

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT
OF
DATTĀTREYA WORSHIP
IN INDIA

By
Hariprasad Shivprasad Joshi



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M.A., Ph.D., Kovid, H.S.S.



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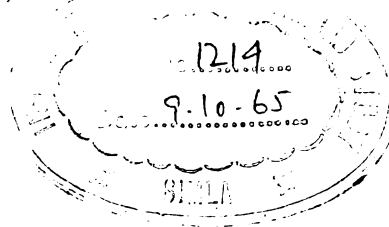
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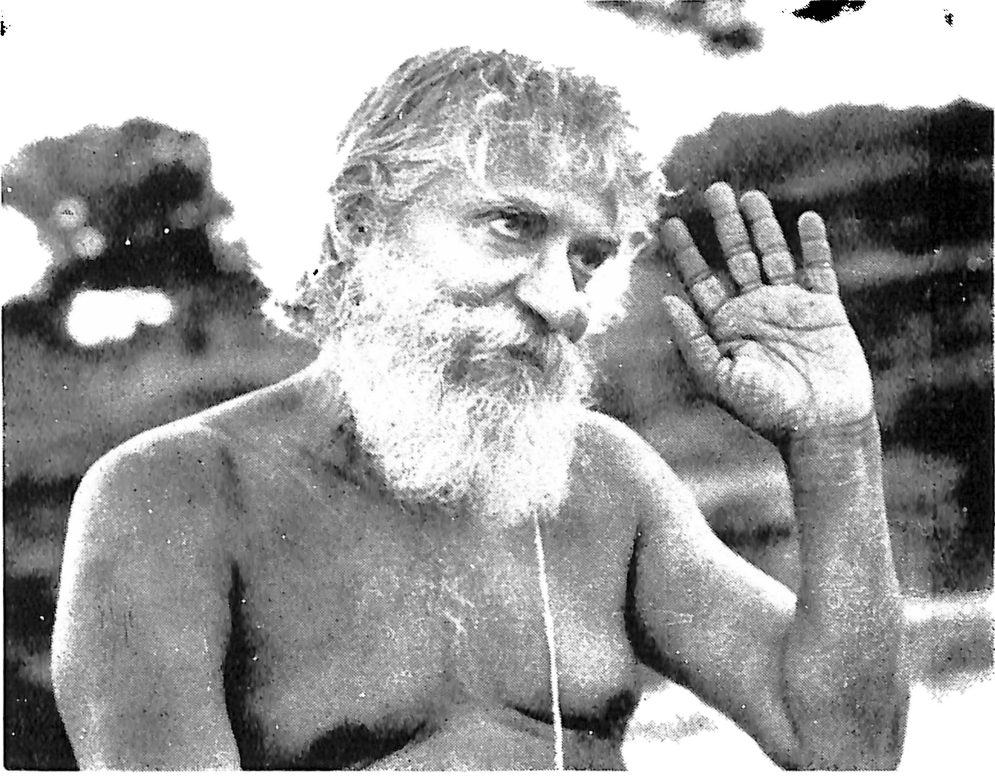
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Dedicated to

His Holiness Pūjya Shri Raṅgāvadhūta Mahārāja of Nāreśvar



रङ्गाऽऽदौ पितरं प्रणम्य मनसा यद्भक्तिभावादहं
यातस्त्वच्चरणारविन्दमधुलिङ्गाभावं भवक्षोभणम् ।
एतं दत्तगुणार्णवस्य कणिकारूपं प्रबन्धं मुदा
सानन्दं विनिवेदयामि भवनो भव्यश्रियोः पादयोः ॥

PREFACE

The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda has started a series of publications, 'M. S. University of Baroda Research Series'. In this series will be published selected research-works of high quality of the teachers, and the theses of the research students of this University.

The thesis "Dattātreya Worship in India" by Dr. H. S. Joshi, formerly of the Ramayana Department, Oriental Institute, is published as the ninth volume of this series.

We acknowledge with thanks the financial help received from the University Grants Commission, which gave us a grant of half the cost of this publication.

Baroda

Dated 1st February, 1965

B. K. ZUTSHI

Registrar

PREFACE

Dattātreyā is primarily considered as an incarnation for the enhancement of right knowledge. Vidyāraṇya refers to him as a promulgator of right knowledge in the Tretā age. Śiva Purāṇa also glorifies him in the same way. Moreover, he is connected with Yoga also. In the Bhag. P. he is considered as Yoganātha. His teachings are based mainly on knowledge and Yoga.

Yet in Indian literature the personality of Dattātreyā is somewhat unique in the sense that much has gathered round his name. Various opinions are held as regards his heads and hands. The same is the case with his connection with other sects. Moreover, his school not being a stereotyped one, is still developing and many saints have contributed a lot towards its progress. Hence, I have divided my thesis into two parts. In the first part, I have discussed the question of Indian Trinity from all its aspects as is seen that the idea of trinity developed fully into the form of Dattātreyā. Moreover, Dattātreyā, in the present form is worshipped as an incarnation, of all the three principal gods of Hindu pantheon, viz. Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra. His triple nature is shown either by three heads or six hands. The second part of the thesis deals with the activities of the promulgators of the School, the relation of different Sects, both internal and external and the synthetic outlook behind all the things connected with the god.

It is natural that the god who is worshipped even to-day attracts the devotees to write the literature which exposes their devotional heart. In the same way, a system of his worship may arise in due course. Even Saahasārjuna, we are told¹, was performing Dattātreyā-Yāga, a sacrifice attached to his name. But the School of Dattātreyā, as I have already remarked, is not stereotyped. Hence I have not touched this problem in detail though there is a vast literature about him in the form of manuscripts. So the list of manuscripts lying in the different libraries of India is given in the appendix, and the history of the sacred places, where Dattātreyā is worshipped even to-day is narrated.

While pursuing the problem of my thesis, I found that inspite of many historical as well as literary facts, this school has always stressed the idea of equilibrium—the idea of synthesising the two opposites very effectively and positively. It has got a message for the present world of worries and wars—physical, mental and spiritual. I have tried to stress this point when I found it working in transitional periods in the history of this School. The need of the times becomes, as it were, the main problem before the School and their promulgators though the spiritual side is never forgotten.

¹ Mar P. 19. 30.

I cannot help expressing a deep sense of gratitude and indebtedness to my revered Guru, Prof. G. H. Bhatt, M.A. who so kindly guided me in the minute details, and who evinced keen interest not only in the pursuit of knowledge of the subject in hand, but also in inculcation of many good habits in me regarding scholarship and character. But for this paternal care and erudite versatility I would not have been able to cope with the tremendous task that I voluntarily undertook. I therefore crave his indulgent blessings before I proceed further.

I am also thankful to Dr. B. J. Sandesara, Director, Oriental Institute for the keen interest that he took in prompt publication of this thesis.

I am equally grateful to Dr. U. P. Shah, Deputy-Director, Oriental Institute for his very useful suggestions that I used to get from time to time during my work.

I express my sense of gratitude also to Shri Ramanbhai J. Patel, Manager of M. S. University of Baroda Press for executing the printing etc. of this volume in an excellent and prompt manner.

The cost towards the publication of this book is equally borne by M. S. University of Baroda and the University Grants Commission. I am very grateful to them for this fine gesture of generosity.

The authorities of the Mahārājā Sayājīrāo University of Baroda, Baroda, have greatly obliged me by rendering financial help for study-tour to various places, sacred to Dattātreyā. Lastly, I should never forget to thank all those scholars including the members of the staff of Oriental Institute, friends and relatives, together with my wife, Indu, G.A.B.T., Shri R. K. Joshi, Shri G. N. Pandya, Shri K. N. Kavi Saheb, Shri A. N. Modi of Nāreśvar and Shri A. D. Thakar, M.A., who have helped me in some way or the other in accomplishing this work. I owe them much more than what I can express.

I cannot forget to mention the name of my friend Shri Pramod Patel, an artist from Broach who lended me the block of Bhagawān Dattātreyā.

In the end I submit my most humble respects to His Holiness Shri Raṅga Avadhūta of Nāreśvar who is one of the foremost living protagonists of the school at present. I had the proud privilege and pleasure of discussing thread-to him my deep gratitude for His very valuable suggestions and timely help in acquiring requisite materials.

Vallabh Vidyanagar,
Shri Datta-Jayanti,
18-12-1964

H. S. JOSHI

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(Nijananda Sharma).

ABBREVIATIONS

Agp.	: Agni Purāṇa. (Ānandāśrama).
AIOC	: All India Oriental Conference.
APS	: Āpastamba Sūtra.
ASI.	: Archeological Survey of India Report.
AV.	: Atharvaveda.
Baroda	: An Alphabetical list of Mss. in the Oriental Institute, Baroda.
BG	: Bhagavadgītā.
Bhap.	: Bhāgavata Purāṇa (Nirṇaya Sagar.)
BK.	: Bhārata Kaumudī.
Bombay	: Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prakrit Mss. in Bombay University Library, Bombay by G. V. Devasthali.
BrmP.	: Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa (Venkateśvara), Four Pādas :—I Prakriyā, II. Anusaṅga ; III. Upodghāta ; IV. Upasaṃhāra.
Brvp.	: Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa (Ānandāśrama) Four Khaṇḍas :—I. Brahmā ; II. Prākṛta ; III. Gaṇapati ; IV. Kṛṣṇajayanta.
BrP.	: Brahma Purāṇa (Ānandāśrama).
BVP.	: Bhaviṣyat Purāṇa. (Venkateśvara).
Calcutta	: Descriptive Catalogue of Sk. Mss. in the Vangiya Sahitya Parishat, by C. Chakravarti, Calcutta.
CUP.	: Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad.
Cy. I.	: Cyclopaedia of India.
DHI.	: Development of Hindu Iconography, by T. N. Banerjea.
ड. ड.	: Dattamuktāmālā by Phadke, S. K.
Dp.	: Datta Purāṇa.
DUp.	: Śrīdattātreyopaniṣad.
EC	: Epigraphia Carnatica.
EHI	: Elements of Hindu Iconography by T.A.G. Rao.
EI.	: Epigraphia Indica.
Epic. Myth	: Epic Mythology, by Hopkins, E. W.
ERE	: Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, edited by James Hastings. 1921.

- GC. : Guru Caritra edited by Kamat.
 GK. : Gauḍapāda Kārikā.
 GOS. : Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda.
 GP. : Garuḍa Mahāpurāṇa. (Venkateśvara).
 HDS. : History of Dharamaśāstra, by M.M. P. V. Kane.
 HIP. : History of Indian Philosophy : S. K. Belvalkar & R. D. Ranade.
 HOS. : Harvard Oriental Series.
 HV. : Harivaṃśaparva of Mbh. Chitrashala Press, Poona, 1936.
 IA. : Indian Antiquary.
 IHQ. : Indian Historical Quarterly.
 Ind. Myth. : Indian Mythology according to Mahābhārata, by Fausboll.
 JDUP. : Śrījābāladarśanopaniṣad.
 JRASB. : Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
 JUp. : Jābālopaniṣad.
 JUPHS. : The Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society, Jan. 1932. Vol. V, Part I.
 KP. : Kūrma Purāṇa (Venkateśvara).
 KLP : Kālikā Purāṇa (Venkateśvara).
 LgP. : Liṅga Purāṇa (Venkateśvara).
 म. च. कोष. : Madhyayugīn Ārītrakoṣa, by Chitrav Shastri.
 Madras : An alphabetical Index of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, Part I, 1938. By S. K. Sastri & P. P. S. Shastri.
 म. क. च. : Mahārāṣṭra Kāvī Ārītra.
 Mai. S. : Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā.
 Maitr. Up. : Maitrāyaṇī Upaniṣad.
 म. वा. इ. : Marathi Vāṅgamayācā Itihāsa, by Pangarkar.
 Mar. P. : Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (Calcutta).
 Mbh. : Mahābhārata.
 म. म. पृ. : Mahārāṣṭra Mahodayācā Pūrvaraṅga.
 MP. : Matsya Purāṇa (Ānandāśrama.)
 Ms. (s) : Manuscripts (s).

- Mysore : Descriptive Catalogue of SK. Mss. Government Oriental Library, Mysore, Vol. I. 1937.
- नि. र. ग्रंथ : Nirañjana Raghunāthāñce Granth.
- NP. : Nārada Purāṇa (Venkateśvara) I. Pūrvabhāga; II. Uttara-
bhāga.
- NUp. : Nāradaparivṛjakopaniṣad.
- Oxford : Catalogue of SK. Mss. in the Library of India Office, Oxford.
- PmP. : Padmapurāṇa (Ānandāśrama) Khaṇḍas:—
I. Sṛṣṭi; II. Bhūmi; III. Svarga; IV. Brahma; V. Pātāla;
VI. Uttara; VII. Kriyāyoga.
- RI. Bar. : Religions of India by Barth.
- RI. Hop. : Religions of India, by Hopkins E. W.
- R. I. Kar. : Religions of India, by A. P. Karmarkar.
- RV. : Ṛgveda.
- Śa. Up. : Śāṇḍilyopaniṣad.
- SB : Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.
- SKP. : Skanda Purāṇa (Venkateśvara).
- SVP. : Śiva Purāṇa (Venkateśvara).
- TA. : Taittirīya Āraṇyaka.
- Tanjore : Descriptive Catalogue of Sk. Mss. in the Tanjore Maharaja
Serfoji's Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore, by P.P.S. Shastri.
- TB. : Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa.
- TS. : Taittirīya Saṃhitā.
- TU : Taittirīya Upaniṣad.
- Udaipur : Catalogue of Mss. in the Library of H.H. Maharaja of Udaipur
(Mewar) by M. L. Menaria.
- Ulwar. : Catalogue of Sk. Mss. in Library of His Highness The Maharaja
of Ulwar, by Peter Perterson, Bombay.
- Up. (s) : Upaniṣads (s).
- VDP : Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa.
- Vedic Myth. : Vedic Mythology by Macdonell A. D.
- Vh. P. : Varāha Mahāpurāṇa. (Venkateśvara).
- VmP. : Vāmana Purāṇa (Venkateśvara).
I. Pūrvārdha II. Uttarārdha.
- VP. : Viṣṇu Purāṇa (Venkateśvara).
- VYP, : Vāyu Purāṇa (Venkateśvara)
I, Pūrvārdha; II. Uttarārdha,

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BHAGAVĀN DATTĀTREYA

PART I

ORIGIN

PART I

ORIGIN

CHAPTER I

TRINITY—ITS ANTIQUITY

(i) Ṛgveda

As regards the term and concept of trinity, James Hastings makes the following observation:—¹

“The term trinity (from Lat. trinitas) appears to have been first used by Tertullian, while the corresponding Greek term “Triad” appears to have been first used by Theophilus, the Christian apologist, an older contemporary of Tertullian. In Tertullian, as in the subsequent usage, the term designates the Christian doctrine of God-Father, Son and Spirit.” In Indian Religion it denotes the trinitarian group of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva; and in Egyptian religion a group of Osiris, Isis and Horus. It is said² that Brahmā of the Hindu theology is supposed to be analogue of Saturn of the West while Jupiter represents both Viṣṇu and Śiva. The Trimūrti is known in the Peninsula as mu-mūrti (Mur, Tam., three). We shall now examine the further details about the Indian Trinity, as found in literature and in various views regarding the antiquity of the concept as well as its philosophical meaning.

Examining the ṚV, the oldest written document of the world, we get many references which might have inspired the later writers to develop the idea of trinity. The fondness of Ṛgvedic bards for the triad is expressed in many ways. It is seen in forming various triads of gods, goddesses and even of the world. The gods are divided into three classes of the terrestrial Vasus, the aerial Rudras, and the celestial Ādityas. The most significant group is the representative triad of Fire, Wind and Sun.³ The ṚV as well as the AV states the gods to be thirty-three in number—(RV. III. 6.9⁴; AV X. 7.7) this being several times expressed as “thrice eleven” (VII. 35. 3).⁵ In one passage (i. 139. 11)⁶ eleven of the gods are addressed as being in heaven, eleven on earth and eleven

¹ ERE. P. 458

² Cy. I. Vol. III P. 935

³ Vedic Myth. P. 5.

4 पत्नीवत्तस्त्रिंशत् त्रींश्च देवाननुष्वधमा वह मादयस्व ।

5 विश्वेदेवैस्त्रिभिरेकादशैरिहाऽद्विर्महद्विर्भृगुभिः स त्रामुवा ।

6 ये देवासो दिव्येकादश स्थ पृथिव्यामप्येकादश स्थ ।

अप्सुक्षितो महिनैकादश स्थ ते देवासो यज्ञमिमं जुषन्वम् ।

in waters (: air). The AV (X.9.12) similarly divides the gods into dwellers in heaven, air and earth, but without specifying any number. Sometimes this threefold division is implied when gods are connected with heaven, earth and waters (VII. 35. 11¹; X. 49. 2, 65. 9²). We often find in the Brāhmaṇas the idea that there are in reality only three gods, Agni, Vāyu and Sūrya. (TS. vi. 6.8.2; ŚB. iv. 5.4; TĀ. i. 21.1; Bṛhaddevatā in Indi, Stud. i.113) that is to say, a divinity for the earth, fire; another for atmosphere, the wind; and the third for heavens, the sun.

Following the triple classification of RV. (I. 139.11),³ Yāska (Nir. VII. 5; 8-11)⁴ divides the different deities or forms of the same deity enumerated in the fifth chapter of Naighaṇṭuka into the three orders of terrestrial (Pṛthivīsthāna), aerial or intermediate (Antarikṣasthāna or Madhyasthāna) and celestial (Dyusthāna). He further remarks that in the opinion of his predecessors, who expounded the Veda (Nairuktas) there are only three deities, Agni on earth, Vāyu or Indra in air and Sūrya in heaven.⁵ Indra and Vāyu are closely allied (cf. TS. 6.6.8 iii). In Mai. S. (4.2.12) it is said that Agni, Vāyu and Sūrya are sons of Prajāpati. As regards the opinion of Yāska's predecessors Macdonell thinks that it may be based on such passages as RV. X. 158.1: "May Sūrya protect us from heaven, Vāta from air and Agni from the earthly regions."⁶

Though the group of Agni, Vāyu (or Indra) and Sūrya is fixed as the time went on, the groups of triads sometimes vary. Thus we get a group of Dyaus, Agni and Pṛthivī (RV. VI. 51.5)⁷ or of Dyaus, Indra and Agni (RV. I. 131.1)⁸ or of

1 शं नो दिव्याः पार्थिवाः शं नो अप्याः ।

2 दिवश्च मश्वापां च जन्तवः ।
ये पार्थिवासो दिव्यासो अगु ये ।

³ Cf. note 6, P. 1.

4 तिस्रः एव देवताः इति नैरुक्ताः अग्निः पृथिवीस्थानः ।
वायुर्वा इन्द्रो वा अन्तरिक्षस्थानः । सूर्यो द्युस्थानः ।

⁵ Cf. also RI. Hop. P. 89.

