers to the Astratīrtha at Badarikāśrama, also called Naranārāyaṇāśrama, 66.67); तयोरोधृते शुभे धनुषी लक्षणांश्चिते । शाङ्गमाजगवं चैव तथाक्षणी महेषुधी ॥ (D. Bhāg. 4.9.5; तयोः refers to Naranārāyaṇa); तयोश्च पार्श्वयोर्द्वये धनुषी लक्षणांश्चिते । शाङ्गमाजगवं चैव अक्षय्यौ च महेषुधी (Vāmana-p.7.46; तयोः refers to Naranārāyaṇa).
23. कृष्णाजिनधरी मुनी। समुन्नतजटाभारौ (Vāmana-p. 7.45); तौ शुक्लकृष्णौ नवकञ्जलोचनौ चतुर्भुजौ रौरववल्कलाम्बरौ पवित्रपाणी उपवीतकं त्रिवृत् कमण्डलुं दण्डमृजं च वैणवम् ॥ पद्मक्षमालामुलजन्तुमार्जनं वेदं च साक्षात् तप एव रूपिणौ। तपत्-तडिद्वर्णपिशङ्गरोचिषा प्राशु दधानौ विबुधार्षभार्चिती ॥ (Bhāg 12. 8.33-34); पुरुषस्तत्र वर्तते नरनारायणावृषी ॥ पुरुषस्तत्र वर्तते नरनारायणावृषी ॥ श्वेत एकस्तु पुरुषः कृष्णो ह्येकस्ततः पुनः (Padma-p. 6.2 3b-4a) दर्शयामो नरः कार्यो दिभुजश्च महाभुजः नारायणचतुर्बाहु नीलोत्पलच्छविः तयोर्मध्ये च बदरी कार्या फलविभूषणा। बदर्यामनु तौ कार्यौ अक्षमालाधरावुभौ। कृष्णाजिनधरौ दान्तौ जटामण्डलधारिणौ ॥ (V. Dh. U. 3. 76. 3-4); जालपादभुजौ तौ तु पादयोचक्रलक्षणी। व्यूढोरस्कौ दीर्घभुजौ तथा मुष्कचतुष्किणौ ॥ ३६ षष्टिदन्तावष्टदंष्ट्रौ मेघीघसदृशस्वनौ। स्वास्यौ पृथुललाटी च सुभ्रुसुहनुनासिकौ ॥ (Śānti-p. 343. 36-37).
24. ख्यातो बदरिकाश्रमः, नरनारायणौ यत्र तेपाते (D. Bhāg. 6. 12.12); नारायण.....तपो बदरिकाश्रमे (D. Bhāg. 7. 11.6); see also Bhāg 3. 4. 22; 7. 11.6; 12.9.7; D. Bhāg 6. 1-. 33; Nāradiya-p. 2. 67.4; Varāha-p. 48. 16.  
The āśrama is on the bank of the ganges: बदरिकाश्रमे गङ्गाया विपुले तटे (Vāmana-p. 6.4 cr. ed.) It seems to be near gaṅgādvāra (बदरी यातो गङ्गादरान्तिकं खलु, Kālikā-p. 32-33); नरनारायण-स्थानं भारीस्थोपशोमितम् (Mbh. Vana-p. 145. 41); see here the editorial note (in the Gita press ed) about the justification of mentioning Bhāgīrathī though the hermitage of the sages is situated on the bank of Alakanandā.
25. ययतुर्गन्धमादनम् ॥ यत्रास्ति बदरीवृक्षो बहुगन्धफलान्वितः । (Nāradiya-p. 2-67 4b-5a); बदरीतटयोगतः । बदरी कथ्यते प्राज्ञैः (SK. Badarikāśrama 1.59); स बदर्युपाख्यम् ( Bhāg. 11.4. 7; बदरीधिरुपाख्यायते यस्तम्, Śrīdhara बदरीवनसंयुतम् (Br. Vai. p. 1.20.)