6 सूर्यो नो दिवस्प्रातु वातो अन्तरिक्षात् । अग्निर्नः पार्थिवेभ्यः ।

7 द्यौ इष्पितः पृथिवि मातरधुग्मे भ्रातर्वसवो मृळता नः ।

8 इन्द्राय हि द्यौरसुरो अनम्रतेन्द्राय मही
पृथिवी वरीमभिर्धुम्रसाता वरीमभिः ।

Mitra, Varuṇa and Aryaman (RV. II. 27.1, VII. 60.1)¹. Further references regarding the idea of associating the gods in groups of three will be found in RV. I. 23.7²; 24.41; VII. 62.3;³ VIII. 18.9⁴; x. 124.4, 126⁵ and 185. Thus it can be concluded that in the Brāhmaṇic literature, these three groups of terrestrial, atmospheric and celestial deities were remodelled and renamed as Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas and from these three, one from each got prominence as time went on and in the Purāṇas, we get Viṣṇu from Ādityas, Śiva from Rudras and Brahmā—Prajāpati from Vasus making the group of the popular triad.⁶

Among individual gods, Agni is the only one who is regarded as having triple character. This is because of his diverse births. Agni's births are three or three-fold (I. 95.3; IV. 1.7).⁷ The gods made him threefold (X. 88.10).⁸

- 1 शृणोतु मित्रो अर्यमाभगो नस्तुविजातो वरुणो दक्षो अंशः । ;
यद्य सूर्यं ब्रवोऽनागा उद्यन् मित्राय वरुणाय सत्यम् ।
वयं देवत्रादिते स्याम तव प्रियासो अर्यमन् गृणन्तः ॥
- 2 वरुणः प्राविताभुवन् मित्रो विश्वाभिरुतिभिः । करतां नः सुराधसः । ;
मरुत्वन्तं हवामह इन्द्रमा सोमयीतये । सजूर्गणेन तृम्पतु ।
- 3 विनः सहस्रं शुद्धो रदन्तृतावानो वरुणो मित्रो अग्निः ।
यच्छन्तु चन्द्रा उपमं नो अर्कमा नः कामं पूपुरन्तु स्तवानाः ॥
- 4 शममग्निरग्निभिः कश्छं नस्तपतु सूर्यः ।
शं वातो वात्वरपा अप स्निधः ।
- 5 बह्वीः समा अकरमन्तरस्मिन्निन्द्रं वृणानः पितरं जहामि ।
अग्निः सोमो वरुणस्ते च्यवन्ते पर्याविर्द्राष्ट्रं तदवाम्यायन् ।
- 6 Cf. also Ico. of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in Dacca Museum. p. 73 ff.
- 7 त्रीणि जाना परिभूषन्त्यस्य समुद्र एकं दिव्यैकमप्सु । ;
त्रिरस्य ता परमा सन्ति सत्या स्पर्हा देवस्य जनिमान्यग्नेः ।
- 8 स्तोमेन हि दिवि देवासो अग्निमजीजनञ्छक्तिभी रोदसिप्राम् ।
तम् अकृण्वन् त्रेधा भुवे कं स ओषधीः पचति विश्वरूपाः ॥

He is threefold light (III. 26.7). He has three heads (I. 146.1)¹ three tongues, three bodies, three stations (III. 20.2)². The last epithet having three stations (Triṣadhastha) is predominantly connected with Agni. Thus he is Agni, on the earth either in sacrificial fire or in forest or in the houses of the people, Vidyut or lightning in the air and Sūrya in heaven. One Sūtra-passage (ĀPS. 5.16.4) distinguishes a terrestrial Agni in animals, aerial one in waters and a celestial one in the sun. "This threefold nature of Agni", remarks³ Macdonell, "so clearly recognised in ṚV was probably the prototype not only of the posterior triad of sun, wind and fire (VIII. 18.19) which is spoken of as distributed in the three worlds (ṚV. X. 158.1⁴; AV. IV. 39.3) and is implied in another verse⁵ (I. 164.44) but also of the triad of sun, Indra and fire, which though not Ṛgvedic is still ancient. Hopkins, it seems, has the same thing in mind when he says that the first triad is of fires.⁶ Macdonell further remarks that the triad of Agni's may have suggested and would explain the division of sacrificial fire into the three sacrificial fires, which may go back to the time of ṚV., possibly even to an anterior period.⁷ Moreover, ṚV. II. 1.3 describes Agni as Indra, Viṣṇu and Brahmā.⁸

1 त्रिमूर्धनं सप्तरश्मिं गृणीषेऽनूनमग्निं पित्रोरुपस्थे ।

2 अग्ने त्री ते वाजिना त्री षधस्थो तिस्रस्ते जिह्वा ऋतजात पूर्वीः । तिस्र उ ते तन्वौ देववाता-
स्ताभिर्नः पाहि गिरो अप्रयुच्छन् ।

³ Vedic Myth. p. 93.

⁴ Cf. Note 6 on p. 4.

3 त्रयः केशिन ऋतुथा विचक्षते संवत्सरे वपत् एक एषाम् ।

विश्वमेको अभि चष्टे शचीभिर्प्राजिरेकस्य ददृशे न रूपम् ॥

⁶ Epic Myth. p. 231.

⁷ Vedic Myth. p. 93-94.

8 त्वमग्न इन्द्रो वृषभः स तामसि

त्वं विष्णु रुद्रगायो नमस्यः ।

त्वं ब्रह्मा रयिविद् ब्रह्मणस्पते

त्वं विधर्तः सचसे पुरन्ध्या ॥

As regards the triad of Goddesses, Sarasvatī is several times associated in the eighth and ninth verses of Āprī hymns and Āpra with the sacrificial goddesses Iḍā and Bhāratī (with whom she form as triad) and sometimes also with Mahī and Hotrā.¹

In the same way the universe is divided into three domains of the earth, air or atmosphere and heaven. This triad of heaven, air and earth form a favourite triad of Ṛgvedic poets, and is constantly spoken of explicitly or implicitly (VIII. 10.6; 90.6)² and that too to such an extent that we get further sub-divisions of each and sometimes six worlds are spoken of taking into account the two halves of the universe.

- 1 इळा सरस्वती मही तिस्रो देवीमयो भुवः । बर्हिः सीदन्त्वस्त्रिधः ।
 भारतीळे सरस्वति या वः सर्वा उपब्रुवे । ता नश्चोदयत-श्रिये ।
 अस्मै तिस्रो अव्यथ्याय नारीर्देवाय देवीर्दिधिषन्त्यन्नम् ।
 आभारती भारतीभिः सजोषा इळादेवैर्मनुष्यैर्भिरग्निः ।
 सरस्वती सारस्वतेभिरर्वाक् तिस्रो देवीर्बर्हिरदं सदन्तु ॥
 भारती पवमानस्य सरस्वतीळा मही ।
 इमं नो यज्ञमा गमन् तिस्रो देवीः सुपेशसः ॥
 तिस्रो देवीर्बर्हिरदं वरीय आ सीदत चक्रमा वः स्योनम् ।
 मनुष्ययज्ञं सुधिता हविषीळा देवी घृतपदी जुषन्त ॥
 आ नो यज्ञं भारती तूयमेत्विळा मनुष्वदिह चेतयन्ती ।
 तिस्रो देवीर्बर्हिरदं स्योनं सरस्वती स्वपसः सदन्तुः ॥
- 2 यदन्तरिक्षे पतथः पुरुभुजा यद् वे मे रोदसी अनु ।
 यद् वा स्वधाभिरधिष्ठथो रथमत आ यातमश्विना ॥
 तमु त्वा नूनमसुर प्रचेतसं राधो भागमिवेमहे ।
 महीव कृत्तिः शरणा त इन्द्र प्र ते सुम्ना नो अश्ववन् ॥

There is a reference, though not about a deity, but about Dāsa, who is three-faced and six-eyed in RV. X. 99.6.¹ His name is Viśvarūpa and is slain by Indra with the help of Trita-Āptya. Shri A. P. Karmarkar² takes this reference as indicative of pre-vedic cult and maintains that this three-headed Viśvarūpa may be the god of the direct enemies of Ṛgvedic-bards.³ Moreover, he puts a suggestion⁴ about the possibility of notion of Ṛgvedic Trita, introduced by the Ṛgvedic bards mainly because of the absence of a three-faced god in their own pantheon. But judging all the references to Trita in Ṛgveda collected by Macdonell⁵ in the light of this suggestion, we are unable to find that Trita represents any kind of trinity-idea except that he is third member as the etymology of the word clearly shows. Macdonell⁶ points to the same quoting Brāhmaṇa passages where Trita is spoken of as one of the three deities the other two being Ekata and Dvita, sons of Agni and born from waters. (ŚB. 1.2.3; TB. 2.3.8.).

(ii) Upaniṣads

Coming to the Ups, we get a reference to the three functions viz. of creation preservation and destruction by the one and the only Absolute in T. Up. (3.1.1).⁷ There it is said that from where the creatures are born, by whom the living beings are protected (lit. lives) and at the end into whom they enter is nothing but Brahman. This Brahman though one is considered by men as three. (Eka Eva Tridhā Smṛtaḥ. GK. 1. 1-5). In the Maitr. Up. (4.5)⁸ Brahmā, Rudra and Viṣṇu appear as forms (Tanavaḥ) of the Absolute which itself is incorporeal and again they are declared to correspond in respect with Rajas,

1 स इ॒हासं॑ तु॒वीर॒वं प॒तिर्द॑न् ष॒ळक्षं॑ त्रि॒शीर्षा॑णि दम॒न्यत् ।

अ॒स्य त्रि॒तो न्वो॒जसा॑ वृ॒धानो॑ वि॒षा व॒राह॑म॒यो अ॒ग्रया॑ हन् ॥

² RI. Kar. Vol. I. p. 39.

³ BK Part I. p. 323.

⁴ RI. Kar. Vol. I. p. 39 ff.

⁵ JRAS, 25 p. 419-96.

⁶ Vedic Myth. p. 67 ff.

7 यतो वा इ॒मानि॑ भू॒तानि॑ जा॒यन्ते॑ ॥ येन॑ जा॒तानि॑ जी॒वन्ति॑ ॥
यत्प्र॒यन्त्य॑भि॒संवि॑शन्ति ॥ तद्वि॒ज्ञास॑स्व ॥ तद्ब्र॒ह्मेति॑ ॥

8 प्रजापतिस्तस्य प्रोक्ता अग्र्यास्तनवो ब्रह्मा रुद्रो विष्णुरित्थ यो ह खलु वावास्य राजसोऽशोऽसौ स योऽयं ब्रह्माथ यो ह खलु वावास्य तामसोऽशोऽसौ स योऽयं रुद्रोथ यो ह खलु वावास्य सात्विकोऽशोऽसौ स एष विष्णुः स वा एष एकस्त्रिधाभूतो

Tamas and Sattva aspects respectively of the Absolute. The same Up. (V. 3)¹ states that the Brahman has two forms : one corporeal (Mūrta) and the other incorporeal (Amūrta), the former being unreal and the latter only real and that is lustre (Jyotiḥ) or Āditya.

This Āditya is represented by Om, which has manifested itself in three-fold ways. MM. Dr. P. V. Kane has advocated² that the remaining part of the first chapter of the C.Up. may be said, on the whole to advocate a doctrine of Triune Unity, which we shall reproduce here in his own words : “ But the point of greatest importance in the remaining part of this chapter is the almost synthetic unity which it tries to bring about between two opposite premises of thought, which are supposed to be annulled and reconciled into a higher unity. The perishable and imperishable, the manifest and unmanifest (i.8), the knowing and unknowing, the powerful and powerless, the enjoyer and enjoyed (i.9) and ignorance and knowledge (v. 1) are all synthesised into the higher unity of Īśa (i.8) and of the single godhead (i.10) while, i. 12 proclaims the Triune Unity of the enjoyer, the enjoyed and the mover. Reality according to this verse is three-fold, almost of the nature of a “ Tripod ” whose three different constituents are as essential to the whole as the whole is essential to the parts. This is verily the Trinitarian Monism of the qualified monistic school ”.³

Here it can be pointed out the Vedāntic trinity, Mother, Father and Teacher as considered in the passage⁴ “ Mātṛ Devo Bhava, Pitṛ Devo Bhava, and Ācārya Devo Bhava. ” All these points to the same thing, namely, the conception of the triune combination of three persons, or gods or elements into one god-head is ancient or to quote Dr. Radhakrishnan, Creation, Preservation and Destruction are the three fundamental functions of the creative evolution.⁵

(iii) Epics

As regards references in the Epics, there are divergent views among the

1 द्वे वा व ब्रह्मणो रूपे मूर्तं चामूर्तं चाथ यन्मूर्तं तदसत्यं यदमूर्तं तत्सत्यं तद्ब्रह्म यद्ब्रह्म तज्ज्योतिः स आदित्यः स वा एष ओमित्येतदात्मा स त्रेधात्मानं व्यकुरुत ओमिति तिष्ठो मात्रा एताभिः सर्वमिदमोतं प्रोतं.....

² HDS. Vol. II Part II. p. 304.

3 C. Up. एतज्ज्ञेयं नित्यमेवात्मसंस्थं
नातः परं वेदितव्यं न किञ्चित् ।
भोक्ता भोग्यं प्रेरितारं च गत्वा
सर्वं प्रोक्तं त्रिविधं ब्रह्ममेतत् ॥ १२ ॥

⁴ Cf. also IA. Vol. 57 p. 179 ff.

⁵ धर्मोनु मिलन, p. 80.

scholars. Hopkins¹ takes an extreme view that the union of the three highest gods into a trinity forms no part of epic belief. He further states that the trinitarian doctrine is recognised only in one late epic passage and that the Mbh. in general has no doctrine in trimūrti. This is, however, found in Vana Parvan 272.48.² In this passage it is stated that Prajāpati creates the world in the form of Brahmā, sustains it in the form of the great Puruṣa and annihilates it in the form of Rudra. We again come across another reference in the same epic. Anuśāsana 14 indicates³ the three different functions assigned to the Indian Trinity, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa. It states that the Absolute created Brahmā from his right side of the body to create creatures, while from his left side Viṣṇu to protect the people and when the end of Yuga approached he created Rudra.

Fausboll agrees⁴ with Hopkins, while D. R. Patil⁵ remarks that the HV seems to have known the doctrine of trinity.

N. K. Sidhanta after comparing the Vedic triad with the later triad of gods notes⁶ that these gods (Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa) are regarded as supreme in the didactic and avowedly unheroic parts of the epic and the most elaborate passages about them come mainly in the 12th and the 13th books of the epic.

But one thing is certain that either Brahmā, Viṣṇu or Śiva is spoken of as having one of the three functions. It is not always the case that Brahmā is regarded as creator, Viṣṇu as preserver and Śiva or Maheśvara as the destroyer. Brahmā sometimes appears as preserver or destroyer and Viṣṇu as creator or destroyer while various passages would regard Śiva as creator.⁷ Thus, in the Epics, the three functions are recognised but the particular god is not fixed. Later on in Purāṇas, the main function of each god is seen fixed, though he is seen doing the other two functions besides his own proving thereby his Almightiness.

¹ Epic Myth. p. 231.

² सृजति ब्रह्ममूर्तिस्तु रक्षते पौरुषी तनुः ।
रौद्रीभावेन शमयेत् तिष्ठोऽवस्था प्रजापतेः ॥

³ योऽसृजदक्षिणादङ्गाद् ब्रह्माणं लोकसम्भवम् । वामपार्श्वतितथा विष्णुं लोकरक्षार्थमीश्वरम् ।
युगान्ते चैव सम्प्राप्ते रुद्रमीशोऽसृजत्प्रभुः ॥

⁴ Ind. Myth p. 111.

⁵ Cultural History from VYP. p. 191.

⁶ The Heroic Age of India, p. 200 ff.

⁷ Cf. also Epic Myth p. 193, 196 ff.

(iv) Purāṇas

In the Purāṇic age, the three principal gods of Indian Trinity *viz.* Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa were already popular and they had already replaced the Vedic gods namely Agni, Vāyu (Indra) and Sūrya. They are referred to separately as well as jointly as the great gods who can do whatever they wished to do. Not only this, but we also find that all the three are so helpful to one another that fascinating stories of each having gone to others have been recorded. Thus we see Mahādeva drinking poison when requested by gods headed by Brahmā and Viṣṇu, or Viṣṇu saving gods from demons grown powerful with boons from Mahādeva, or Brahmā advising gods, who go to him first when any calamity occurs. In short they join hands when a common calamity arises either in heaven or on earth forgetting how the calamity arose. This intermixing is so uppermost in the minds of devotees that we get descriptions in the form of prayers. Thus, for instance, in the VYP. it is stated¹ that “ They exist through each other and uphold each other; they are twin parts of one another, they subsist through one another, they are not for a moment separated; they never abandon one another. Ívara Mahādeva is the supreme god and Viṣṇu is superior to Mahat, (the principle of intelligence); while Brahmā, filled with Rajas, engages in creation.” In the same Purāṇa and in the same chapter Brahmā is called both Nārāyaṇa and Maheśvara (cf. 5.38-42); while in another passage (1.204) Nārāyaṇa creates the universe and pervades it, though he himself is created by Maheśvara. In another passage (24. 72-3) Viṣṇu tells Brahmā: “ Formerly (Śiva) inserted the Liṅga and your seed in me (*i.e.* the yoni) which in course of time developed into the golden egg.” In the same way, in a prayer to Śiva the god is also addressed as Viṣṇu and Brahmā (cf. 54.68, 76; 54.98). Moreover, it is said in the Śrāddha chapters that the Brahmin worshipers of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmā should be invited on that occasion (cf. 82.57-9). This kind of mutual relation between three gods is further referred to in VP. I.22.39 ff²; Vh. P. 70.13-15³; Br. P. 1.22 and

¹ Ch. V. 18-21 as quoted by Natesh Aiyar, ASI. Vol. XIII p. 276:

“ परस्परेण वर्तन्ते धारयन्ति परस्परम् ।
 अन्योन्यमिधुना ह्येते ह्यन्योन्यमुपजीविनः ॥
 क्षणं वियोगो न ह्येषां न त्यजन्ति परस्परम् ।
 ईश्वरो हि परो देवो विष्णुस्तु महतः परः ॥
 ब्रह्मा तु रजसोद्विक्तः सर्गो येह प्रवर्तते । ”

2 एवमेव जगत्स्रष्टा जगत्पाता तथैव च ।
 जगद्भक्षयिता चैष समस्तस्य जनार्दनः ॥
 सर्गस्थित्यन्तकालेषु त्रिधैवं संप्रवर्तते ।
 गुणप्रवृत्त्या परमं पदं तस्या गुणं महत् ॥

(See Foot-note 3 on the next page)

24¹; Lg.P. (Pūrva) 41. 15-17².

It is perhaps due to this reason that Appe. J. A. Dubois thought³ that in the books of Hindoos there was a mere tissue of contradiction relating to the Trimūrti and the absurd details which were related in connection with each other are even more inconsistent. However, after explaining the word Trimūrti he states that this union of persons is the allegorical symbol of the existence of things created, which can neither be produced nor preserved without agreement and sanction of these three divinities. In the same manner J. N. Farquhar opines⁴ after examining the origin of Trimūrti both in its theological and philosophical aspects based on Maitr. Up. (iv. 5. 6; v. 2), that since each sect identified its own god with the Supreme Brahman, the Trimūrti has a distinct form in each.

The MP. contains a phrase “Ekā Mūrtis Trayo Devāḥ”, (quoted by J. N. Farquhar) which also suggests the same thing. In short, it seems that at the time of the Purāṇas the idea of Trinity was firmly established in the minds of people and the need of the times invented stories, of course, based on traditions, so that each one feels sure about the power of his god. The idea behind it was to express the synthetic mind which developed right from the Ṛgvedic times. The various functional contradiction that are found here and there,

3 यो यज्ञैरिज्यते देवो यस्मात्सर्वमिदं जगत् ।
उत्तमं सर्वदा यस्मिँल्लीनं भवति सामरम् ॥
नारायणः परो देवो सर्वरूपो जनार्दनः ॥ १४ ॥
त्रिधात्मानं स भगवान्ससर्ज परमेश्वरः ।
रजस्तमोभ्यां युक्तोऽभूद्रजः सत्त्वाधिकं प्रभुः ॥ १५ ॥

1 नमो हिरण्यगर्भाय हरये शङ्कराय च ।
वासुदेवाय ताराय सर्गस्थित्यन्तकर्मणे ॥ २२ ॥
सर्गस्थितिबिनाशाय जगतो योऽजरामरः ।
मूलभूतो नमस्तस्मै विष्णवे परमात्मने ॥ २४ ॥

2 वैराग्यं ब्रह्मणो वक्ष्ये तमोभूतं समासतः ।
नारायणोऽपि भगवान्निधाः कृत्वात्मनस्तनुम् ॥ १५ ॥
ससर्ज सकलं तस्मात्स्वाङ्गादेव चराचरम् ।
ततो ब्रह्माणमसृजद्ब्रह्मा रुद्रं पितामहः ॥ १६ ॥
मुने कल्पान्तरे रुद्रो हरिं ब्रह्माणमीश्वरम् ॥
ततो ब्रह्माणमसृजन्मुने कल्पान्तरे हरिः ॥ १७ ॥

³ Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies, p 542.

⁴ An outline of Religious literature of India, p. 148.

prove only the Almighty nature of each god. Later on the idea was firmly established with the story of Dattātreyā in the Mār. P. and in other Purāṇas.

(v) Classical Literature

Classical literature contains the triad in the words of its most prominent masters. Kālidāsa in Kumārasaṃbhava (II. 4-15¹; VII. 44²; X. 20-22³) and in Raghuvamśa (X. 16) refers to it. It is interesting to note that Kumārasaṃbhava (II. 4) is stated in connection with Brahmā, VII. 44 refers to Śiva, while Raghuvamśa (X. 16)⁴ is a prayer to Viṣṇu. The commentator Mallinātha in Kumārasaṃbhavam II. 4 quotes one more verse with words Uktam Ca (it is said) in support of the reference to the Trimūrti.⁵ Similarly, Bāṇa's Kādambarī also invokes it.⁶ Moreover, he definitely mentions Viṣṇu's trinity with Varāha and Nṛsiṃha faces on both sides as Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu with Nṛsiṃha-Varāha heads.⁷ Later on the three verses, the two of Kālidāsa⁸ and the one of Bāṇa,⁹ were combined in a Ms. heading it to be a hymn to Trimūrti.¹⁰

-
- 1 नमस्त्रिमूर्तये तुभ्यं प्राकृष्टेः केवलात्मने ।
गुणत्रयविभागाय पश्चाद्भेदमुपेयुषे ॥
 - 2 एकैव मूर्तिर्बिम्बेदे त्रिधा सा सामान्यमेषां प्रथमावरत्वम् ।
त्रिणोर्हरस्तस्य हरिः कदाचिद्वेधास्तयोस्तावपि धातुरायौ ॥
 - 3 निधत्से हुतमर्काय स पर्जन्योऽभिवर्षति ।
ततोऽभानि प्रजास्तेभ्यस्तेनासि जगतः पिता ॥
अन्तश्चरोऽसि भूतानां तानि त्वत्तो भवन्ति च ।
ततो जीवितभूतस्त्वं जगतः प्राणदोऽसि च ॥
जगतः सकलस्यास्य त्वमेकोऽस्युपकारकृत् ।
कार्योपपादने तत्र त्वत्तोऽन्यः कः प्रगल्भते ॥
 - 4 नमो विश्वसृजे पूर्वं विश्वं तदनु बिभ्रते ।
अथ विश्वस्य संहर्त्रे तुभ्यं त्रिधा स्थितात्मने ॥
 - 5 नमो रजो जुषे सृष्टौ स्थितौ सत्त्वमयाय च ।
तमोरूपाय संहारे त्रिरूपाय स्वयम्भुवे ॥
 - 6 रजो जुषे जन्मनि सत्त्ववृत्तये । स्थितौ प्रजानां प्रलये तमः स्पृशे ।
अजाय सर्गस्थितिनाशहेतवे । त्रयोमयाय त्रिगुणाय संनतिः ॥
 - 7 Cf. Cat. of Brahmanical Images in Mathurā Art, Preface.
 - 8 Kumārasaṃbhava. II. 4; Raghuvamśa. X. 16.
 - 9 Bāṇa's Kādambarī.
 - 10 ASI. 1913-14, P. 277.

The *Mṛcchakaṭika* of Śūdraka at the end of the sixth act refers to the same.¹ According to A. W. Ryder,² this verse refers to Trimūrti as he translates it as under: "May Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, three in one, protect thee, and the moon and the blessed sun; slay all thy foes, as mighty Pārvatī slew Śumbha and Niśumbha fearfully." It is doubtful whether we should regard this as referring to Trimūrti worship, as, besides the three principal gods, we have here, Sūrya, Candra and even Devī. However, it is worth consideration that all the prominent gods are invoked at a time in such an early period of Śūdraka.

K. P. Parab collects four verses on Trimūrti. First of these is from *Kumārasaṃbhava* II. 4, second is from *Raghuvamśa* X. 16 and the third from *Kādambarī*, while the fourth is from some unknown source. In this last verse besides distinct colour, abodes, goddesses, weapons and number of eyes of each god, functions and distinct vehicles are also referred to clearly and in the most restrained and poetic manner.³ All these point to one thing that individual gods are nothing but several replicas of the same God and this must have gone a long way to check the jarring tendencies of the followers of different sects of later period. Thus, we get even at a late date, prayers to Parabrahma,⁴ Śiva,⁵ Viṣṇu,⁶ describing them as performing the three functions of Creation, Preservation and Destruction. This synthetic outlook has its highest peak in

- 1 अभयं त्व ददातु हरो विष्णुर्ब्रह्मा रविश्च चन्द्रश्च ।
हत्वा शत्रुपक्षं शुम्भनिशुम्भौ यथा देवी ॥
- 2 HOS. P. 177.
- 3 इयमश्वेताहणाङ्गा जलधरणिधरोत्फुल्लपङ्केरुहस्था ।
मोमासावित्र्युपेता रथचरणपिनाकोग्रहुङ्कारशस्त्राः ॥
देवा द्वित्र्यष्टनेत्रा जगद्वनसमुच्छेदनोत्पत्तिदक्षाः ।
प्रीता वः पान्तु नित्यं हरिहरविधयस्तार्क्ष्यगोहंसपत्राः ॥
- 4 लोकत्रयस्थितिलयोदयकेलिकारः
कार्येण यो हरिहरद्रुहिणत्वमेति ।
देवः स विश्वजनवाङ्मनसातिवृत्त —
शक्तिः शिवं दिशतु शश्वदनश्वरं वः ॥
- 5 जगत्सिसृक्षाप्रलयक्रियाविधौ
प्रयत्नमुन्मेषनिमेषविभ्रमम् ।
वदन्ति यस्येक्षणलोलपद्मणां
पराय तस्मै परमेष्ठिने नमः ॥
- 6 नमस्त्रिभुवनोत्पत्तिस्थितिसंहारहेतवे ।
विष्णवेऽपारसंसारपारोत्तरणसेतवे ॥

the popular verse¹ where all kinds of knowledge and sects are attributed to one source.²

(vi) Trinity: Philosophical Interpretation

We shall now examine the various views regarding the antiquity of the concept of trinity expressed by different scholars. Keith is of the opinion that the concept is a very old one in India and equally old in Mesopotemia³; yet there are opinions that the concept of the union of three highest gods forms no part of epic belief⁴ and it was not in vogue until the advent of the Purāṇic period⁵ or 'perhaps long after the establishment of idolatry in India'.⁶ There are some who think that the conception is as ancient as Ṛgveda⁷ or even Pre-Ṛgvedic with⁸ or without⁹ its philosophical meaning and this Vedic literature, which contained the germs of the idea,¹⁰ developed later from the idea of uniting the gods, seen right from the time of the Harappa Culture,¹¹ to that of the Vedas,¹² Upaniṣadas,¹³ epics,¹⁴ Harivaṃśa,¹⁵ Purāṇas¹⁶ and finally in the time of Kālidāsa it was firmly established.¹⁷

1 यं शैवाः समुपासते शिव इति ब्रह्मेति वेदान्तिनो

बौद्धा बुद्ध इति प्रमाणपटवः कर्तेति नैयायिकाः ।

अहंनिर्गुणश्च जैनशासनरताः कर्मेति मीमांसकाः

सोऽयं नो विदधातु वाञ्छितफलं त्रैलोक्यनाथो हरिः ।

2 All these are quoted from SRB.

3 Keith quoted by J. Marshall, Mohenjo-Daro and Indus Valley Civilization, p. 53.

4 Epic. Myth. P. 231.

5 Natesh Aiyar, ASI. 1913-14. P. 277.

6 Abbe. J. A. Dubois, Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies, p. 543.

7 Bhattacharya, as quoted in RI. Kar. Vol. I., p. 66.

8 RI. Kar., p. 39.

9 J. Marshall, Mohenjo-Daro & Indus Valley Civilisation, p. 53.

10 D. R. Patil, Cultural History from VYP., p. 190.

11 A. P. Karmarkar, BK. P.I., p. 323 & Marshall, p. 53.

12 Vedic Myth. p. 5.

13 Furquhar J. N. An outline of Religious Literature of India., p. 148 also cf. HDS. Part II.

14 C. V. Vaidya, Epic India.

15 D. R. Patil, Cultural History from VYP. p. 190.

16 Bhattasali. Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculpture in Dacca Museum, p. 74.

17 Cultural History from VYP. p. 66.

It will be seen from the above-mentioned opinions that the scholars differ only about concept of the word Trinity. Trinity does not mean the group of three principal gods namely Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva only ; it connotes widely and one is free to interpret the Vedic hymns as well as other important literary passages for the concept of Trimūrti, and its philosophical meaning. We shall see, later on, how such attempts were made by scholars. At present it may be noted that the antiquity of the concept of Trinity worship is accepted by almost all scholars though the triad may form different groups according to them. Surely, 'an image is the product of a definite religious need and remains to posterity the best visible symbol of the religious convictions and outlook of its worshippers.'¹ This kind of definite religious need regarding the image, anticipates its concept. We shall see later on that such sculptures of Trimūrti are found all over India in the remote past.

Now as regards the question of idolatry Shri Khare² opines that it was current about 200-150 B.C. with certainty; for in the Mbh. Vana Parvan 82-84 there are references to the idols of Mahākālā, Dhūmāvatī, Trīśūlapāṇi and such others. Moreover, we know from the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali that temples dedicated to Keśava, Balarāma and Dhanapati Kubera came into existence in the 2nd century B.C.³ Macdonell⁴ further adds that 'most probably it must have been also known to Pāṇini, a century earlier than Patañjali; while "it is certain", says D. B. Diskalkar⁵, that images on stone began to be made on a large scale in the Kushan period, specially, in Mathura district and in the Gandhar country round about Peshavar.'

Different views are propounded by scholars regarding the question of the first trinity of its kind. Sir John Marshall put forth the following hypothesis.⁶ In historic times the type of Śiva's trinity (*i.e.* Śiva without Brahmā and Viṣṇu) was not a common one and it may have been produced under the influence of Trimukha images representing the triad. "It is more likely" in the words of Marshall, "that in the first instance the god was provided with a plurality of faces in token of his all-seeing nature, that these images afterwards suggested the trimūrtis of Śiva, Brahmā and Viṣṇu, and that the latter in their turn subsequently inspired such images as those referred to above." (*i.e.* of Śiva without Brahmā and Viṣṇu)

¹ Dr. V. S. Agrawala, Cat. of Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art Museum, Preface.

² Mūrti Vijñāna p. 17.

³ प्रासादे धनपति-राम-केशवानाम्—II.2.34

⁴ JRAS, Jan. 1916. p. 125.

⁵ Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society, Jan. 1932 Vol. V. Part I, p. 19.

⁶ Mohenjo-Daro and Indus Valley Civilisation, p. 55.

A. P. Karmarkar, writing on the Purāṇic cosmogony, maintains¹ that as Śiva's trinity is found on some seals of Mohenjo-Daro, "there is every possibility of the above representations indicating the exact nature of the three cosmogonic functions of the god—a fact which is conveyed by the later idea of the Hindu Trinity consisting of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva." He supports his view by quoting the illustrations of Kushano-Sasanian coins on which Śiva is found standing by the side of Nandi². Similarly J. N. Banerjee thinks³ that at an early date there must have been a feeling of jealousy and rivalry between the sectarians and this inspired many combinations of gods giving prominence, of course, to their own god, and later on gave rise to later representations of Brahmanical triad Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. Thus, we see a definite effort towards reapproachment in the icons such as of Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha, Hari-Hara and so on, after having experienced the bitterness expressed by icons of Ekapāda, where prominence is given to their own god by secterians. Karmarkar notes⁴ that the secterian feelings during the period of the Mbh. had become rampant, and so besides Śiva, the two deities Viṣṇu and Brahmā attained a unique prominence. Edward Moor (quoted by P. Thomas: *Epics, Myths and Legends of India*, p. 9) noted this and wrote that 'in the obvious arrangement of the three grand powers of the eternal one, Creation and Preservation precede Destruction; this is the relative and philosophical rank of the Triad, but not always theological or sectarian station for Śaivas exalt Śiva and Vaiṣṇavas Viṣṇu'. A. Barth takes⁵ this idea of trinity as 'a solution midway between the ancient orthodoxy in its final form and the new religions'. He further adds that, it is, at the same time, a most considerable attempt which has been made to reconcile these religions to one another. It is interesting to note that this tendency of reconciling is shown by our great poet Kālidāsa. We see that the exploits of the family of Raghu in which those of Rāma (Viṣṇu) are the most important, open an invocation of Śiva, while the Kumārasambhava, which is a story of Śiva, contains an elaborate prayer to Brahmā.⁶ In fact, Kālidāsa seems to have the idea that individual gods are nothing but several aspects of the same god. The same is suggested by Pandit Benode Bihari Vidyavinode of the Indian Museum (quoted by B. C. Bhattacharya, *Indian Images Part I*, p. 4) that this blending of the principal gods of Hindu Pantheon is a sort of compromise of the secterian beliefs of the people.

¹ BK. Part I. p. 324.

² For details cf. RI. Kar., Vol. I, pp. 66 ff.

³ DHI, p. 231.

⁴ RI. Kar. p. 65.

⁵ RI. Bar, p. 179.

⁶ India in Kālidāsa by B. S. Upadhyaya, p. 315.

It has again been suggested that the so-called Trimūrti images, perhaps, represent the Sun as the one representative of the three gods.¹ The Brahmā, Viṣṇu, (Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa) and Śiva being all directly or indirectly recognised to be identical with the Sun, there is every possibility of the Trimūrti figures representing the Sun-God. Rao Bahadur Hiralal in his article on Trimūrtis in Bundelkhand agrees² with Krishna Shastri in this point and illustrates the Sun icons having three faces. However, Krishna Shastri sees another possibility of taking Trinities, especially from Tiruvorriyur and Tiruvanaikkal, as to symbolise the expanded significance of the Śiva Liṅga. As regards the motive, he remarks that according to Śiva Rahasya all gods at the end of creation find their resting place in the Liṅga, Brahmā being absorbed in its right, Janārdana in its left and Gāyatrī in its heart.

Hopkins taking the threefold fire,³ seen in Agni, Vidyut and Sūrya, concludes that the first triad is that of fires; and Dr. Saletore has tried⁴ to take the Mohenjo-Daro seal as representing Agni. Probably, keeping this in mind, Cyclopaedia of India (Vol. VII, p. 935) refers to the symbols of the trinity as Time, Water and Fire of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva respectively. Thus Sūrya represents time, Vidyut, the water and Agni, the fire. But here the equation will become like one applied to later gods. Brahmā : Sūrya, Viṣṇu : Vidyut and Śiva : Agni. Here it may be noted B. C. Bhattacharya's similar equation Agni : Brahmā, Vāyu : Śiva and Sūrya : Viṣṇu. Bhattacharya's reasons are as follows : Agni and Brahmā are described as being of red colour and holding Kamaṇḍalu; Vāyu is young in appearance and so Rudra is to be represented as of 16 years of age. Moreover, the deer is the symbol of both. Sūrya is Viṣṇu as a form of Āditya. Coomaraswamy, however, takes Śiva : Agni, which seems probable.

In this way we find many reflections on the plausible philosophical meaning underlying the idea of trinity. This body of ours is a temple of the Divine. If the image is looked upon as only a symbol or manifestation of the Divine, which is worshipped through the image, it becomes the worship of the right type that lifts the worshippers to the height of the Divine. The great soul, the cause of the universe, has three forms, the highest that is immoveable, the second that brings this universe into being and the third that is seated within the heart of man.⁵ This is, perhaps, the reason why it is said⁶ that in the

¹ ASI. 1913-14, p. 278.

² IA. Vol. 47, p. 126.

³ He even quotes from the Epic that Agni is a maker, sustainer and destroyer (त्वं कर्ता चान्त एव च त्वं धारयसि लोकौल्लोकीन्). Epic. Myth. p. 231.

⁴ New Review, 55. X. 1939.

⁵ Mbh. Udyoga Parvan. Ch. IV.

⁶ IHQ. Vol. XVI. p. 524 ff.

case of an Indian, Trimūrti and such other uncommon figures have their importance as religious objects, which intensify the adoration and devotion by the very fact of limbs and weapons.

Mr. Havell¹ interpretes the allegory regarding the meaning of Trimūrti as the "apparent movement of the Sun round the earth of which the Cosmic Cross was the symbol of the ancient Aryan world. The four points of the cross indicated the position of the Sun at mid-night, sunrise, noon and sunset respectively". But B. C. Bhattacharya opines that this is all confusing in the extreme.² Moreover, the triad lost its meaning and rather conveyed the four movements.

Here it is worth noting that similar attempts are made by many to connect the movement of the Sun, with regard to the three steps of Viṣṇu. Some scholars like Aurṇanābha and many European scholars of the modern times take it as course of the Sun-rising, culminating and setting; while others like Śakapūṇi, Bergaigne, Macdonell and others with a support from younger Vedas, Brāhmaṇas and post-vedic literature take the three steps of Viṣṇu as representing the course of the solar deity through the three divisions of the universe.³

Abbe J. A. Dubois after examining the view of modern writers regarding these three principal gods of Indian trinity summarises their views as follows: They have asserted that these gods are nothing else but three principal deities of the Greeks and the Romans under different names. The equation according to them is as follows: Brahmā-Jupiter, Viṣṇu-Neptune and Śiva-Plato. No doubt, Jupiter is the creator of all things, Neptune is connected with water and his devotees with Śaṅkha and Plato, the glooming god of hell, the Lord of Shades and Lights; but all these are not convincing for even the essential features are not common to both the triads. So even Dubois (p. 545) is not drawing any conclusion regarding the question as to who borrows from whom and tries to solve the origin of trinity-concept in somewhat novel way. It is through earth, the common mother of all beings, that everything subsists in nature. She is, therefore, regarded as the divine creator, Brahmā. But what could the earth do without water? It is water which gives life, preserves and causes growth of everything that has life or vegetables. It was, therefore, regarded as divine preserver *i.e.* Viṣṇu. Fire, in penetrating the other two elements, communicates to them a portion of its energy, develops their properties, and brings everything in nature to that state of growth, maturity and perfection which would never be arrived at without it. When it is in its free and visible state, this active agent of reproduction destroys all by its irresistible power and it is

¹ Ideals of Indian Art, P. 68.

² Indian Images, Part I, P. 6.

³ Vedic Myth. P. 37 ff.

to this formidable power that it owed its title of god destroyer, that is to say, Śiva. The combination and harmony of all these three was indispensable to the production and reproduction of all secondary bodies. 'This worship of three elements (*viz.* Earth, Water and Fire)' says Dubois, 'is not my own theory, but if we look to the chapter about Sandhyā, we can find the direct worship of these elements while the two others, air and ether, are almost forgotten.'

In this way we get many reflections on the possible meaning of the idea of Trinity. To start with, Barth¹ sums up the idea behind Trimūrti thus: "The Brahman, the Absolute manifests himself in three persons, Brahmā, the creator, Viṣṇu, the preserver and Śiva, the destroyer. It is in them that he becomes capable of actions and that he partakes of the three 'qualities' of goodness, passion and darkness the subtle principles that pervade everything and in which the Sāṃkhya philosophy sums up the energies of Nature. Each of these persons is represented by one of the three letters a, u, m, the combination of which forms the sacrosanct syllable OM, the symbol of the Absolute²". While B. C. Bhattacharya³ raises a point that the allegorical meaning of the Trimūrti has been, in many cases only touched but not clearly worked out. In fact, the three gods represent one Mūrti taking three forms in the act of creating, preserving and destroying.⁴ He suggests another possibility also of these forms referring to the three stages of life, childhood, youth and old age. "The idea of the Trimūrti sculpture", he says, "must have been drawn from the main periods of the Aryan life, *viz.*, those of the Brahmācārī, Gṛhastha and Saṃnyāsī or Yatī. Brahmā is surely a god having features of a Brahmācārī. He holds a Kamaṇḍalu, puts on Kāṣāya cloth, carries Vedas, all of which are requisites of a young Brahmācārī. Viṣṇu with his dress, ornaments, attendants, represents a householder, enjoying, working and flourishing. The image of Śiva in the like manner, with his tiger's skin, Jaṭā and trident, represents the life of a Saṃnyāsī. This is the psychological basis behind the idea of Trimūrti, while metaphysically it represents the three great principles *viz.* Sattva, Rajas and Tamas. The physical explanation may be applied to the three time-divisions of a day *viz.* morning, day and evening while mythologically they represent creative, preservative and destructive aspect of the Absolute.

¹ RI. Bar. pp. 180-81.

² Govindacharya Swamin (IA. Vol. 57, p. 179) takes this Om as Vedāntic trinity *i.e.* trinity in Vedānta. He explains it as thus: A : Satyam, reality which is god ; M : Soul and U : Interlinking power between god and soul.

³ Indian Images, Part I. p. 5.

⁴ एकमूर्तिरपि भिन्नरूपिणी या जगज्जननपालनक्षये ।

-quoted by Gaṅgeśa in his Śabda-Tattva-Cintāmaṇī.