26. श्रयेते तौ महात्मानौ नरनारायणानुभौ । .....तप्यते गन्धमादने (Mbh. Udyoga 96. 15); तथा नारायणनरौ गन्धमादनपर्वते...तेपतुः परमं तपः (Sk. Revā 192. 11); गन्धमादने चचार विपुलं तपः (Matsya-p. 61. 21); see also Padma-p. 5. 22.23-24. The Gandhamādāna hill is called Nārāyaṇagiri (Sk. Revā 194. 33-34). Thus hill is said to be the abode of Kimpuruṣas (Mbh. Vana-p. 158. 38).
27. प्रालेयादं समागम्य तीर्थं बदरिकाश्रमे (D. Bhāg. 4. 5. 13; Vāmana-p. 6. 4. cred). हिमवतः पृष्ठे बदरीति (Varāha p. 141. Cr. ed.). There is difference of opinion about the identification of Gandhamādāna. It is identified with a part of the Rudra Himālaya, or with a part of Kailāsa range, or with that part on which Badarikāśrama is situated. Usually it is identified with that part of Himālaya through which the river Alakanandā flows.
28. उभयोर्नगयोस्तौ तु स्थितौ (Sk. Badarikāśrama 7. 61; refers to Naranārāyaṇa); It refers to two adjoining hills, both called Gandhamādāna, which are the place of practising austerities.
29. Gandhamādāna is called Naranārāyanasthāna in Viṣṇu-p. 5. 37.23-33; नरनारायणस्थानं बदरीत्यभिषिञ्चतम् (Mbh. 156-14; see also Vana-p. 177.8-9; बदर्याब्धं... नारायणाश्रमम् (Bhāg 9.3.36; mark the non-use of Nara in the name; a similar use is found in Bhāg 10.87-5 and Sk. Badarikā 2. 31-32. see also Bhāg. 10.52.4; 9.1.31; अलङ्कृतं दीपवत्या मालिन्या रम्यतीरया नरनारायणस्थानं गङ्गाये वोपशोभितम् ॥ (Mbh. Adi-p. 71. 29; seen by Duṣyanta); नरनारायणं द्रष्टुं बदर्याश्रममाद्रवत् (Śānti-p. 339. 111).
30. See Kālikā-p. 32. 33a-37 (ददर्श बदरी...मुद्रादवलमञ्जरीम् (३६) स्वच्छायां मसृणां शीर्ण-शुष्कपत्र-विवर्जिताम्। गङ्गातोयौघसंसिक्तशिखामूलान्तराखिलाम् (३७))
31. रम्यं विष्णुसरोनाम.....(६१).....नरनारायणौ ब्रह्मा मनुः स्थानुश्च पञ्चमः। तत्र दिव्या त्रिपथगा प्रथमं तु प्रतिष्ठिता ॥ ६४ (पथ १/३/६१-६४). This place connected with Bhāgīrathī is named Bindusaras in other Purāṇas.
32. नरनारायणौ चैव तापसाविति नः श्रुतम् (Mbh. Udyoga-p. 96.1. 4); तपःकर्ता नरो नारयणस्तथा (Br. Dh. p. 2. 11.63).
33. See the saying of Nārāyaṇa to the apsaras: अस्मिन् जन्मनि चार्वाङ्ग्यः कृतसंकल्पवानहम् । आवाम्यां च न कर्तव्यः सर्वया दारसंग्रहः ॥ (D. Bhāg. 1: 17.9).
34. तपश्चोग्रं मुक्त्यर्थम् (D. Bhāg. 4.1.17); लोकानां स्वस्त्येऽध्यास्ते तपः (Bhāg. 7.11.6); कर्तुं धर्मव्यवस्थानम् (Sk. Prabhāsa 19.93). नरनारायणौ चैव जगतो हितकाम्या। तथेतां च तपः (Vāmana-p. 6.3).
35. तपो घोरमनिर्देश्यं तप्यते (Mbh. Udyoga 96.15); मृदु तीव्रं तपो दीर्घं तेषां (Bhāg. 3.4.22); यौ चक्रुस्तपश्चोग्रम् (D. Bhāg. 4.1.17); निराहारौ जितात्मानौ निःस्पृहौ जितषड्गुणौ (D. Bhāg. 4.1.14); see also Mbh. Droṇa-p. 200.58-59; Śānti-p. 334.11-12a; आत्मन्यात्मानमाधाय तेषु (Sk. Revā 192.11); आत्मशमोपेतं दुश्चरं तपः (Bhāg. 1.3.9); नरनारायणो भूत्वा तेषु तपः (Garuḍa-p. 1.1.17); ततो भूयः तपःकर्ता नरो नारायणस्तथा (Br. Dh. p. 2.11.63); नरनारायणौ चैव तथेतां च तपः Vāmana-p. 6. 37; नरनारायणौ ... पित्रोराज्ञामनुप्राप्य तपोऽर्थं कृतमानसौ (Sk. Badarikāśrama 7. 60b-61a); भगवानपि तत्रैव नररूपेण तिष्ठति...आनन्दमृषितृन्दस्य जनयन् तप आस्थितः (Sk. Badarikāśrama 8.19).