Dr. Radhakrishnan¹ construes the meaning in a somewhat different way. He says that the qualified body of the Absolute (Saguṇa Svarūpa) is the triple confluence of knowledge (Jñāna), love (Prema) and right conduct (Sadācāra). This is the reason why he becomes the creator, uplifter and the judge of the universe. Viṣṇu, being the love incarnate upholds the world while Śiva being Almighty gives judgment and these three *viz.* Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva are not different personalities, but are the different phases of one and the only Absolute, viewed according to their different activities.

¹ The meeting of Religions (धर्मोंनुं मिलन), p. 85.

CHAPTER II

TRIMŪRTI IN SCULPTURE

Thus the idea of trinity has been very old in India and elsewhere.¹ This idea is represented in sculpture also, of course, in many different ways. Hindu iconography has its own peculiarities. We get Dhyāna Mantras regarding the deities in the books on Hindu iconography. But the question about the relation between the Dhyāna Mantras and icons is very difficult to solve. We have referred to the view of Dr. Agrawala that the image was the product of a definite religious need of the people. But the question of Dhyāna Mantra is a different one, in the sense that it is supposed to put Dhyānas in a stereotyped way. We get many icons that do not follow the respective Dhyāna Mantras either wholly or partly. At times we get such icons that partly follows the Dhyāna Mantra of the deity in question or follow other Dhyāna Mantras in other respects. In this way, there is always a difference regarding either heads or hands or symbols. This, however, does not make a great difference. God has in a way no form, but from another point of view He can take any form. He assumes shape according to the attitude of devotees. Moreover, it is possible that with the march of time some icons might have been buried under the earth or lost for ever. Perhaps, such icons, if found, would have thrown more light on the subject. The same principle may be applied to books on iconography. Till then we have to remain content with the available material.

The idea of trinity is represented in sculpture by icons of three-headed figures in many different ways according to the beliefs and religious needs of society. Thus right from the third century upto the 17th century leaving aside the seal found at the Mohenjo-dero, we see the trinity icons represented in several ways. They are as follows :

Firstly, actual trinity sculptures, *i.e.* the three principal gods of the Hindu pantheon *viz.* Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva blended into one either separately on different niches or having one nich or the figure having three heads showing the triple nature through their characteristic marks. Secondly, we see the actual temples, having three shrines dedicated to the principal gods. Sometimes such shrines become unique pieces of sculpture in architecture. In such cases the temple itself becomes the trinity. Thirdly, we come across icons giving promin-

¹ Prof. Kirfel in his "Die dreikoep fice Gottheit" has shown that the conception of a three-headed god had a very wide distribution in the Mediterranean races. Cf. Presidential address (p. 4) of Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Indian History Congress, XVII Session, 1954.

ence to one of the principal deities. *e.g.* Śiva is given a prominent place in many icons from the South. In the same way Viṣṇu and Brahmā are given due honour by the devotees of different times according to their religious ideas. Many times Brahmā is substituted by the Sun-god. Moreover, there are some cases where the triple nature of the Sun-god has taken shape at the hands of artists, thus proving the sun-worship of the Sauras.. Lastly, it is seen in the icons of Dattātreya who is considered an incarnation of the trinity in general and of Viṣṇu in particular. The last mentioned icons are met with under another name of Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha. It is interesting to note here that even the three principal goddesses *viz.* Pārvatī, Laxmī and Sarasvatī, the consorts of Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā respectively, are also represented in sculpture in a triple form. In all these ways, in whatever form the triple nature of the divine is formed, one thing is common that it represents the creative, preservative and destructive aspects of the god concerned. In short, it is the triple aspect of the Absolute that is aimed at. The principle behind it seems to be that all the aspects are from one single source and it is the work of the Absolute. Men may give that Absolute any name and represent Him in any form.¹ In India it is common that a devotee regards his god as the highest deity and the same has happened in this case.

Now the question that naturally arises from all these forms is that which pertains the primitive type of trinity. The problem is rather difficult and requires critical examination that will be taken up at a later stage. For the present we shall examine the above-mentioned groups of trinity and their icons.

Let us first take up the case of Trimūrti temples. Such a temple is met with at the foot of Anaimalai Hills in the Koimbatour Dt. in South India. The place is called Trimūrti Kovil or temple. It is in the Udumalkotta taluka in the district of Koimbatour. "Here the Trimūrti itself was a temple and a remarkable object", says M. J. Walhouse.² It has all the look of extreme antiquity and was regarded by natives with awe. The figure indistinctly grown upon the great boulder overlooking the Koimbatour circle indicated three figures—it is doubtful whether it was united or not. About this figure Walhouse remarks that the group certainly bears some resemblance to the ordinary representation of Buddha seated between two attendants. But such Buddha figures are never worshipped, while in the case of the Trimūrti Kovil the case is just the reverse.

¹ Cf. एकं सद् विप्रा बहुधा वदन्ति । R.V.I. 1. 64. 46

Cf. also एकं सन्तं बहुधा कल्पयन्ति । R.V. X. 114. 5.

² IA. Vol. III. P. 35.

In the same way, comparable to the Trimūrti Kovil, we learn about a remarkable hypoethral temple in the hill tracts of Orissa. It exhibits an open circular temple or enclosure of plain cut stone externally, while the interior of the wall is occupied by niches. In the centre, in front of the single doorway is a shrine or Maṇḍapa covering a slab, on which is carved in relief a sitting figure, with the right foot on an elephant and the left on a bullock. The figure appears to have three faces, the left hand having a lotus and the right hand a sceptre (?). Other details are not available.

There appears to be a considerable resemblance between the two above-mentioned temples. The Orissa temple is evidently much larger and more important, but the other one, so much further to the south, is situated in a locality of old and equally wild, and even now sequestered and remote. The circle of images with faces turned inwards corresponds with the open circular temple or enclosure of the plain cut stone in Orissa.

The third temple is situated at Parbadi, in Saurashtra of the Gujarat State. It is an interesting old triple shrined temple. Above the doorways we meet with Gaṇeśa indicating Śaiva worship. The hall was common to all three shrines as was usual in the three shrined temples. They were dedicated to Śiva, Viṣṇu and Sūrya or Brahmā respectively. Moreover, around the main temple were four smaller shrines, thus forming with main a Pañcāyatana, a group. It is worth noting that the shrine had the same pattern as that of Navalakha at Sejakpur and those at Anandpur and Chaubari.

Another Trimūrti temple is referred to in Mandagappattu Inscription of Vichitra-Chitta.¹ On a small hill near Mandagapattu in South India is cut out a shrine on the facade of which is engraved an inscription. The shrine has at its back end three niches, which are dedicated to the gods Brahmā, Īśvara and Viṣṇu respectively. A photograph of the front view of the shrine appears in Pallava Antiquities Vol. I. Pl. XXXIII by Mons. G. Jowvean Dubrenil.

Lastly, there exists a Trimūrti cave at Mahabalipuram, in South India. The so-called Trimūrti Maṇḍapa is a cave temple near the "Gopī's churn". It contains three cells. The central one has a relief carved on the back wall representing Śiva standing with four-arms. In one of the right hands he holds a hatchet (broken) and in one of the left hands rosary (standing up). The two other hands are broken. There are four attendants two crouching at his feet and the other two gaṇas flying. In the cell to the proper left is Viṣṇu, four-armed. In his upper right hand he holds a wheel, in the upper left a conch (broken) while the other two hands are empty. We again notice four atten-

¹ EI. Vol. XVII, P. 14.

dants. About the proper right cell there are two opinions among scholars. Dr. Vogel¹ in his Iconographic Notes on the seven Pagodas identifies the figure with Brahmā. The figure is standing four-armed holding a flower in his upper right hand and a ring in his upper left while the remaining two are empty. Shri T. A. G. Rao comments while writing a foreword note to the inscription of Vicitracitta² that the cell which is supposed to have been dedicated to Brahmā is occupied by a figure which has only one face. The figure of Brahmā, according to Āgamas, ought to be always shaped with four faces, and in practice also we find that three faces are always shown in sculpture, the fourth being supposed to be at the back of the figure. Prof. Jouveau Dubreni thinks that the cell contains the figure of Subrahmanya. He argues that the figure has only one head and not four and the god Subrahmanya in his Brahma-Śāstā aspect is superior to Brahmā whose pride he put down by exposing his (Brahmā's) ignorance of the Vedas. The people of Mahabalipuram must have thought it more preferable to put Brahmā-Śāstā than to put Brahmā. Moreover, he points to the fact that the trinity of Śiva, Viṣṇu and Subrahmanya is still existing. Lastly he quotes Shri T. A. G. Rao (Vol. II, Part II, p. 439) regarding Dhyāna Mantra of Brahma-Śāstā. But our figure, which has given rise to a controversy, has a ring and a flower while Brahma-Śāstā must have a Kamaṇḍalu and Akṣamālā while the other hands must have Abhaya and Varada poses. Moreover, a double chaplet of Rudrākṣa beads is on the chest of the figure and not in the hands. It thus presents some difficulty for identification. H. Krishna Shastri takes the figure as that of Brahma-Śāstā on the ground that behind the rock bearing the Trimūrti shrine are executed the figures of a peacock, an elephant and a monkey carved in half relief. A peacock is the characteristic vehicle (Vāhana) of Subrahmanya and an elephant is connected with the temples of Brahma-Śāstā. But he further shows another possibility of taking Brahma-Śāstā figure representing Sun-god on the analogy of the temples of Traipurūṣadeva which are dedicated to Sun, Śiva and Viṣṇu. Any way, here, there is a depiction of trinity. All the three figures have one of their left hands resting on the hip and right hand raised. Three figures are reproduced by Dr. Vogel on pl. XXX of ASI. 1910-11 with a note that on the plate Viṣṇu is placed in the centre, whereas in reality the central cell is occupied by Śiva.

Regarding its date Dr. Vogel remarks that though the temples of this group are the prototype of the elaborate edifices of the 16th and 17th centuries, the debased images which decorate these later buildings are derived from the single forms of the 7th century as exemplified on the Pallava Temples of Madras coast.

¹ ASI. 1910-11, P. 58.

² EI. Vol. XVII, P. 14.

There are epigraphic records which refer to the temples dedicated to Traipurūṣadeva in the Mysore district.¹ The evidence thus clears the idea regarding the trinity worship in many parts of India and had been sponsored and even financially supported by royal dynasties of the time.

We now come to Trimūrti icons which either happen to be the main god at one time in a temple or some such as carved in the centre of it. One of such figures is found in a village named Maḍhiā (about 35 miles northeast of Damoh and about 80 miles from Khajurahā) in the old Panna State. This is a figure of Viṣṇu wearing shoes, and happens to be a Trimūrti carved in the centre of the door of a ruined temple. The figure is six-handed. It holds in its left hands, a Triśūla (trident) in one hand and a lotus in the second hand, the third being open, with the thumb bent towards the centre of the palm. The right hands hold a lotus in one, a Mṛgāṅka (deer symbol) in the second, the third being broken. These symbols show what deities are combined in the Trimūrti, the Triśūla and Mṛgāṅka being symbols of Śiva, the Lotus of Viṣṇu and the open hand with thumb bent of Brahmā. In the left corner is carved the figure of a bull and in the right that of Garuḍa, but the Haṃsa (Swan) the vehicle of Brahmā is not found represented there. This piece of sculpture has other things of interest also. Trimūrti is the central panel on each of which there is one separated by figures of gods and goddesses. In the right panel are carved Śiva and Pārvatī and in the left Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī. The intervening figures between the panels consist of two rows of gods and goddesses—the first row representing eight goddesses (Aṣṭā Mātaraḥ) five being depicted on the right and three on the left with a figure of Gaṇeśa at the end, and the second row contains eight figures of Viṣṇu, four on each side of the central panel. Below this there is a second row of panels with Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī placed in the centre. The right side of panel has the figures of Brahmā and Brahmāṇī, and the left one those of Śiva and Pārvatī. The intervening place between the central and the side panels is occupied by nine planets four being represented on the right side and five on the left. Rai Bahadur Hiralal² takes the period of Khajurahā temple of Viṣṇu's trinity *i.e.* 10th century A.D.

Fergusson and Burgess notice some Trimūrti icons mostly seen on the back wall of the temples. The famous Kailāsa at Elura, on the back wall of the shrine, in a very low relief, contains a grotesque Trimūrti. This may be either Trimūrti or the bust of Śiva with three faces representative of the three phases of his supposed character as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra,³ In the same way the

¹ Cf. IA. Vol. VIII, 22-23.

² IA. Vol. 47, p. 136 ff.

³ The cave temples of India, p. 446.

same source informs us that on the back aisle of the cave are a series of pretty large sculptures in which the fourth one depicts Trimūrti. This Trimūrti is represented by three figures. In the centre Śiva, four armed, with trident and cobra, bull on his left and an attendant on right ; to the left of Śiva, is Viṣṇu and to the right a three faced Brahmā.

Both the above-mentioned authorities further take note of smaller shrines at Elura, about a quarter mile farther north of Milkmaid cave, and on the sides of the stream. These smaller shrines have Trimūrtis on the back walls, with round (instead of square) Śāluṅkhās for the Liṅgas, a pretty sure sign of their later date. Moreover, Ankai-Tankai Brahmanical caves (four or five miles south from the Railway station of Chandwar near hill called Ankai) which are three in number, contain a Trimūrti on the back of the wall of the first shrine, somewhat of the style of those in the small caves at Elura. Regarding the date Burgess and Furgussion are of the opinion¹ that it is a very late cave probably of the 10th or 11th century.

Similarly, Karuśā caves, near Karuśā village, 43 miles east of Dhārasinwa, in the South-West of the old Nizam territory, has a Trimūrti in the shrine on the back wall, Śiva in middle, Viṣṇu right and Brahmā left. In the same way we have in another shrine a triad though indistinguishable due to its decayed condition.

Shri M. B. Garbe draws² our attention to an ancient temple in Gadhi (Padhavli) where panels of sculptures adorn the interior part of it, where Śiva, Sūrya, the three principal gods of Hindu Trinity, and Kālī respectively make the Southern, Western, Northern and Eastern friezes. Here it is interesting to note that Śiva and Trimūrti are taken representing different directions. As temple has lost god and door-frame we cannot decide as to which it was dedicated, but it seems to belong to the 10th century A.D.

It is with the help of this and such other icons that Dr. J. N. Banerjee proved³ that the Elephanta Bust of the so-called Trimūrti must be representing the Aghora, Saumya and Umā faces of Śiva. Padhavli sculptures has one of the faces feminine face.

In support of such hypothesis we get another icon⁴ from Kanauj. The central figure is Śiva with the jaṭā and the third eye. He wears an ekāvalī and

¹ The Cave Temples of India, p. 480.

² Archaeology in Gwalior, pp. 112-13.

³ Indo Asian Culture, Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 109.

⁴ Reproduced as fig. 11 in the Bulletin of the Museum and Picture Gallery, Baroda. Vol. X-XI, pp. 22-23.

Nāga-Keyūra. The jaṭā is tied with a fillet in front of which is Cūḍāmaṇi ornament reminiscent of similar crest ornaments of the Kuśāna age. In his left hand, near the chest, he probably carries a Viṇā now partly mutilated. The face on the right is terrific with rolling big eye-balls, a wide open mouth and the third eye. The crescent on the top of the jaṭā was probably meant for this head, which should represent Śiva in his terrific aspect (Rudra or Aghora). The symbol in the raised right hand near this face is indistinct. On the corresponding left side is the third head of this figure. It shows a beautiful round face, a pleasing countenance and probably represents a female face. The symbol held in the hand quite near this face is also indistinct. It is worth noting that an image from Kanauj has a Viṇā, which is neither seen in the Elephanta image nor in the Padhavli one.

The same Bulletin reveals another beautiful three-faced bust from Limbodarā, old Rajpipla State (now Broach District, Gujarat State). This bust is now transferred to the Baroda Museum (Fig. 12). It is carved from redish stone and though defaced, is one of the finest examples of sculptures of this type. The modelling of the faces with elongated eyes, broad forehead, wide cheeks etc. is typical of the early sculptures of the Western School and the specimen dates from C. latter half of the 7th century A. D. The left face is partly defaced which makes it impossible to decide whether one of the faces was a female.

There is a three-headed bust, lying on the banks of Narmadā river near Moṭikoral (the last station on Miyagama-Koral Railway, in Gujarat State), which, it seems, has not attracted special attention of the scholars. The icon has three heads with Jaṭā on all the three, while there are only two ears, common to all the three, showing thereby the unity of all the three. They wear a roundshaped earrings. The image is slightly damaged. Traditionally it is known as either Mātā or Baliā Deva or Vaherāsura, and still it is an object of worship, though the bust lies exposed in the sands of the river.¹

In the same way, a Trimūrti, 20" × 18" in size lies in Kāśīśvanāth Mahādeva Temple at Karvan (Gujarat). It is also a bust just like of Moṭikoral Trimūrti, having jaṭā on all the three heads slightly damaged. But we cannot come to any conclusion out of such images except that even in the Gujarat region the conception about the triple nature of the Absolute had long since been in vogue.

Shri T. A. G. Rao discusses the question of the Śiva trinity according to

¹ It is said that the icon was thrown in the midst of river but again it appeared on the same spot after the flood of a river being subsided, so the people have put it there.

the Śaivāgamas. This trinity has two types; one consists of Maheśamūrti, which, according to the Śaivāgamas, is the fully manifested supreme Śiva and is the cause of creation, protection and destruction, while the other type is that of Trimūrti (Ekapāda or Ekanetra or Ekarudra). According to Aṃśumadbhedāgama these three names are synonyms and their description of the Ekapāda Trimūrti and the other forms of Trimūrti is found in the Uttara Kāraṇāgama while the figure of Maheśamūrti is described at some length in the Suprabhedāgama. It is stated therein that Maheśa should have five heads, out of which four alone should be visible, each of these faces should possess three eyes besides a mouth, a nose and a pair of ears and should have two legs and ten arms. Two of his hands are to be held in the Varada and Abhaya poses while the remaining four ones should keep the Śūla, Paraśu, Vajra and Khaḍga. The remaining left ones should have the Kheṭakas, Aṅkuśa, Pāśa and Ghaṇṭā.¹

The complexion of this aspect of Śiva should be crystal clear having the lustre of the Sun but as cool as the dew or the moon. [Maheśa must be clothed in white garments and should wear a white Yajñopavīta (sacred thread) and should be adorned with all ornaments. By his side should be the figure of Śakti also. It should have three eyes and four arms. On the head there should be Karaṇḍa Mukuta and on the person all ornaments appropriate to women. The waist should be slender, pelvis broad and the breasts high. In the two hands there should be Nilotpala and Akṣamālā while the remaining two should be in Varada and Abhaya poses. She should be depicted standing on the same seat and under the same Prabhāvali as Maheśa on his left.

Ekapāda Trimūrtis are represented in four different ways. According to Uttara Kāraṇāgama one way is that it should be standing erect with one leg upon Padma Pīṭha having three eyes and four hands, two of which should be in Varada and Abhaya poses while the other two in Ṭaṅka and Śūla or Mṛga. On the head should be Jaṭā Mukuṭa. From this figure of Śiva, Viṣṇu from the left side and Brahmā from the right should emerge having Añjali pose of their two hands; while the other two hands of Brahmā must have Sruk and Kamāṇḍalu, and those of Viṣṇu, Śaṅkha and Cakra. There should be a single Prabhāvali for the three and Viṣṇu with Kirīṭa Mukuṭa. The Uttara Kāraṇāgama states further that Brahmā and Viṣṇu should be sculptured according to proportions (Tālamāna) prescribed for female deities.

Another way in which Trimūrti may be represented is that of Brahmā and Viṣṇu issuing from either side of a large Liṅga. Thirdly, all the three with their peculiar characteristics are standing side by side on three separate Padma

¹ EHI, Vol. II, Part II, p. 368 ff.

Piṭhas. Fourthly, there can be three shrines in a temple the middle one containing the Liṅga, the right Brahmā and the left Viṣṇu. Lastly, in a temple consisting of three contiguous shrines (triforium) they may be set up as they were in the previous case. The central figure may also be Nṛtta or some other form of Śiva.

The illustrations of both the types of trinity *viz.* that of Maheśa and Ekapāda are met with in many varieties. Before going into the details, it may be noted that though Maheśamūrti represents the creative, protective and destructive aspects of Śiva, it has five heads, one of which should remain invisible according to the text of Śaivāgamas while one more is actually dropped again as usual in a four-headed icons (fourth supposed to be at the back side). Thus ultimately it has three heads. Moreover, it should have ten arms and the Śakti by his side. In both the types of trinity, Śiva has been given a prominent role.

The most discussed among these is the icon of Maheśa in the Elephanta cave near Bombay, the so-called Trimurti, which has been depicted in the new postal stamps of the Government of India. Before going into the details of the bust, it is interesting to reproduce here the comparison made between the Elephanta bust and those of Elora, near Daulatabad, by Lt. Col. Sykes.¹ “ In 1818 in the banks of a rivulet which falls over the face of Dumar Lena temple, dedicated to Liṅga, I met with numerous, small square excavations, in each of which was a Liṅga standing in the centre of the floor, and to my surprise and gratification, on the wall pointing the entrance, I found sculptured in alto-relief a bust with three faces, similar on all their numerous details of attire and ornament, to those now remaining of the Elephanta bust ; and as many of these busts were quite perfect, there was a most legitimate inference, that the defective parts of the Elephanta bust had a similar correspondence. There was no room for future doubt or hesitation whether or not the bust was that of the Triad : the bust was not the bust of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, but the bust of that popular divinity Śiva himself. The central face with its youthful placid air, the third eye in the forehead, the moon traced up in the cap of the right side, and a human skull in a similar manner on the left side all attributes of Śiva here probably represent him as the generator. On his left is a youthful face, which cannot be mistaken from its feminine traits to be other than that of a female, did not the bracelets on the arms, the looking-glass in the hand and the pencil for applying antimony to the eyelids, eyelashes, eyebrows, place it beyond doubt. Her head-dress is made up of the coils of the terrible Nāga or Cobra de Capella (Cobular Nāg), which is sacred to Śiva and the head of the reptile forms

¹ R. A. S. Old Series Vol. V, p. 81.

the top-knot. Here we have the Śakti or female energy of the god Śiva. In some of the busts it is doubtful whether the death's head belongs to the head-dress of the centre figure or to the female. In case it belongs to the female, combined with Nāg it would identify her with Durgā. The face of the figure on the right is strongly furrowed and lined with traits of violence and passion ; but there is still the symbol of Śiva in the Nāg held up before the face, and the head-attire corresponds with that of the central face. In one hand is held a dish, into which the mouth appears to be blowing or breathing. If the rosary and cocoanut in the hands of the central figure be indicative of preparations for sacrifice to the mystic union of liṅga and yoni placed on the altar before the bust, the proliphic source of all nature, then it may be that this face of Śiva, in his fabled character of breathing fire as the destructor, is supplying this requisite for the sacrifice. Whatever may be thought of these explanations it is at least shown that the bust of Elephanta and those of Ellora are not representations of the Hindu triad of gods—Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. "

Shri J. N. Banerjee read a paper at Ahmedabad,¹ in which he discussed this point of Elephanta icon and in a letter dated 11-2-1955 he expressed his view that the icon was neither a Trimūrti (Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva) nor a Maheśa-Mūrti as suggested by T. A. G. Rao. Its left face is that of a female while the central and the right faces placid and frightful respectively. He takes the first face as that of Umā and other two as representation of Saumya and Aghora aspects of Śiva. Dr. U. P. Shah, while discussing a sculpture from Kanauj, reads² the possibility of the conception behind it as under. Śiva as supreme being has two aspects of Prakṛti and Puruṣa. His one half is male and the other half is female. However, he has raised and noted the difficulty in tracing the Saṃkhya conception in the district (*viz.* Kanauj) where the Pāśupata school predominated.

Shri T. A. G. Rao gives³ the following reasons for taking this icon as Maheśamūrti. Firstly, there are no texts to be found in the whole of the Āgamic or Paurāṇic literature which agree with this piece of sculpture. Secondly, all the three heads bear Jaṭāmukuṭas which under no circumstances can represent Śiva who happens to be one of the members of Trimūrti, for his proper head-dress is kiriṭa-mukuṭa. Thirdly, Brahmā has always four faces and never one. So the supposition that one of the heads is that of Brahmā is also clearly untenable. Fourthly, descriptions of Trimūrti and the icons found thereon, are quite different from this piece of sculpture. Lastly, the icon is found among

¹ Indian History Congress Conference, 1954.

² Bulletin of the Museum and Picture Gallery, Baroda, Vol. X-XI, p. 23.

³ EHI, Vol. II, Part II, p. 382 ff.

many icons representing Lilāmūrtis of Śiva such as Ardha-Nārīśvara, Gaṅgādhara and so on. Moreover, he thinks that icon has six arms because it has only three visible heads. Over and above these, there are different kinds of ear ornaments, which, he says, are sufficient proof against the sculpture being that of Trimūrti. The face on the left side has a more serious look, curling moustaches and a beard, a human skull ornament in Jaṭāmukuṭa and a Sarpakuṇḍala as an ear ornament. The central face has in the ears Makara-Kuṇḍala. Rao takes this face as representing Sadyojāta while the former as Aghora. The remaining face has Śaṅkhatra as its ear ornament. The hands keep cobra Abhaya Mudra pose or Akṣamālā, badly broken and Mātuluṅga while for other hands nothing can be said definitely.

Shri Natesh Ayyar compares¹ the Elephanta image with those from Anadra, from Baro in central India, from Barolli in Udaipur State and from Adbhuta temple at Chitorgarh. The first and the last, he says, bear almost the same attribute and the central figures in both are very much alike making due allowance for the difference in date. The Anadra representation in particular also possesses a striking resemblance to the Elephanta specimen in respect of the face to the proper left. From almost feminine technique of this face Mr. Havell argues² that it is meant to portray Pārvatī. To Shri Ayyar it is Viṣṇu in the role of the mother creation.

Shri T. A. G. Rao illustrates other icons which represent Maheśamūrti besides the Elephanta bust. The first is beautiful figure of stone lying in a field opposite a ruined Śiva temple at Milcheri near Kaverippakkam in the north Arcot District. Though damaged, it has four faces, three of which are seen in the photo. On the crown of the left face could be distinctly seen a big human skull and just below it is the hood of a cobra, whereas the middle head has a beautifully tied up Jaṭāmukuṭa ornamented with jewelled discs, flower garlands and inevitable crescent moon; at the base of this mukuṭa may be noticed a row of five or six spherical objects which appear to be the skulls composing a garland. The third eye is very clearly marked on the forehead of the central face. There are as usual Hāras, Udarabandha and Yajñopavīta. Close to the neck is also a Hāra composed of a snake. In the hands emblems are inferred such as Ḍamaru, sword, Khaṭvāṅga, Abhaya pose, Pāśa, Kheṭaka, Kapāla, something like fruit, and Triśūla or Paraśū. The icon had ten arms while it has the right and left faces pacific and middle terrific. The image is seen seated, having two legs in a comparatively rare posture. It belongs to the later Pallava period, perhaps, to the reign of Nandivarman, son of Dantivarman (about 8th century A.D.).

¹ ASI. 1913-14, p. 278.

² Indian Allegory, Art and Architecture, pp. 6-8.

The next illustration is from Chitorgarh in the old Udaipur State and Marwar (now Rajasthan state). Not a very fine sculpture of art, but with three faces left and the central one being of pacific and that on the right of a terrific type. The third eye is clearly seen in the centre of the forehead of all the three faces, and the figure bear Jaṭāmukuṭā on heads, right head having snakes and also a skull. Right face is that of Aghora as eyes are oblique and starring and mouth gaping, right hands carry one Sarpa Mudrā pose, another something like book and the third Akṣamālā while left hands carry Mātuluṅga, a Kapāla and a Sarpa.

In the same way Maheśamūrti is found near Gokak Falls in the Belgaum district. It is seated in Yogāsana posture and has four faces (three visible) and six arms. The front face is of the terrific aspect and the two side ones are pacific. The hands carry the Śula, Akṣamālā, Ḍamaru, fruit and some other objects not clear from the photo. Burgess notes¹ that on the door of a shrine there is an image of Lakulīṣa and beside it there is an image of Sūrya with three-headed icon in question. This temple faces east and is of an earlier date than the big temple on the south.

We get one Liṅgodbhavamūrti, one of the twenty-five Lilāmūrtis of Maheśa from Haranath, Sikar, Rajputana belonging to Central Rajputana Museum, Ajmer (27037; 7508 E). It is of a limestone and belongs to the second half of the tenth century A. D. It gives a picturesque view as it were of the following story. In the universal night a Fiery Pillar appeared above the waters. Other than the pillar there was nothing; it had no beginning, no end. Brahmā flew into the Empyrean and failed to reach its top; Viṣṇu dived into the depth of the sea and failed to find its bottom. The two great gods thereupon submit to its greatness and become the acolytes of the Fiery Pillar. The Fiery Pillar is Śiva, he reveals in its splendor.

Trimūrti images represented under different names such as Ekapāda, Ekanetra, Ekarudra are illustrated² by Shri T. A. G. Rao. One such Ekapāda Trimūrti is from Jambukeśvaram.³ The place is popularly known as Tiruvanakaval and is two miles away from north of Trichinapoli. Śiva stands in the middle with Brahmā and Viṣṇu to the right and left respectively, with their Vāhanas—Swan, Bull and Garuḍa. Moreover, a yogī with Daṇḍa and Jaṭāmukuṭa is seen nearby praising the Trimūrti. It is said that, at one time, the deity was so powerful that devotees who were not pure in mind and body met with some kind of mishap and that to mitigate the fury of the deity Shri Śaṅkarācārya placed a Tāṭaṅka or Todu (ear-ring) with a disc (Cakra) in her ears.

¹ Cave temples of India, p. 124.

² EHI, Vol. II, Part II, p. 398 ff.

³ Cf. also Southern Indian Shrines, fig. 72.

There is one such figure at Tiruvorriyur. Both the figures have Brahmā and Viṣṇu at the proper right and left sides of Śiva respectively. The difference between the two is that Jambukeśvaram figure has one-legged Śiva in the middle and Brahmā-Viṣṇu-figures have two legs, one of them in each figure is as if issuing from the legs of Śiva ; while Tiruvorriyur figure has three legs one of each deity.

In opposition to this Śaiva view and with an equally strong Paurāṇic authority on their side the Vaiṣṇavas have similarly represented the Supreme God as Viṣṇu with Brahmā and Śiva emanating from Him. It comes from Nagalapuram.¹ But here Viṣṇu, the principal deity, unlike Śiva the principal deity of Ekapāda triad, is not one-legged but has two legs, though the features of the two other deities being issued out of it is common to both. The other difference is that Brahmā is on the left side of the principal deity, while at Jambukeśvaram He was on the right.

Trimūrti having three separate Padmapīṭha for each put together is also met with.²

Lastly we get separate shrines of each deity of a triad. We may cite at such temples found in the old Travancore State (now Kerala State) especially Valiyachalialai temple at Trivendrum and temple at Tiruvallam. Rao notices that the triforium temples are common features of Chalukya Hoysala style of architecture (*e. g.* Dakṣiṇa-Kedāreśvara at Baḷigāmi, Somanāthapur temple and Kedāreśvara temple at Halebīdu). In all these temples we get two Liṅgas in two shrines while in the third Viṣṇu image, the two Liṅgas representing those of Brahmā and Śiva. For the photograph of Kedāreśvara temple please see EC. Vo. V of Hassan District.

Fergusson and Burgess³ notice three Trimūrti icons, most probably all the three representing Śiva in his triple form on the back wall of the shrines. One is at Monidabad or Jogai Ambā in the old Hyderabad territory ; the other two at Nilakaṇṭha and Milk-Maid cave at Elora. The last icon⁴ has many features common to Elephanta bust, thus speaking of the production of the same age.

Henry Coussens notices one temple which is linked with the temple at Kont-Guḍi⁵ having an inscription of 1169 A.D. In each of the three central bases of the ceiling before the shrine, is a finally carved image slab. That in

¹ Cf. EHI. Vol. I, Part I, Plate F, Fig. 2.

² For details Cf. EHI. Vol. I, Part, 1, Plate LXXIV.

³ The Cave Temples of India, pp. 425, 443-5.

⁴ Plate LXXV, fig. 2 in the Cave Temples of India,

⁵ ASI New Series. Vol. XLII, p. 36,

the centre bears a representation of Śiva, that on the north of the centre has Viṣṇu upon Śeṣa and the southern bay is Brahmā. The image of these three deities occur in the panels of the ceilings of several of the oldest temples here. It is interesting to note that the figure presiding upon the door lintel is Garuḍa.

Shri Natesh Ayyar¹ refers to a triple headed-figure in cave No. 17a at Ellora, which holds in one of its hands a fruit, in another a gourd and in the remaining two a mirror and some other article, perhaps of toilet. Similar figures are met with in several other caves at Ellora to which the reference has been made earlier.

The oldest and the most interesting figure is the Trimūrti image in the Peshavar Museum.² It comes from a small village mound Akhun Dherī, situated about 12 miles north of Chārsadda, the ancient Penkelaotis or Puṣkalāvati. The ancient city of Puṣkalāvati is probably identified with the site known as Mīr Ziyārat or Balā Hiṣār at the junction of the Svāt and Kābul rivers in the Peshavar valley. It is of Gāndhāra style but not very distinctively so. It is unique as only example yet discovered in the part of the country. The probable date of the figure is about the beginning of the third century A.D., in other words, the reign of Vāsudeva Kuśāna. Khare and Coomarswami take this figure as that of Maheśa and not of Trimūrti, while Shri Natesh Ayyar considers³ it as Trimūrti of Brahmā (left), Viṣṇu (right) and Śiva (middle). It has six arms and a bull behind it. Three of the attributes in hands are distinct, upper right holding Triśūla, upper left Ḍamaru and lower left Kamaṇḍalu. The god wears earrings, necklace, bracelets, sacred-thread (Yajñopavīta), Dhotī and a scarf covering only left shoulder. Traces of frontal eye of Śiva and of a devotee are seen.

This type of figure is very close to that of Vāsudeva's coin.⁴ Its date is 185-220 A.D. It is made of gold and is collected by Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (No. 35. 469). On the reverse side Śiva, standing, three-faced, four-armed, wearing Dhotī and Yajñopavīta. Lower right hand in Abhayaḥasta, upper right hand with Pāśa, upper left hand with Triśūla, lower left hand with Kamaṇḍalu. Obverse has a king standing at the altar.

One of the panels of fresco found at Dandan Uiliq (Chinese Turkistan) bears on one side a representation of three-headed Maheśa or Sadāśiva, seated on a pair of bulls.⁵ Shri Coomarswami thinks that this form may have had a

¹ ASI. 1913-14, p. 278.

² History of Indian and Indonesian Art. p. 4; cf. also Mūrti Vijñāna p. 168.

³ ASI 1913-14, p. 276 ff.

⁴ Fig. 126 in History of Indian and Indonesian Art, pp. 55 and 238.

⁵ Ibid. Fig. 285, p. 149.

Buddhist significance in this environment probably Lokeśvara. The figure belongs to the period before 8th century A.D.

Dr. Natesh Ayyar draws¹ attention to the triple headed figure in circular medallions in the Śikharas of some of the temples of Bajaura in the Kulu District of the Punjab, about which Dr. Vogel takes the following note: The temple is dedicated to Mahādeva under the name Baheshar (*i.e.* Sanskrit Viśveśvara, meaning the lord of the Universe). The object of worship is a large stone liṅga occupying most of the space in the sanctum. This cella is enclosed within heavy walls from which project four ornamental porches, that to the east containing doorway and the other three each a large niche or chapel which enshrines a well-carved image slab. Each porch is surmounted by an elaborately decorated pediment showing three miniature Śikhara shrines in relief and over the central one a sunk circular medallion containing three faces the one in the middle being shown full and those at the sides half. "This medallion, though a very common device in the temples of the Punjab hills," says Dr. Vogel, "I am unable to explain. It may be either a reproduction of Trimūrti—Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva—or of the last mentioned deity in his triple forms."²

Avantipur sculptures in the Pratapsingh Museum has in two pieces of Śiva trinity. One is a fragment of three-headed Śiva.³ It seems that the figure had four arms but except the left hand which holds what looks like a bamboo rod—judging from the knots—of the trident or the stalk of a lotus, others are broken. The attire consists of a Dhotī and a wrapper which leave the right shoulder free. The garland of flowers is fragmentary but it must have been some such as found in other Avantipur triad images and as that in some Bodhisattva figures.

The other represents⁴ heads of three-headed Śiva in alto-relievo. The hairs are here gathered in an ornamental coiled knot on the top. In both the pieces of sculptures the central and the only pair of ears does duty for all the three heads.

Now we come to the most doubtful, yet the most discussed and at the same time most remote, three-headed icon of a god belonging to Harappa culture. Some seals are found having three-headed god on it from the excavations at Mohenjo-Daro. Sir John Marshall makes⁵ the following observation:—Side by side with this earth or Mother goddess there appears at Mohenjo-Daro a male god, who is recognised at once as a prototype of the historic Śiva. He is strik-

¹ ASI, 1913-14, p. 276 ff.

² ASI, 1910, p. 21.

³ Hand Book of the Museum, Shrinagar, p. 55.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 56.

⁵ Mohenjo-Daro and Indus Valley Civilisation, p. 52 ff.

ingly portrayed on roughly carved seal, which has been recently brought to light by Mackay. The god, who is three-faced, seated on a low Indian throne in a typical altitude of yoga, with legs bent double beneath him, heel to heel, and toes turned downwards. His arms are outstretched, his hands with thumbs to front, resting on his knees. From wrist to shoulder the arms are covered with bangles eight smaller and three larger; over his breast is a triangular pectoral or, perhaps, a series of necklaces or torques like those on the later class of goddess figurines from Baluchistan; and round his waist a double band. The lower limbs are bare and the phallus (Ūrdhva meḍhra) seemingly exposed, but it is possible that what appears to be phallus is in reality the end of the waist band. Crowning his head is a pair of horns meeting in a tall headdress. To either side of the god are four animals, an elephant and a tiger on his proper right, a rhinoceros and a buffalo on his left. Beneath the throne are two deer standing with horns turned to the centre. At the top of the seal is an inscription of seven letters the last of which, for lack of room at the right-hand top-corner, has been placed between the elephant and the tiger. Sir John Marshall takes this figure as a prototype of historic Śiva while Dr. Saletore considers it as Agni figure for some obvious reasons¹ which are again answered by Dr. Moraes² agreeing only on one point that it is three-horned. Shri A. Aiyyappan is of the opinion³ that though the Mohenjo-Daro deity does not possess many of the attributes of the Śiva of modern Hinduism, it indicates his most fundamental qualities in a suggestive way. He concludes that the figure is nearer Śiva than Agni or even Rudra. Shri K. A. Nilakaṇṭha Śāstri⁴ while discussing the question of Śaivism being pre-vedic and non-Aryan in origin criticises Marshall's interpretation vehemently and refutes his points in his (Marshall's) own words and concludes that on the evidence of one roughly carved seal his conclusions regarding the seal having a god, proto-type of Śiva, are rather forced and certainly not so convincing as the rest of the chapter and, therefore, are open to doubt. Shri A. P. Karmarkar, while using the name Ān-Śiva, as designated by Father Heras, agrees with Marshall and considers it a prototype of historic Maheśhmūrti. Moreover, he goes ahead of Marshall in declaring that there is every possibility of the above representations indicating the exact nature of the three cosmogonic functions of God—a fact which is conveyed by the later idea of the Hindu Trinity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva and that the early Mohenjo-Darians had a clear-cut notion regarding a monotheistic god who could act at

¹ New Reviews. 55 X 1939.

² *Ibid.* 55 XI, 1939.

³ JRASB. Vol. V, 1939, Article No. 12.

⁴ Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. II, pp. 20 ff.

once as the creator, preserver and destroyer of the Universe.¹ Sir John Marshall, however, recognising the idea of trinity being old one in India as well as in Mesopotamia doubts that the philosophical idea of the triad associated with the doctrine of the absolute had taken shape at the period of Harappa culture and remarks that the cult of the particular god—call him Śiva or by whatever name—had been amalgamated with other cults and that the fact was signified by giving him three faces instead of one.