36. नरनारायणौ देवौ पुराणौ ऋषिसत्तमौ ॥ १२ धर्मपुत्रौ महात्मानौ तपश्चेरतुस्तमम् ॥ यौ मुनी बहुवर्षाणि पुण्ये बदरिकाश्रमे ॥ १३ निराहारौ जितात्मानौ निःस्पृहौ जितषड्गुणौ । विष्णोरंशौ जगत्स्थेऽन्ते तपश्चेरतुस्तमम् ॥ १४ तयोर्ंशावतारौ हि जिष्णु-कृष्णौ महाबलौ । प्रसिद्धौ मुनिभिः प्रोक्तौ सर्वज्ञैर्नारदादिभिः ॥ १५ विद्यमानशरीरौ तौ कथं देहान्तरं गतौ । नरनारायणौ देवौ पुनः कृष्णानुनौ कथम् ॥ १६ यौचक्रुस्तपश्चोग्रं मुक्त्यर्थं मुनिसत्तमौ । तौ कथं प्रापतुर्देहौ प्राप्तयौगौ महातपौ ॥ १७ ... विपरीतमिदं भाति नरनारायणौ च तौ ॥ १९ तपसां शोषितात्मानौ क्षत्रियौ तौ भूवतुः । केन तौ कर्मणा शान्तौ जातौ शापेन वा पुनः ॥ २० (देवीभाववत् ४/२/१३ ख-२०).
37. A few sacred shrines in the Badarikāśrama are found to be connected with this episode. One of them is the Urvaśikuṇḍa (see Varāha-p. 141. 52 cr. ed.). It is mentioned in the Nārādiya-p. (2. 67. 65) also, which is said to be situated in the Naranārāyaṇāvāsa. On account of the creation of Urvaśi at Badarikāśrama it came to be known as Urvaśi-tīrtha (SK. Badarikāśrama 7.67). Badarī is also said to be a pīṭha, where Devī exists in the name of Urvaśi (D. Bhāg. 7. 30. 79). The Urvaśisāṅgama-tīrtha in the Badarī-kṣetra is mentioned in Nārādiya-p. 2. 67. 76.
38. दम्भोद्भवो नाम राजा वीथीवलेपाद् भूतावमानी लोकाभिभवनशीलः कञ्चिद् योद्धुम् अनासादयन् विदहमानो नारदादुपलभ्य अधिकप्रभावी नरनारायणौ बदरिकाश्रमं जगाम । तत्र तौ अभिभवन् नरेण इषीकाभिःछादितः सबलो ननाशः । The expression ननाश indicates that Dambhodhbhava got destroyed with his army. According to the Mahābhārata he became highly afraid of the sage Nara by observing the sky filled with the arrows of Nara, and fell down to the feet of Nara who forgave him (पादयोर्न्यपतद् राजा) - - - verses 33a-34b) This shows that the word ननाश is to be taken in the secondary sense.
39. नारायणो नररूपोऽपि परमावृषिसत्तमौ । तपसाऽऽराध्य परमं तेजोमयमनामयम् ॥ २६ आनित्यते जनगतान् देवान् देवर्षिसत्तमान् । ये मृता अमराः पूर्वं गणशस्तान् पृथक्-पृथक् । तपोबलेन मुहता सर्वयामासतुर्मुनी ॥ २६ (कालिकापु. अ. २४) ।
40. कृष्णार्जुनौ नामतौ वै नरनारायणौ युवाम् (Br. Dh. P. 2. 11. 83); तयोः (नर-नारायणयोः) अंशावतारौ हि जिष्णुकृष्णौ महाबलौ (D. Bhāg. 4. 1. 15; Jiṣṇu is the another name of Arjuna); see also D. Bhāg; 4. 17. 23; अहं नरः स्वयं साक्षात् कृष्णो नारायणः स्वयम् (said by Arjuna, SK. Nāgara. 152. 31); यथा मे नारदः प्राह व्यासश्च सुमहातपाः । नरनारायणावेतौ संभूते मनुजेष्विति (Mbh. Anuśāsana 167. 44; said by Bhīṣma at the time of his death); नारायणो वायुदेवो नररूपैर्वाहुनाह्वयः (B. Dh. p. 1. 30. 24); नरनारायणांशौ द्वौ । १७ । द्वापरेऽर्जुनशौरिणौ (D. Bhāg. 4. 16. 18; mark the word शौरिन्; usually शौरि is used); तावमौ वै भगवतो हरेरंशाविहागतौ । ...कृष्णौ यदुक्कुर्वहौ ॥ (Bhāg. 4. 1. 58-59; here कृष्ण means 'black in complexion'; यदुक्कुर्वह is Kṛṣṇa, while कुर्वह is Arjuna); नरनारायणा-नुभौ । अर्जुनश्च तथा कृष्णास्तावेव स्वेच्छया स्थितौ (B. Dh. P. 1. 30. 22); तथा नारायणो राजन् नररूपं धर्मजावुभौ ॥ २१ ॥ जातौ कृष्णार्जुनौ काममंशौ नारायणस्य तौ (D. Bhāg. 6. 10. 21b-22a; here the second Nārāyaṇa is often said to be the lord of paravyoman or the lord Viṣṇu); भ्राता ते फाल्गुनं नाम विद्वेधेन नरदैवतम् (Sk. Revā 95.2; ते refers to Yudhiṣṭhira).
41. तत्प्रारब्धवशात् पुण्यं करोति च यथा तथा । पापं करोति मनुजस्तथा देवादयोऽपि च ॥ २० ॥ तथा नारायणो राजन् नररूपं धर्मजावुभौ (D. Bhāg. 6. 10. 20-21a).