As regards the Vaiṣṇava trinity *i. e.* either Viṣṇu in his triple form or he himself being the principal god in the middle of Brahmā and Śiva images, we get a temple dedicated to Trimūrti in Khajurāhā itself in Bundelkhand. It bears an inscription dated 953-54 A. D. The side heads of this Trimūrti are those of lionine and porcine. It is named Vaikuṇṭha in the inscription which contains an invocation explaining the form of the subsidiary heads which the image bears. The invocation runs like this :

दधानानेकां यः किरिपुरुषसिंहो भयजुषं
तदाकारोच्छेद्यां तनुमसुरमुख्यानजवरात् ।
जघान त्रीनुग्राजगति कपिलादीनवतु वः
स वैकुण्ठः कण्ठध्वनिचक्रितनिःशेषभुवनः ॥

“ May that Vaikuṇṭha protect you, who, frightening whole world with his roaring, as boar and as man-lion, slew the three chief Asuras, Kapila and the rest, (who were) terrible in the world, (and who) possessed one body which by the boon of Brahmā, enjoyed freedom from fear (and) could be destroyed (only) by Vaikuṇṭha having assumed these forms. ”

This Trimūrti is four-handed and is, therefore, popularly known as Caturbhuja which in the abstract is correct as it was intended to represent Viṣṇu as the predominant deity, which is apparent from the invocatory salutation recorded at the beginning and the end of the inscription referred to above, running as it does “ Namō Bhagavate Vāsudevāya ” (Adoration to Holy Vāsudeva). It is worth noting that though the inscription contains another invocation ‘ Namaḥ Savitre ’, (adoration to the Sun) after the above-mentioned adoration to Vāsudeva, the figure of Viṣṇu wears no boots, a feature which is seen invariably with the images of the Sun, especially with the Trimūrti images found at Bundelkhand, of which we shall see later on in details.

Dr. V. S. Agrawala notices³ three such figures of Mathura Art. The last of these figures (D. 21. Ht. 3' 9") is peculiar. It is a figure of Viṣṇu stand-

¹ RI. Kar. Vol. I, pp. 65 ff and cf. also Bk. Part I, pp. 328 ff

² IA. Vol. 47, p. 136.

³ A. Cat. of Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art, pp. 6 ff.

ing on lotus. The head and the four arms with attributes are broken. On each side of the main figure are three attendants. Over the last mentioned figure we notice the decorative device of the leograph on the elephant, originally meant as a bracket supporting the projecting ends on the back of the throne. The leograph is supported by Makara heads over which are figures of Brahmā to the proper right and Śiva to the left each accompanied by a female attendant.

The first two of the above-mentioned three figures are exhaustively described by Shri D. B. Diskalkar.¹ One of them is D. 28 of Dr. Vogel's catalogue (height 11½" breadth 4½") and is reproduced on plate 5 of the Journal. It has three heads the central one being that of a man and the right and left being as usual, those of the boar and the lion respectively, the representatives of the Varāha and Narasinha incarnations which are most popular Avatāras of Viṣṇu. Two of the usual four arms are broken but the remaining two hold a conch and a wheel respectively, placed on the heads of two standing attendants who may, therefore, be taken as Śaṅkha and Cakra Puruṣas or personifications of attributes. The Vanamālā is hanging from the shoulders and reaching down knees. Similarly, Yajñopavīta is hanging from the left shoulder so below as to reach the knees. The figure is dressed in a Dhoti with its ample folds hanging down between the legs as in the Bodhisattva figure and in some standing figures of the Kuśān period. There is a halo behind the three heads. Except for the three heads this figure resembles two more fragmentary Viṣṇu figures.²

The other figure, which is a bust and which was found in 1915 from a well at the village of Gosnā (Mathura Museum No. 771. ht. 7½") is another bigger Viṣṇu figure of the same kind. The peculiar feature of this figure is the presence of Varāha head on the right side of the human head and Narasinha on the left. Dr. Agrawala remarks about such images that they may be understood to represent the Viśvarūpa form of Viṣṇu which must have four faces; and the facing head should be that of a man, the head facing south, of Narasinha (man-lion); other two being those of a woman and Varāha.³ But in all such images only three heads are visible one of a woman facing west being conveniently dropped out. Shri D. B. Diskalkar seems to be of the view that such three-headed figures are the natural outcome of the period *viz.* Gupta, when the worship of Narasinha and Varāha incarnations of Viṣṇu became very popular. Both these scholars assign them to the Gupta period. It is noteworthy that Avantipur image of Viṣṇu has a demon's face carved in low relief at the back the image which we are going to discuss presently.

¹ JUPHS. Jan. 1932, Vol. V, Part I, pp. 25 ff.

² No. s. 984 and 840 of Mathura Museum.

³ अग्रतः पुरुषाकारं नारसिंहं च दक्षिणे ।

अपरं स्त्रीमुखाकारं वराहास्यं तथोत्तरम् ॥

Similarly, another sculpture is reproduced ¹ which is not in the collection of the Shrinagar Museum but is very similar to the Avantipur Trimūrti described as similar to that one of Mathura Museum. Viṣṇu is crowned with elaborately jewelled three-peaked tiara. His hair is arranged in very neatly frizzled curly braids which fall regularly upon his shoulders. He wears a diamond necklace and armlets. The long loose garland of Mandāra flowers falls down nearly up to his ankles. The Tilakā (Brahmanical caste mark) on his forehead is reminiscent of the Buddhist Urṇā. The auspicious symbol, Śrīvatsalāñchana, adorns his breast. The sacred thread which runs over the left shoulder and under the right arm is worn according to the orthodox Brahmin fashion. The upper two hands hold a full-blown lotus and a conch, and the lower two are placed upon the heads of two chaurie-bearers, the right hand one of whom is a female and that on the left, a male. The god is clad in Dhotī which is fastened round the waist with a girdle ornamented with a jewelled clasp. From the girdle a dagger is seen hanging. A scarf is thrown across the hips. In between the feet of Viṣṇu springs the bust of the Earth-goddess, whose upturned face is rapt in adoration of her Lord and Master. The whole group is carved out of a single block of marble and inserted with a tenon into the pedestal which is also of marble, though of an inferior quality.

The last statuette which was purchased from a silversmith and its provenance being unknown, is very similar to the preceding sculptures.² The difference is only in a few details *e. g.* the greater elaborateness of the necklace, the armlet and the girdle, and the absence of the dagger; the left hand of the female attendant, which in the preceding examples leaves her breasts free, here conceals one of them; the male attendant instead of carrying a chaurie, has substituted a fan for it.

Shri M. B. Garbe notices³ a temple dedicated either to Viṣṇu or Trimūrti the remains of which have been unearthed in recent excavations. The date of these ruins seems to be 8th or 9th century A. D. judging from the carving or the door-frames of these temples which has survived.

Two Viṣṇu images, one from Sāhō in Chambā State and the other in Lahul, both belonging to pre-Muhammadan period resemble in many respects the Avantipur image though the former images are somewhat later than the latter. Of these one from Sāhō is reproduced on Pl. XXXIX of Dr. Vogel's *Antiquities of Chambā State* p. 248, while the other from Lahul, is yet unpublished. (Referred to by Dayā Rām Sahni in *ASI. 1913-14*, p. 45). The god has three faces,

¹ JUPHS. Jah. 1932, Vol. V, Part 1, p. 50.

² *Ibid*, p. 52.

³ *Archaeology of Gwalior*, p. 93.

the side ones being those of a lion and a boar. The halo is besmeared with Ganges-sand (Gaṅgoṭhī). The deity is standing with two of his four hands resting on the heads of a pair of miniature chowrie-carriers. Of the two remaining hands the right one holds a lotus-flower and the left one is broken. The bust of a female figurine issues from the base between his feet. About this female figurine Dr. Vogel was informed that it was Laxmī but it is more probably Bhūmi Devī as we have seen above. Behind the chowrie-bearers a second pair of attendants is visible. The rest of the slab is carved with miniature figures all of which are more or less defaced. The two four-armed figurines seated on both sides of the head of Viṣṇu appear to be Brahmā and Śiva, thus indicating him as the principal person of the Hindu Triad. The remaining figures are ten incarnations of Viṣṇu according to Dr. Vogel and fish, tortoise, Rāma, Kalki etc., are slightly distinguished while the other figures are too indistinct to be identified.

The last mentioned figure from Sāhō is again similar to the inscribed brass statue of Viṣṇu from Fatepur, Kangra district, now preserved in the Lahore Museum.¹

The only Trimūrti having a figure of Brahmā in the middle as principal deity is found² in Muni Bhāvā's temple, four miles from Thān in the South in Saurashtra in the Gujarat State. The temple faces east and has been dedicated to Śiva. The images that occupied the three principal niches outside the shrine walls are particularly interesting, for it happens to be the above-mentioned Trimūrti with Brahmā as principal deity (pls. Liii, Lxvii) though Brahmā's face has been split off. But the outline of the fracture seems to show that it had a beard, which almost always adorns the chin of that deity. Moreover, he holds in one hand his Mālā or rosary, and in the other (left) the waterpot, which, though, like the face, broken away, can easily be made out by the outline of the fracture. The face on his left is that of Rudra before which he holds up the hooded cobra, while the other face is probably that of Viṣṇu, but the hand holding his symbol has been damaged. The image is missing from the north niches, but that in the south one, though much defaced, may be recognised as that of Śiva, from the bull beneath his left knee. Henry Coussans is of the opinion that this is a much earlier temple than those of Somanāth Pāṭan and others of that period.

Many times the Sūrya is substituted for Brahmā and we get Trimūrti of Sūrya, Śiva and Viṣṇu. Traces have been found at Bajramath (south-west of Gyaraspur, Gwalior in the Madhya Bharata State) though the three shrines

¹ For details cf. ASI. 1904-5, p. 109.

² ASI. Imperial Series, Vol. XLV, p. 52.

dedicated formerly to Brahmanical gods inferred from sculpture on the door-frame of the shrine and in the niches on the basement are now occupied by Jaina idols. It was the temple in which three principal gods of the Hindu Trinity were combined. The central shrine is sacred to Sūrya, who is often substituted for Brahmā, the southern to Viṣṇu and the northern to Śiva. It is worth noting that here we get in a row triple shrines for the three gods. The carving of the doorway, is exceptionally fine and vigorous. The Śikhara of the temple is also as unusual as its plan.

Rai Bahadur Hiralal draws attention to such a figure in which the triple nature of the sun is represented. This Trimūrti is from Bangaon in Bundelkhanda. It ¹ "actually represents the sun with all his emblems and accomplishments". In front of the standing figure, there is the broken image of Chāyā, (sun's wife) below which sits the Sārathī or chariot-driver holding reins of the seven horses, of whom only three can be seen, the rest being broken. There are three side figures the bull-faced Mahādeva in a sitting posture surmounted by Viṣṇu standing with feminine grace and holding the Gadā (Mace) in his hand, while on the opposite side stands the bearded Brahmā, all these three combining into the main figure of the Sun described before. At the top there are figures of two females shooting with bow and arrow apparently the wives of the sun who along with Chāyā form the three Śaktis or counter parts of the Hindu Triad. Shri Hiralal bases his arguments for taking this image as that of the Sun on the following lines. He quotes Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar ² on the sect of Sauras. "Some worship the orb of the sun who has just arisen as Brahmadeva, the creator, others the sun on the meridian as Īśvara, the destroyer. He is also regarded as originator. Some regard the setting sun as Viṣṇu, the protector, and considering him as the cause of the creation and destruction also and as the highest entity worship him. There are some who resort to all the three suns as a triple form." Moreover, as the minute scrutiny of the image has shown, the wearing of boots in a Peshavar fashion and as such the images of the sun are met with, we should take this image as that of the Sun. The figure has eight hands. But it is also possible that Viṣṇu being the most predominant deity of the triad in Bundelkhand (which Shri Hiralal also noted) it may in one form or another represent Viṣṇu images, as described by Varāhamihira. Varā-

¹ Reproduced in Plate II, IA, Vol. 47.

² Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and other Minor Sects. p. 152. *cf.* also 'Within the flaming orb is recognised the god Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) whose body is golden, who assumes the form of Brahmā in the morning, Maheśvara (Śiva) in the mid-day and Viṣṇu in the evening. "South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses p. 236.

hamihira describes a Viṣṇu image as one of 8, 6, 4 or even two hands and among the trimūrtis found in Bundelkhand, Khajurāhā trimūrti has four hands, while Maḍhiā and Bangaon have six and eight hands respectively.

Kshitish Chandra Sarkar discusses¹ an image from Varendra which he takes as representation of Mārtaṇḍa Bhairava according to the Dhyāna given in Śāradātilaka, though there are some variations in figure and the Dhyāna. The figure is different even from the Bundelkhand image in many details, specially in the bearded and fiercely looking face of Bhairava. Varendra has three heads and ten arms while the Dhyāna of Śāradātilaka mentions four heads and eight arms.

The image from Varendra² is a sculpture in high relief on a stone slab measuring 3' × 1' 6½" almost in a fair state of preservation with slight mutilations. The two forearms which held the lotus stalk are knocked off. The face of the main figure and the crown have undergone slight mutilations. The image being three-faced, three-eyed with Jaṭāmukuṭa and having six existing arms with Praharāṇas or distinctive emblems in each hand is peculiar and becomes complex when it indicates from the broken stumps that it had originally ten arms. In its left hands the image holds a serpent (Nāgapāśa ?) a Ḍamaru, drum or Kaumudī or Nilotpala and a full blown lotus, and again in the right hands it holds Khaṭvāṅga, a trident, a Śakti and a full blown lotus. The image has a pointed nimbus with a kīrtimukha at the top and two flying Vidyādhara on two sides of it. At the back it shows three lines of frames tapering towards the top and some lines of frames are also visible in the middle. It is richly bejewelled but does not wear any breast plate armour (Kañcuka) but a thin scarf is shown crossed over the chest. It wears elaborate carved ornaments—Kaṇṭhahāra, Karṇakaṇḍala, Śīrobandha and Kaṭibandha. There is a Yajñopavīta (sacred thread) on its person. The pointed Tilaka is visible in the main figures' forehead. Each of the other two faces on the left of the main figure also wears Jaṭāmukuṭa, has three eyes and one of the two is shown as bearded and the whole range of teeth exposed. The main deity stands erect with a full blown lotus or Padmapīṭha. A small dagger passes through the girdle and is attached to the right of the image but no sword on the left is clearly shown as noticed in other Sūrya images, although something like the hilt of the sword appears to be represented. The top of the boot is curled up.³ On either side of the image are two female figures in the archer pose shooting arrows (perhaps

¹ IHQ. Vol. 6 pp. 469-70.

² AIOC. VI, 1930 Patna, p. 244.

³ As regards the boots of the sun, Sarkar observes that he has not come across any text in which there is any mention of such boots to be used by the Sun-god. However, he gives the story, from the Purāṇa regarding the Sun and

to dispel darkness). These are Uṣā and Pratyusā. On the two extreme right of the image is a bearded figure, who holds a pen and inkstand, probably either noting the progress of the sun or recording good and bad deeds of people as Vidhātā Puruṣa. But he is commonly known as Piṅgala. On the left of the image again stands a figure grasping the handle of a sword. There are again two female figures holding the fly whisks in their hands. These are probably two of the four consorts of the Sun-god viz. Rājñī, Suvarṇā, Suvarcasā and Chāyā. On a Padmapīṭha in front of the main image stands Goddess Earth-Pṛthvī or according to the BVP Mahāśvetā. In front of this, again, is represented the thighless (an-Ūra) Aruṇa with wings and raised up locks of hair like those of his brother Garuḍa driving a hexagonal (Ṣaḍasra) chariot riding on a Makara-head (chariot of Surya being Makaradhvaja). The pedestal is carved with seven horses which may symbolise the seven rays of the sun or the spectrum or seven metres of the Vedas¹.

Shri H. Krishna Shastri refers to a figure from Chidambaram (fig. 144 Shastri's South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses) which represents a type of Sūrya as composed of Brahmā, Maheśvara and Viṣṇu but observes that the symbols held in the hands do not clearly indicate the same.²

To these composite forms of Sūrya we may add here one figure of a four-faced Liṅgam of the Indian Museum. It has four faces representing Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Sūrya and Śiva. Such figures indicate the fact that Sūrya was also forming one of the predominant parts in the composite forms of the principal gods of Hinduism.

A unique figure is preserved in a niche on the shrine of Limboji Mātā at Dilmāl.³ Dilmāl is about 16 miles S. S. W. from Pāṭan and 10 miles W. N. W.

Sureṇu, Sun's wife who went away to her father to avoid, the excessive heat of the Sun and subsequently Viśvakarmā put the Sun to his lathe on the consent of the Sun to have a beautiful form. Moreover, he gives another hypothesis about the so-called boots, which may probably be nothing but the final shed outlines of Surya's uncarved legs or perhaps the sign of his Udīcyaveśa given according to the Bṛhatsaṃhitā and the M.P. the same sources in which the direction about uncarved legs is given.

¹ Sūrya is also supposed to be the manifest form of the three Vedas and as such the seven rays are accordingly interpreted as the seven metres of the Vedas. The seven metres are Gāyatrī, Bṛhatī, Uṣṇik, Jagatī, Anuṣṭubh, Pañkti, and Triṣṭubh. (KP).

² South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses, p. 236.

³ Fig. 73. The Archaeology of Gujarat, p. 163-4, cf. also Plate. LXXX. 7 of ASI. New Imperial Series Vol. 32, p. 87.

from Moḍherā in North Gujarat. It is seated on Garuḍa with legs crossed in front, below which are shown small figures of a Haṃsa and a lion or a tiger. The figure has three heads (or the fourth at the back), the middle one has a crown similar to that of Sūryas from Siddhapur and Dhāñk. The side heads have different headgears. It seems to have had eight hands four of which are broken; of the extant hands, the lower right is in Varadamudrā, the left holds a Kamaṇḍalu; and above these the broken hands held a lotus each, which are seen even now; the back hands hold (right) triśūla, (left) a triple hooded serpent; on the chest is perhaps a Kavaca. On the feet impressed boots can clearly be seen. Dr. Sankalia takes this figure as combining Brahmā, Śiva and Sūrya with a greater emphasis on Sūrya. Coussens and Burgess consider two possibilities here. It may either combine Sūrya with Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmā or it may represent a Vaiṣṇava Trimūrti with Sūrya Nārāyaṇa as the central figure seated on his vehicle Garuḍa. Taking these emblems into consideration they may say that the boots, Viyaṅga or belt and two lotuses represent Sūrya, Nārāyaṇa's hands are broken, but Garuḍa is his vehicle, the triśūla or trident and triplehooded serpent belong to Śiva; and the left hand holding Kamaṇḍalu or drinking vessel, and right hand open, belong to Brahmā as does the vehicle the Haṃsa or Swan just below the sculpture. It is, however, difficult to say whether the other animal is intended for the seven-headed horses of Sūrya or the Nandi of Śiva. It may be seen that the representation of Vāhanas slightly resembles the Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha, though each figure is distinct there. Stylistically the sculpture appears to belong to about 1200 A. D.

Coming to the actual sculptures of Dattātreya, the Indian Trinity incarnate, we find that there are three different ways in which the deity is represented.¹ The first manner of representation is to have Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva sculptured standing side by side. The second manner in which Dattātreya is sculptured is Viṣṇu in the Yoga posture, and his triple nature is indicated by the Lāñchanas, the characteristic emblems viz. the Swan, the Garuḍa and the Bull of the three gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva respectively, carved on the pedestal, which is a Padmāsana. The third way which is evidently a more modern way, in which Dattātreya is represented as a human being with three heads and four arms and attended by four dogs of different colours, said to represent the four Vedas, and also by a bull.

This view is not accepted by some scholars² for in their view the three gods put side by side do not mean Dattātreya. Our attention is drawn to one

¹ EHI, Vol. I, Part I, p. 251 ff.

² Mūrti Vijñāna, p. 16 ff.

image from Badāmi representing Dattātreyā in the second way,¹ which has been described in detail even by Rao.

Regarding the illustrations Shri T. A. G. Rao makes the following observation.² The gods in the first manner in which Dattātreyā is sculptured are very similar to their ordinary images. It is Dattātreyā sculptured on a wall of the Hoysaleśvara temple at Halebidu. Here the figure of Brahmā is seen to carry in its upper right hand the Sruk and the Sruva, in the lower right hand the Akṣamālā, the upper left hand the Pāśa and the lower left hand Kamaṇḍalu. The figure of Śiva carries the Śūla and Ḍamaru in the two hands. The figure of Viṣṇu bears in its four hands Padma, Gadā, Cakra and Śaṅkha. The figures of Śiva and Viṣṇu are each associated with a Devī but Brahmā has no goddess by his side.

The first variety of the representation of Dattātreyā is given a somewhat novel turn where the three deities are each seated respectively on a Padmāsana supported on Swan, Garuḍa and Bull forming their distinctive vehicles. Brahmā has Utkāṭikāsana his middle face has a beard and his two crossed legs are supported by Yogapaṭṭa, which is a broad ribbon tightened round the body and the legs. The right upper hand is broken, in other hands are seen Pustaka, Kamaṇḍalu and Akṣamālā. Upper and lower right hands of Viṣṇu are broken, the left hand carries Cakra and Śaṅkha (the right hand, probably, might have Gadā and Padma). Śiva's right hands are broken. It is evident that the upper right hand held in it a Śūla. Though damaged, this is a remarkable piece of sculpture belonging to the Rajputana Museum at Ajmer. The sculptor has executed his work in a very finished style and it is almost perfect in every detail.

In the second manner, the figure of Viṣṇu may be seen to have a Jaṭā-Mukuṭa on the head, and a few Jaṭās or ropes of matted hair also shown to be hanging down from it. The Cakra and the Śaṅkha are in two hands, while his other two hands rest upon the crossed legs in the Yogamudrā pose. On the Prabhāvali the ten Avatāras of Viṣṇu are carved. It may also be noted that in the right ear Dattātreyā wears Sarpakuṇḍala which is characteristic of Śiva and in the left ear the Makarakuṇḍala which is characteristic of Viṣṇu. This piece of sculpture belongs to Badāmi and may well be assigned to the later Cālukya period. It is a remarkably well, finished work of sculpture and is very pleasing in its effect in exhibiting the peace and calmness which it is intended to convey. Shri G. H. Khare opines that Dattātreyā being the incarnation of Viṣṇu, Garuḍa-figure should be carved in the middle, but here it is carved first and a bull in the middle. But this, it seems, is perhaps due to sect of either the sculpture or the donee who gave prominence to his own god.

¹ Mūrti Vijñāna, p. 16 ff.

² EHI. Vol. I, Part I, p. 251 ff.

There is another illustration of the same variety as the above, but here the image is standing. It carries in its hands Śūla, Cakra, the Kamaṇḍalu and, perhaps, Akṣamālā. It may be noticed that the Padma, the Garuḍa and the bull, the characteristic emblems of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva respectively are carved on the pedestal. On the either side stand a few figures which appear to be some devotees.

It should be noted that the third variety shown by Rao which he takes to be modern is said to have four hands but the usual pictures and idols show six hands to which reference has been made by Janārdana Swāmī, Ekanātha, Tukārāma, Vāsudevānanda Sarasvatī and other saints.

With these icons mentioned above, there are some Dhyāna ślokas in books mentioned by the writers on iconography. Shri T. A. G. Rao quotes the following two from the Dattātreya Kalpa :

मन्दारमूले मणिमण्डपस्थितं
सुवर्णदानैकनिचद्वदीक्षम् ।
ध्यायेत्परीतं नवनाथसिध्दै-
र्दारिद्र्यदावानलकालमेघैः ॥

व्याख्यामुद्रां करसरसिजे दक्षिणे संदधानो
जानुन्यस्ता वरकरसरोजातवामोन्नता सः ।
ध्यानाधारात्सुखपरवशादर्धमामीलिताक्षो
दत्तात्रेयो भसितधवलः पातु नः कृत्तिवासाः ॥

The second verse is also quoted in Śrītattvanidhi p. 60. The Ag. P. (49. 27) gives the following :

वामपादो धृतः शेषे दक्षिणः कूर्मपृष्ठगः ।
दत्तात्रेयो द्विबाहुः स्याद्द्वामोत्संगे श्रिया सह ॥

VDP (III. 45. 64-5) says that Dattātreya should be sculptured exactly like Vālmīki

वाल्मीकिरूपं सकलं दत्तात्रेयस्य कारयेत् ।

and Vālmīki is described thus :

गौरस्तु कार्यो वाल्मीकिर्जटामण्डलदुर्दशः ।
तपस्याभिरतः शान्तो न कृशो न च पीवरः ॥

Rūpa Maṇḍana, Aparājitaṭṭhā (p. 545) and Devatāmūrti Prakaraṇa (VI. 42 ff) give the Dhyānamantra of Hari Hara Pitāmaha (i. e. Dattātreya) with variants meaning the same as follows :

एकपीठसमारूढमेकदेहनिवासिनम्
 षड्भुजं च चतुर्वक्त्रं सर्वलक्षणसंयुतम् ।
 अक्षसूत्रं त्रिशूलं च गदां चैव तु दक्षिणे
 कमण्डलुं च खट्वाङ्गं चक्रं वामभुजे तथा ॥

The Devatāmūrti Prakaraṇa has two varieties of Hari Hara Pitāmaha. The first line read as

एकपीठसमारूढतनु (त्येक ? त्रय) निवासिनम् ।

The other characteristics, however, remain the same. Moreover, it takes note of the combination of all the three principal deities with the Sun :

चतुर्वक्त्रमष्टबाहुं चतुष्कैकनिवासिनम् ।
 ऋद्धामुखगतः कार्यः पद्महस्तो दिवाकरः ॥
 खट्वाङ्गत्रिशूलहस्तो रुद्रो दक्षिणतः शुभः ।
 कमण्डलुश्चाक्षसूत्रमपरे स्यात्पितामहः ॥
 शङ्खचक्रधरो हरिः वामे चैव तु संस्थितः ।
 एवं विधेय (?) कर्तव्यं सर्वकामफलप्रदम् ॥

The Mānabhāva sect follows the Dhyāna of Dattātreyā according to the Śa.Up., which runs as follows :

दत्तात्रेयं शिवं शान्तमिन्द्रनीलनिभं प्रभुम् ।
 आत्ममायारतं देवमवधूतं दिगम्बरम् ॥
 भस्मोद्धूलितसर्वाङ्गं जटाजूटधरं विभुम् ।
 चतुर्बाहुमुदाराङ्गं प्रफुल्लकमलेक्षणम् ॥

While later on in the last century, with tradition on its side, we get a Dhyānamantra from Vāsudevānanda Sarasvatī, which became a source of all the modern pictures and idols, though there may be found a change in symbols here and there. It runs as follows :

मालाकमण्डलुरधः करपद्मयुग्मे
 मध्यस्थपाणियुगले डमरुत्रिशले ।
 यस्य स्त ऊर्ध्वकरयोः शुभशङ्खचक्रे
 वन्दे तमत्रिवरदं भुजषट्कयुक्तम् ॥

Where as Raṅgāvadhūta invokes as :

काषायवाससमजं कमलाक्षमेकं
 मालाकमण्डलुधरं रमणीयलीलम् ।
 गोश्वानक्रीडनपरं निगमान्तकेलिं
 देवत्रयात्मकमहं सततं नतोऽस्मि ॥

‘रङ्ग—हृदयम्, p. 53.’

While the Dattātreyā Stotra from the NP describes¹ him as under :

जटाधरं पाण्डुरङ्गं शूलहस्तं कृपानिधिम् ।
 सर्वरोगहरं देवं दत्तात्रेयमहं भजे ॥
 अदौ ब्रह्मा मध्ये विष्णुरन्ते देवः सदाशिवः ।
 मूर्तित्रयस्वरूपाय दत्तात्रेय नमोऽस्तु ते ॥
 शूलहस्तगदापाणे वनमालासुकन्दर ।
 यज्ञध्वजधर ब्रह्मन् दत्तात्रेय नमोऽस्तु ते ॥

Nārada says in SKP²

मुण्डनं कौपिनं भस्म योगपद्मं च धारयन् ।
 शैली शृङ्गी तथा मुद्रा दण्डपात्राजिनासनम् ॥
 कन्था टोपं च धारी च सिद्धो हि भ्रमते मही ।
 कर्णकुण्डलधारी च कण्ठमाला च पादुके ॥
 अत्रिज देवदेवेश मातुलिङ्गधरः प्रभुः ।
 सर्वसौभाग्ययुक्तश्च भक्तानामीप्सितप्रदः ॥

The same source³ quotes one from Brm. P :

दिगम्बरं भस्मसुगन्धलेपनं
 जटाजूटं दण्डकमण्डलुधरम् ।
 पद्मासनस्थं च शशिसूर्यनेत्रं
 दत्तात्रेयं ध्यानमभीष्टसिद्धिदम् ॥

There is, again, an image of Dattātreyā in a cave close by the rock-cut temples on the sea side in the Tinnevely District.⁴ These caves are near the temple of Subrahmanyam at Tiruchchendur 18 miles to the south-east of Shri-vaikuntam in Tinnevely District (South India). The image is worshipped even today.

The attention of the scholars have not gone to a most interesting icon of Dattātreyā which is in a temple-cave just on the bank of Narmadā river at Broach (Gujarat State). The idol having three heads and six hands is peculiar and unique in the sense that one of the hands is on the phallus. The hands on the left have Cakra, Śaṅkha and Vyākhyāna Mudrā while the two right ones hold Kamaṇḍalu and phallus and the last one has Varada pose. Cakra and Śaṅkha represent Viṣṇu, Vyākhyāna Mudrā and Kamaṇḍalu, the Brahmā and the rest signify Śiva. The sculptor, no doubt, has Trimūrti in mind and probably

¹ Bṛhatstotra Ratnākara.

² Guru Gītā Stotra-Cintāmaṇi, Parts I-II, p. 67.

³ *Ibid.* p. 68.

⁴ Southern Indian Shrines p. 215.

Dattātreyā because one of the Dhyānamantras of Dattātreyā, quoted above, contains a reference to Vyākhyāna Mudrā of Dattātreyā. Moreover, we find an inscription¹ dated Mārṅasīrṣa Śukla the second of 1863 (Vikram Era) *i.e.* 1807 A. D. and it is written on the gate-wall surrounding the compound of the temple. In this inscription the idol is stated to be that of Dattātreyā, which was found in the ancient cave in the temple of Dattātreyā which was built in 1807 A. D. Thus, from the inscription we can conclude that when the temple of Dattātreyā was built, an old idol, *i.e.* the present idol of Dattātreyā under consideration was found from the cave quite accidentally when the foundations of the temple were dug out. The idol looking from its style, stone etc. can very well be assigned to the period during 12th or 13th century. It is an object of worship consistent with the new idol of Dattātreyā.

There is, again another idol, called Dattātreyā having three heads and eight hands, still worshipped in the temple of Rāma near Bhadra in Pāṭaṇ near Siddhapur (North Gujarat) in Gujarat State. The idol though a modern imitation of the old style and belongs to the late medieval period is peculiar in the sense that it has eight hands. The characteristic emblems in all the eight hands are as under: The right hands hold Ḍamaru, Śaṅkha, Padma and Kamaṇḍalu while left ones, Cakra, Pustaka, Gadā and Kāmadhenu. The last emblem is rather peculiar. We can very well construe Kamaṇḍalu and Pustaka as representing Brahmā, Ḍamaru and Kāmadhenu Śiva and the rest signifying Viṣṇu. As regards the question of mal-distribution of emblems, it can be said that Dattātreyā being an incarnation of Viṣṇu, prominence might have been shown by giving him all his four hands. In the same way, Kāmadhenu which is also, liked by Śiva is here a substitute for his usual Triśūla. The idol has its four hands resting on the four small figures standing with folded hands called Veda-Puruṣas. They are not the Vyūhas of Viṣṇu as the hands resting on their heads contain the Kamaṇḍalu and Pustaka besides Padma and Cakra. They, thus, represent the four Vedas, usually represented in the form of four dogs round the icon of Dattātreyā. It is worth noting that though prominence is given to Viṣṇu by giving him all the four hands with characteristic emblems, the Ruṇḍa Mālā and the serpent in the neck, favour Śiva.

Both the above-mentioned icons prove the fact that though worship of Dattātreyā is found prominently in Mahārāṣṭra, it is not exclusively confined to that region.

¹ The inscription in Gujarati language and script runs as under :

આ મંદિર મહારાજ જાનકીદાસ ગુરુના વરદાન છે । આ મંદિરમાંથી એક પુરાનું ભોંયરું નિકળેલું છે ।
 એ ભોંયરામાં ગુરુ દત્તાત્રેય મહારાજની મૂર્તિ છે । એ મંદિરનું નવું બાંધકામ સંવત્ ૧૮૬૩ના માગસર સુદી ૨
 થયું છે ।

CHAPTER III

DATTĀTREYA IN THE UPANIṢADS.

The name Dattātreya is highly spoken of in the Upaniṣads. Though we do not get any reference in the principal ancient Ups like Chāndogya and Bṛhadāraṇyaka etc. we find his name with many Upaniṣadic personalities highly respected as Paramahamsas like Śvetaketu, Ṛbhu, Jaḍabharata and Āruni. We get four lists in this connection. The JUp. refers to Saṃvartaka, Āruni, Śvetaketu, Durvāsas, Ṛbhu, Nidāgha, Jaḍabharata, Dattātreya, Raivataka and such others (Prabhṛtayah); while the NPU. gives the list as under : Śvetaketu, Ṛbhu, Nidāgha, Ṛṣabha, Durvāsas, Saṃvartaka, Dattātreya, Raivataka. The list in Yājñavalkya Up. is akin to that of the JUp. except the omission of the name Jaḍabharata after Nidāgha, of Raivataka after Dattātreya, and the addition of the names of Śuka, Vāmadeva, Hāritaka and others after Dattātreya. The Bhikṣuka Up. supplies the fourth list. It omits like Yājñavalkya Up. from the list of JUp., the names of Durvāsas, Ṛbhu and Nidāgha after Śvetaketu and Raivataka after Dattātreya while adds, at the end, the names which are found in Yājñavalkya.

In all the lists except that given in Bhikṣuka Up., all are spoken of as Avyaktaliṅga, Avyaktācāra, Bālonmattapiśācavat, Unmatta yet Anunmatta because they only behave like Unmatta but really they are not so and they are spoken as having renounced all the external signs of a Sanyasin. Moreover, in the dialogues the name of Dattātreya is further connected with Nārāyaṇa, Brahmā, Atharvā, Yājñavalkya, Nārada, Sāṃkṛti, Śāṇḍilya, Atri and with many other Ṛṣis beginning with Saunaka (Saunakādayah). Thus, in the DUp., Brahmā asks Nārāyaṇa about the name which uplifts a worshipper, and Nārāyaṇa advised him to worship his abode which embodies Satya, Ānanda and Cit. Brahmā, who meditated on Dattātreya who is Viṣṇu and who again is Nārāyaṇa, taught the Up. Thus Brhmā becomes the narrator of DUp. In the NPU., Nārada asks Brahmā about Sanyasin and his duties and thus we see again Brahmā as a narrator though in the beginning the Up., appears in the form of a dialogue between Nārada and Saunaka and others. In the JDU. and Avadhūta Up. we have Sāṃkṛti as the disciple of Dattātreya while, in JUp. Atri asks Yājñavalkya about real Sanyasin's nature and distinction. Śa. Up. contains a dialogue between Śāṇḍilya and Atharvā where the former asks the latter about Yoga in the first chapter, about Ātmā in the second, and about the forms of Brahman in the third.

Śa. Up. in its third chapter gives an explanation of the term Dattātreya one of the four epithets of the Absolute the other three being. Param Brahma,

Ātmā and Maheśvara. It refers to the penance of Atri who was desirous of having a son and the Absolute who was Jyotirmaya and lustrous was himself born as a son to Atri and Anasūyā.¹ Moreover, while defining Ātmā, it refers to the three actions of creating, protecting and destroying all creatures.² The position of Yoga in the first chapter and the Ātmajñāna and Brahmajñāna in the remaining two chapters and also the tendency to divide the functions of the Absolute as found in the definition of Ātmā and the answer to a question of Śaṇḍilya to Atharvā regarding doubts that Brahmā being one he cannot perform the three functions and the quotation of verses with various epithets of Dattātreya at the end—all these suggest the probability of connection between the three functional aspects of the Absolute transferred to Dattātreya in a combined form who himself is spoken of as identical with the Absolute in the Up. Moreover, we find that the verses are quoted with phrase “Here are some ślokas” (Atraite Ślokā Bhavanti) suggesting thereby the antiquity of their origin.³ One who constantly worship Dattātreya, who is the god of gods, ancient, auspicious, peaceful with a body like Indranīla stone, one with his own Māyā, the lord of the world, Avadhūta, naked, with ashes all over the body, with matted hair on head, all-pervading, having four hands and a beautiful body, with eyes like a full-blown lotus, a storehouse of Yoga and knowledge, the preceptor of the world, dearest to Yogins, merciful to devotees, witness to all and worshipped by Siddhas, becomes free from all sins and attains ultimate liberation. It is this Dhyāna⁴ which is followed by the Mahānubhāva sect

¹ Śa. Up. iii: यस्मात्सुदुश्चरं तपस्तप्यमानात्रये पुत्रकामायातितरां तुष्टेन भगवता ज्योतिर्मये-
नात्मैव दत्तो यस्माच्चानसूयामत्रैस्तनयोऽभवत्तस्मादुच्यते दत्तात्रेय इति ।

² यस्मात्सर्वमाप्नोति सर्वमादत्ते सर्वमिति च तस्मादुच्यते आत्मेति । Śa. Up. iii. यश्च विश्वं
सृजति विश्वं विभर्ति विश्वं भुङ्क्ते स आत्मा । *Ibid.* ii.

³ One may be induced to take these of considerable antiquity as far as the metre of the third śloka is concerned for we have there a Paramparita metre, not even dividing the śloka in usual eight—syllabic Pāda.

⁴ Śa. Up. iii:

दत्तात्रेयं शिवं शान्तमिन्द्रनीलनिभं प्रभुम् ।
आत्ममायारतं देवमवधूतं दिगम्बरम् ॥ १
भस्मोद्धूलितसर्वाङ्गं जटाजूटधरं विभुम् ।
चतुर्बाहुमुदाराङ्गं प्रफुल्लकमलेश्वरम् ॥ २
ज्ञानयोगनिधिं विश्वगुरुं योगिजनप्रियम् ।
भक्तानुकम्पिनं सर्वसाक्षिणं सिद्धसेवितम् ॥ ३
एवं यः सततं ध्यायेद्देवदेवं सनातनम् ।
स मुक्तः सर्वपापेभ्यो निःश्रेयसमवाप्नुयात् ॥ ४

where Dattātreyā is worshipped as Mahāviṣṇu having one head and four hands though in the Dhyāna itself he is never referred to as Viṣṇu. In the same way JD.Up. begins with the Dhyāna of Dattātreyā where he is said to have four hands and is spoken of as Mahāviṣṇu.¹ It is interesting to note that the Dhyāna of Śa. Up. has twenty-four epithets in all which may remind us of his 24 Gurus and the tendency of the later writers to give 24 names based either on the 24 names of Viṣṇu in Sandyā chapter bearing his four hands in mind or on some such other sacred number.

Śa. Up. gives Maheśvara and Dattātreyā as synonyms of Brahman. Moreover, Śivam is the first epithet closely associated with Dattātreyā. Dattātreyā is connected with Yoga, Jñāna and Guru. All this point to the probability of Dattātreyā worship as the development of Śiva worship rather than of Viṣṇu worship.

Avadhūtopaniṣad deals with the definition of Avadhūta. We have referred to one verse (Ch. IV, Part I) while the other describes Avadhūta as one beyond all Varṇa and Āśrama, a yogin deeply centred in the self.² Moreover, each and every action of the Avadhūta is strange (*i.e.* unexplained) and he has a great vow not to change the Svairavihāra.³ Though he is self-satisfied and beyond all attachments, he may act according to the rules laid down by Śāstras with a desire to do good to the people. In doing so and in acting unlike Avadhūta, who is beyond the rules of Varṇa and Āśrama, he has here nothing to lose as he is not attached to them for his own sake. He does so for the sake of the benefit of others thus preserving his non-attached nature.⁴

One Up. is after the name of Dattātreyā. It is one of the 108 Ups. referred to in the Muktikopaniṣad (1.39). We have already shown how Brahmā becomes its narrator (p. 51). The first part deals with the different kinds of Mantras beginning with Ekākṣara⁵, Saḍākṣara⁶, Aṣṭākṣara⁷, Dvādaśākṣara⁸,

¹ JD. Up. 1. 1. :

दत्तात्रेयो महायोगी भगवान्भूतभावनः ।

चतुर्भुजो महाविष्णुर्योगसाम्राज्यदीक्षितः ॥

² यो विलङ्घ्याश्रमवर्णनात्मन्येव स्थितः सदा ।

अतिवर्णाश्रमी योगी अवधूतः स कथ्यते ॥ अवधूतोपनिषद्-२

³ कृत्स्नमेतच्चित्रं कर्म । स्वैरं न विगायेत्तन्महाव्रतम् । *Ibid.* 6

⁴ अथवा कृतकृत्योऽपि लोकानुग्रहकाम्यया ।

शास्त्रीयेणैव मार्गेण वर्तेऽहं मम का क्षतिः ॥ *Ibid* b. 23

⁵ द्रां ।

⁶ ॐ श्रीं ह्रीं क्लीं ग्लौं द्रां ।

⁷ द्रां दत्तात्रेयाय नमः ।

⁸ ॐ आं ह्रीं क्लीं एहि दत्तात्रेय स्वाहा ।

Ṣoḍaśākṣara¹. Moreover, we have Anuṣṭubh about Dattātreyā,² describing him as an ocean of knowledge, a naked saint acting small child or Piśāca, a bestower of joy and Unmatta. The second part gives the Mālāmantra where we find his connection with Jāraṇa, Māraṇa etc. which we have already referred to (p. 52). The third part gives the usual Phalaśruti.