42. नरनारायणांशौ द्वौ...॥१७ धराभारवतारार्थं जातौ कृष्णार्जुनौ भुवि ॥ १८ (D. Bhāg. 4. 16. 17-18); कृष्णार्जुनौ भूभारहरणाय. (D. Bhāg. 4. 17. 23); भारव्याप च भुवः (Bhāg. 4. 1. 59); कृष्णार्जुनौ नामतो वै नरनारायणौ युवाम् । भूत्वा भारं भुवो हत्वा पृथ्वीं संसुखयिष्यति (Br. Dh. P. 2. 11. 83 b-84a); नरनारायणौ द्वौ तु पुराणावृषिसत्तमौ ॥ तौ मन्त्रियोगाद् विप्रर्षे क्षितौ जातौ महाद्युती । भूमेर्भारवतरणं महावीर्यं करिष्यतः (Mbh. Vana-p. 47. 10, 14; here मत् refers to Indra); एवं लोका वदिष्यन्ति नरनारायणावृषी । उद्यतौ दहतः क्षत्रं लोककार्यार्थमीश्वरौ ॥ Śānti-p. 339-100; stated referring to the acts of Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna.
43. जीवात्मपरमात्मानौ नरनारायणावृषौ । अर्जुनश्च तथा कृष्णस्तावेव स्वेच्छया स्थितौ ॥ २२ नारायणो वासुदेवो नरश्चैवार्जुनाह्वयः । नरनारायणमयं तन्महाभारतं विदुः ॥ २४ (Br. Dh. P. 1. 30. 22, 24).
44. शतक्रतुश्च विष्णुश्च जज्ञाते पुनरेव हि । वैवस्वतेऽन्तरे ह्यस्मिन् नरनारायणौ सुरौ ॥ (Vāyu-p. 66. 61).
45. तुर्ये धर्मकलासर्गे नरनारायणावृषी । भूत्वात्मोपशमोपेतमकरोद् दुश्चरं तपः ॥ (Bhāg. 1. 3. 9) नरनारायणौ भूत्वा तुर्ये तपे स्वयं हरिः । धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय पूजितः स सुरासुरैः ॥ (Garuḍa-p. 1. 1. 17).
46. ततो भूयस्तपःकर्ता नरो नारायणस्तथा । (Br. Dh. p. 2. 11. 63).
47. धर्मस्यैवावतारोऽभूच्च चाक्षुषे मनुसंभवे । नरनारायणौ धर्मपुत्रौ ख्यातौ महीतले ॥ (D. Bhāg. 4. 16. 5); वैकुण्ठः स पुनर्देवः संप्राप्ते चाक्षुषेऽन्तरे ॥ धर्मो नारायणः साध्यः साध्यैः सह सुरैरभूत् । स तु नारायणः साध्यः प्राप्ते वैवस्वतेऽन्तरे ॥ (Vāya-p. 66. 134 b-135); एवमुक्त्वा तु ते सर्वे चाक्षुषस्यान्तरे मनोः । तस्माद् द्वादश संभूता धर्मात् स्वायंभुवात् पुनः ॥ नरनारायणौ तत्र जज्ञाते पुनरेव हि । (Vāyu-p. 66. 13-14a); ततस्ते वै पुनर्देवा वैकुण्ठाः प्राप्य चाक्षुषम् । साध्यानां द्वादश सुता जज्ञिरे धर्मसुतवः ॥ (Vāyu-p. 67. 41); ततः प्रभृति शापेन भृगुनैमित्तिकेन च ॥ जज्ञे पुनः पुनर्विष्णुः कर्तुं धर्मव्यवस्थितिम् । धर्मान् नारायणः साध्यः संभूतश्चाक्षुषान्तरे ॥ ९३, यज्ञं प्रवर्तयामास स वै वैवस्वतान्तरे । प्रादुर्भावे तदा तस्य ब्रह्मा चासीत् पुरोहितः ॥ ९४ (Sk. Prabhāsakṣetra 19. 92 b-94).

## CLARIFICATION, SUGGESTIONS & NOTES

Presented by:

Banibrata Mahanata

[ This is in continuation of the report of the Rāmāyaṇa Workshop published as an introduction to Dr. G. S. Rai's article 'Kāṇḍa Structure of the Rāmāyaṇa and authenticity of the Uttarakāṇḍa' published in our special Ayodhyā-Saryū number ]

### The Wheat Question

We had occasion to note under topic no. 15, page 113, 'Rice seems to have been the main cultivation of Vālmiki's India. Wheat was known in India in the time of Vālmiki' as a cultivated crop i. e. as a foodstuff. It is not that wheat itself was completely unknown. In fact, the following reference to it needs some discussion-

The description of Hemanta season (3.16.16);

बाष्पच्छन्नारण्यानि यवगोधूमवन्ति च । शोभन्तेऽभ्युदिते सूर्ये नवद्भिः कौञ्चसारसैः ॥

To understand the proper perspective we must look into the thematic structure of this Sarga. It can well be divided into three parts-

1. Śl. 1-8: description of human habitat and agricultural and other activities.
2. Śl. 9-26: description of the forest in the winter season (naturally, it is longer than the previous one as Rāma was dwelling in the forest itself).
3. Śl. 27-40: remembrance of Ayodhyā and Bharata. Śl. 41-43 form the epilogue.

Now, it is to be noted that in first part concerning agriculture, wheat is not named. 'Śasya' seems to mean paddy crop, as is clear by the śloka 6, because it is paddy alone which ripens in Āgrahāyaṇa. As a contrast-distinction, barley and wheat have been mentioned in the context of forests. It may be argued that there might have been barley and paddy fields bordering the forest, and so there is nothing unusual in their description along with the forest. In fact, in the very next śloka, paddy has also been described (3.16.17):

खर्जूरपुष्पाकृतिभिः शिरोभिः पूर्णतण्डुलैः । शोभन्ते किञ्चिदानन्नाः शालयः कनकप्रभाः ॥