The Dhyānamantra in the beginning of the Up.³ refers to him as one having the form of Nārāyaṇa, with three forms. It is again stated in the Up. that the whole world is contained in him just as a banian tree is hidden in the seed⁴. The tradition gives us a Mantra of 20 letters.⁵

Thus, in the Upaniṣads, where the name of Dattātreyā occurs, lies a germ, an idea, a seed which later on took the form of trinity worship under the name of Dattātreyā that symbolises the idea of unity in diversity connects the people of different creeds and synthesises various differences found in society.

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- 1 ॐ ऐं क्लीं क्लूं ह्रीं ह्रूं सौः दत्तात्रेयाय स्वाहा ।
 - 2 दत्तात्रेय हरे कृष्ण उन्मत्तानन्ददायक ।
दिगम्बर मुने बाल पिशाच ज्ञानसागर ॥
 - 3 दत्तात्रेयी ब्रह्मविद्यासंवेद्यानन्दविग्रहम् ।
त्रिपान्नारायणाकारं दत्तात्रेयमुपास्पहे ॥
 - 4 वटबीजस्थमिव दत्तबीजस्थं सर्वं जगत् ।
 - 5 ॐ ऐं क्लीं क्लूं ह्रीं ह्रूं सौः श्रीविष्णवे दत्तात्रेयाय नमः ।

CHAPTER IV

DATTĀTREYA : HIS LIFE AND WORKS : PURĀṆAS AND TANTRAS

It is only in the Purāṇas that we come across for the first time the full-fledged story about the origin of Dattātreya. Leaving aside all references found in Upaniṣads and the iconographical evidence traced from third century and onwards, we find that in most of the Paurāṇic period he was raised to the status of an avatāra of Viṣṇu. No doubt, in some of them, he is not referred to as an Avatāra, but in almost all of them except LgP and KP he is considered great saint and a Yogī and a giver of desired objects right from Kārtavīrya, a Haihaya king to Yadu, the ancestor of the Yādava race. Even the Ml̥h makes a reference ¹ to him. The BhaP speaks of him as the sixth incarnation of Viṣṇu. ² BrP considers ³ him as the fifth in a passage while takes him as fourth Prādurbhāva in another passage. ⁴ In the BrmP. he is the first among Mānuṣasambhūtis and fourth among all incarnations, ⁵ the other three being celestial ones viz. Vainya, Narasiṃha and Vāmana. GP ⁶ like BhaP considers him as the sixth incarnation in a passage while in another ⁷ he is the tenth in the list of 24. In the third list supplied by the same Purāṇa, ⁸ he is not counted at all.

Dattātreya is again considered as a Prādurblāva in the HV ⁹ and the Devī BhaP ¹⁰. In classical literature, Harṣa ¹¹ and Māgha ¹² include him in the list of the ten incarnations. Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā ¹³ a Pāñcarātra work, assigns him a place among 39 Vibhavas. Thus, we find that in some places he is considered as an Avatāra while in others he is either referred to as a Prādurbhāva or a Vibhava. Moreover, in some lists he is among the chief ten Avatāras while in others he is among the 24 or 39.

¹ App. I (No. 15) after 3.115.8 ; 12.49.36 and 13.91.44 (Bombay Ed.) ; 2.48.1 and 13.257.5 (Kumbhakonam).

² I. 3.11 ; II. 7.4 he is the fourth while in VI. 8.16 he is again the sixth.

³ 180.31.

⁴ 213.106.

⁵ Madhya Bhāga.

⁶ Ācāra Kāṇḍa.

⁷ Brahma Kāṇḍa.

⁸ Ācāra Kāṇḍa.

⁹ 1. 41. 104

¹⁰ 4. 16

¹¹ 21. 93

¹² 14. 79

¹³ Ch. V. 54.

It will not be out of place here to discuss the question of what these words, *viz.* Avatāra, Prādurbhāva and Vibhava connote. Miss Mrināl Dasgupta distinguishes between Prādurbhāvas and Avatāras as under: "The term Prādurbhāva probably implies that God continues to exist in his true unmanifest presence, although he manifests himself at the same time in definite forms for particular purposes presumably through his yogic powers. But the idea involved in the term Avatāra seems to be that either the whole (Pūrṇa) or the part (Aṃśa) of the divine essence is imagined to descend from heaven taking a particular form (Mūrti) or birth (Janma) ¹." According to Hopkins, ² in the Avatāra, God descends expressly to save the world while in other descents the motive may be personal. According to the first view-point Dattātreyā is rather an Avatāra than a Prādurbhāva while according to the latter conception he should both be an Avatāra and Prādurbhāva because, according to the HV and the BrP he was born for a special purpose. The popular version states that He took birth mainly to satisfy the desire of Atri and Anasūyā who wanted a son of his calibre and stature.

According to the HV ³ and also in the BrP ⁴ his purpose of the Avatāra is as under: "When all the Vedic knowledge with its branches and the sacrifices were lost, when the caste system was upset, when the religion was lowered down in position, when untruth gained the superiority over truth and when all the the people and religion became restless, Dattātreyā put everything to its right position". Thus his Avatāra is mainly meant for the promulgation of right type of knowledge and not for killing any demon as is the case with other incarnations.

The MarP narrates ⁵ the story of his birth in detail clearing the motive for his human form. It is in a dialogue form between a father and a son where the son narrates to his father how Dattātreyā taught Yoga to Anarka (probably

¹ IHQ Vol. VIII, p. 74 ff.

² Epic Myth p. 210.

³ I.41.105 ff. भूयो भूतात्मनो विष्णोः प्रादुर्भावो महात्मनः ।
दत्तात्रेय इति ख्यातः क्षमया परया युतः ॥

⁴ 321.107 ff. तेन नष्टेषु वेदेषु प्रक्रियासु मखेषु च ।
चातुर्वर्ण्यं तु संकीर्णं धर्मे शिथिलतां गते ॥
अभिवर्धति चाधर्मे सत्ये नष्टेऽनृते स्थिते ।
प्रजासु शीर्यमाणासु धर्मे चाकुलतां गते ॥
सहयज्ञक्रियावेदाः प्रत्यानीता हि तेन वै ।
चातुर्वर्ण्यमसंकीर्णं कृतं तेन महात्मना ॥

⁵ Ch. XVI.

another name of Alarka, fourth son of Madālasā). When the latter (father) asked the son about Dattātreyā his parentage and about Anarka who happened to ask him about Yoga, the son narrated the story as follows :

In ancient times there was a Brahmin named Kauśika who went astray monopolising all vices. But luckily he had a chaste and pious wife who was devoted to him. Her name was Śāṇḍilī and inspite of her husband's bad character, she, like a true and devoted Indian woman, considered her husband as her Lord, as a deity. She always was anxious to make him happy. Kauśika who had such a chaste wife in his house was, however, attached to a harlot in the town and spent most of his time in her company without caring for Śāṇḍilī. A day came when Kauśika had no money and so naturally he was pushed out of the house by the harlot. Kauśika returned home with a broken heart and maimed and worn out body. Śāṇḍilī received him warmly and felt very happy. Days passed in the service of her husband and inspite of insults and the lessons from the past behaviour of the harlot Kauśika requested his wife to lead him to her, as he was unable to forget her beauty. Śāṇḍilī, like a faithful and obedient wife carried her ornaments on one hand, Kauśika who was maimed on the other shoulder and started for the house of the harlot one dark night. On the way it so happened that a sage Māṇḍavya who was hanged without any offence by the soldiers of the ruling king was lying there alive on account of his Yogic powers. This sage was hurt by the body of Kauśika who was on the shoulder of Śāṇḍilī who walked in the darkness of the night. The sage cursed the person that he would leave the world at Sun-rise. On hearing this, Śāṇḍilī was shocked. She sent a touching appeal to the Sun, not to rise at all so that her husband could not die. The sun complied with the wish of this chaste woman and the activities of the world were consequently stopped. The gods in heaven could not get their share (Havīḥ) as sacrifices were not performed by the people. Thus the entire cycle of sacrifices, rain, grain and such other mundane routines came to a standstil and there was great chaos all over the universe.

The gods then went to Viṣṇu who directed them to propitiate Anasūyā who was a chaste woman and who was performing a great penance with her husband Atri the mind-born son of Brahmā. " Oh gods ! ", he said, " only light can be a match for light and penance for penance¹ and you should worship Anasūyā, the great Satī, who alone will be able to regain the position which is lost due to the curse of a Satī ".

Accordingly, all gods with Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śaṅkara as their heads, went to the hermitage of Atri and Anasūyā and requested Anasūyā to help

1 तेजः परं तेजसैव तपसा च तपस्तथा ।

प्रशम्यतेऽमरास्तस्माच्छुण्ध्वं वचनं मम ॥ Mar. P. 16.47.

them. The kind-hearted Anasūyā showed her readiness to accompany them though she was quite aware of the powers of gods to do anything they desired.

Anasūyā sees Śāṇḍilī and free and pleasant conversation between the two great Satīs starts and centres round the theme of a wife's devotion to her husband. She finally won over the heart of Śāṇḍilī and told her the mission of her coming over there explaining how for her sake alone the entire universe was in trouble. Śāṇḍilī agreed to consider the problem favourably but was worried for her life without her husband. Anasūyā promised her that she would see to it that her husband would get a new life. Śāṇḍilī cheered the world with the light of the sun while Anasūyā preserved the life of the husband of Śāṇḍilī by her power of chastity.

The gods who appreciated Anasūyā's services asked her to ask for a boon of her choice. After great hesitation she asked that the three principal gods—Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa should be born as sons to her and that she and her husband should be exempted from the cycle of birth and death. The gods granted the boon and departed.

As time went by one day Atri received Anasūyā who just finished the period of four days of her menstruation and who came to pay respects by falling at the feet of her husband and there at the moment arose a light from the eyes of Atri which served as seed for the three mind-born sons who were Soma, Datta and Durvāsā. Soma was a partial incarnation of Brahmā, Datta of Viṣṇu and Durvāsā of Śaṅkara who was born, it is said, only after seven days as he had to meet with great trouble from the Haihayas. Thus the three divinities took their births and fulfilled the promise given to Anasūyā.

Afterwards Soma went to heaven and Durvāsā moved all over the world. Dattātreya wishing to be without attachment dived down in a lake. Yet the youths around him did not leave the bank of that lake even after 100 celestial years. Knowing this Dattātreya came out with a beautiful lady who put on the best type of clothes. The youths even at this curious sight, were not set a back. They thought that the sage was without attachment (Asaṅgī). Dattātreya again, tried to put them to test and drank wine (Surā) with her. Even then the youths were not disturbed thinking that the wind was always pure even though it went over many impure places. Dattātreya finally gave them their desired object, *viz.* the knowledge of the Absolute.

The Bhaṭṭa gives¹ the origin of the name of Dattātreya. As the sage Atri was desirous of a son he gave himself to him. Thus he is given away to Atri and hence Dattātreya.

¹ II. 7.4.

The SKP gives ¹ the story of Atri-Anasūyā as above and later on narrates Kauśikākhyāna. ² In the SVP, ³ Atri is described as performing penance for getting a son, worshipping only one highest god ; but three gods came together to give the boon. This showed the unity of all the three. As a result of this boon there were births of Candra, Datta and Durvāsā who were incarnations of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva respectively.

The BVP treats the matter with a slight change. The three gods with inspiration from their respective wives who were jealous of Anasūyā's ever-increasing fame, go to test her chastity and ask her to serve them quite naked. P. Thomas ⁴ gives the above story of the BVP with a slight change. Here Atri is present when gods came to test her. Anasūyā sprinkles over gods the water that washed the feet of Atri and thus turns the gods into babies. Again, the same process is repeated when the wives of the respective gods come their quite free from jealousy and beseech her for their husbands. It is because of this story, it seems, that Abbe, J. A. Dubois ⁵ formed the opinion that the story proved that inspite of the great power, they (*i.e.* gods) became quite hostile to virtuous persons and tried to reduce their penance. He, however, adds that the scandalous adventure of the mighty divinities of the Trimūrti is one of the least indecent episodes of the kind related in the Hindu books.

Shrī Gurucaritra ⁶ of Sarasvatī Gaṅgādhara written in Marathi which is highly respected by the worshippers of Dattātreya traces the origin of Dattātreya in a Pauranic form. But there is no reference to the jealousy of the wives of the three gods. Here it is said that the gods, with Indra as their head went to the three principal gods and requested them to put a check to the powerful penance which was gaining in strength due to chastity and faithfulness of Anasūyā for they themselves were afraid of her curse.

Shrī Datta Prabodha, another Marathi book about the life of Dattātreya, takes ⁷ Atri outside the hermitage when the three gods came there but provides Anasūyā with his Caraṇodaka (water left after washing the feet), which was kept there by Atri himself for the purpose of avoiding the trouble, if any, during his absence. Moreover, the plan to humiliate the three goddesses which was

¹ 5.3.103.

² 5.3.169 ff.

³ 4.3-4.

⁴ Epics, Myths and Legends of India. p. 96.

⁵ Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies. p. 542 ff.

⁶ Ch. 4.

⁷ Ch. IV.

communicated to Anasūyā by Nārada¹, and which was thought of by the sage Nārada and Anasūyā,² is rather strange, though their motive is said to be pure. Shri Gurulilāmṛta, a book in Marathi about the life of Swāmī of Akkalakoṭ gives a story about the incident of sprinkling water which turns the gods into babes and again of the same process turning babes into gods.³ But before doing this Anasūyā gives a delightful discourse on the sin of misconduct towards wives of others.

Shri Datta Māhātmya⁴ another book in Sanskrit about the life of the deity represents Atri as observing penance without food devoid of dualities and standing on a single foot. He asked boon from the three gods who appeared before him wishing to be born as his sons. This story is in a form of a dialogue between Maitreya and Vidura. Vāsudevānanda Sarasvatī interprets story of birth in somewhat peculiar sense.⁵ It is said that Atri due to his first penance had a vision of a god and due to his second penance of three gods. Moreover,⁶ he refers to the story of Kauśika and the three sons who were born to Anasūyā according to the boon given at that time. Shri Raṅga Avadhūta⁷ combines all the stories about the origin of the Dattātreya and narrates it fully to such an extent that there are descriptions of the joy of motherhood experienced by Anasūyā right from the cradle song to various activities, done for the sake of the child. He also introduces Nārada but the plan here is between Viṣṇu and Nārada and not between Anasūyā and Nārada as seen in the Datta Prabodha. Nārada excites jealousy of the principal goddesses who believed themselves as the most chaste women in the universe. Here he has two purposes in mind. The first is to show the importance of a chaste woman and the second is to show the bad result of jealousy. He intends to impress upon the goddesses that it is better to look into the self rather than be jealous of others and that they should not hurt others out of jealousy.

But the most attractive and rational version of the story is found in his lecture on the worship of Dattātreya at Navāpur, in Khandesh.⁸ He refers to a very ancient tale of a time when the Lord of the Universe created the world. He created all the types of pleasures which are so believed by the people of this

¹ Ch. V.

² Ch. V. 57 ff.

³ Ch. II.

⁴ I. 10-11.

⁵ Cf. श्रीदत्तात्रेयषोडशावतारजयन्तीकल्पम् ।

⁶ DP. II. 4. 33. ff.

⁷ Shri Gurulilāmṛta I. 5-8.

⁸ Datta Upāsanā, pp. 5 ff.

world, such as delicious dishes, beautiful ornaments, gold and rubies, birds and beasts, carts and carriages and many other such things and proclaimed that the stores of all those things were open free for all and, whosoever, wants them in whatsoever quantity might take them away. It would be needless to add that all the stores were soon emptied. Nothing remained in the stores and, therefore, the doorkeepers were just preparing to close the doors of the stores when an old man with a frail body came there. His frail fame was made so on account of severe penance. He was told by the doorkeepers that there was nothing left behind for him. The old man in a quiet tone requested the doorkeepers to inform the Lord of the Universe of his arrival and to ask if anything was reserved for him. The doorkeepers laughed yet the inspiring voice of the old man forced them in that direction and they got the order of the Lord that if anything had remained it should be given away to the old man. The guards did not find anything and once again they were sent back to the Lord by the old man. The Lord explained to them that the old man was right in his faith and it was He himself who was left behind and was the creator of the things which were taken away by the people so He would give away his life to the old man. Lord Dattātreyā thus gave away his own self to the old man Atri who chose not the worldly pleasures but the creator of those pleasures. The story explains in a most poetic way to the name of Dattātreyā and reminds us of the phrase in the BhaP which explains the word.¹

We get another interpretation of the name of Dattātreyā from Shri Bhagavatsinhajī.² He splits the word into Datta : A : Traya and gives the meaning that where the Tripuṭis of Draṣṭā, Dṛṣya and Darśana ; Kartā, Kāraṇa and Kārya and Jñātā, Jñeya and Jñāna are extinct, there is a form of Dattātreyā or to put in another way if a man wants liberation he should give up all these Tripuṭis. But here the word is taken Dattātraya instead of Dattātreyā where the ending syllable refers to his family name. (Datta : Ātreya—Datta the son of Atri.)

Coming back to other references we find that in some Purāṇas Dattātreyā is an incarnation of Viṣṇu but he is not included in the list of Avatāras as supplied by some of the Purāṇas. SKP,³ SVP⁴ and MarP⁵ are the instances in point. AgP⁶ refers to the mode of preparing an idol of Dattātreyā. Thus we

¹ दत्तो मयाहमिति यद्भगवान्स दत्तः ।

² भगवद्गोमण्डलः V.p. 4300.

³ 5.3.103.

⁴ 4.3-4.

⁵ 17.7.

⁶ 49.27.

find that in time of AgP he was raised to the status of a god to be worshipped by the people.

We have referred above (p. 58) to his connection with a group of young sages. In the same way, he is connected with many personalities among whom Arjuna Kārtavīrya is most prominent and is found connected with him in almost all the Purāṇas.¹ Even in the Mbh, he is twice referred to as a boon bestower to Kārtavīrya.² VYP and MarP narrate the story of Sahasrārjuna in detail while the fact that he got four boons from Dattātreyā is referred to by many.³ About the matter contained in the four boons the Purāṇas agree with one another. The boons are as under :—(1) Getting 1000 arms. (2) Doing away with evil and injustice even though done by great men. (3) Sovereignty all over the world through war and its protection by righteousness. (4) Death in war and that too at the hands of superior. The Mbh. refers to a golden aeroplane (Kāñcana Vimāna) given to Kārtavīrya.⁴ According to Pargitar, the connection of Dattātreyā with Sahasrārjuna is introduced in a natural, appropriate and simple manner and so it is most trustworthy.⁵

The story runs as follows: Kārtavīrya was the son of Kṛtavīrya, and when he came to the throne he refused to rule the kingdom as the sins, he thought, committed by the subjects were to be shared by the ruling king. On hearing this the preceptor Gargācārya advised him to propitiate Dattātreyā who was on the earth to uplift the world. He even narrated an incident in glorification of Dattātreyā and told how Indra and other gods got favour and through his grace achieved victory over the demon Jambha. Arjuna went there and after serving for many years got four boons. Since that day he protected the world with righteousness and became a sovereign ruler. Even gods were afraid of him. One day Sun-god in the disguise of a Brahmin asked from him all the earthgrowing plants and trees in alms which Arjuna as a Brahminworshipper gave the honoured guest. The Sun-god assuming the form of fire, burnt all including trees in the hermitage of Vasiṣṭha who cursed Arjuna that the son of Jamadagni would kill such an arrogant king. As time went by Paraśurāma the youngest son of Jamadagni and an incarnation of Viṣṇu killed him in connection with an incident of the cow, useful for the sacrificial purposes (Homa-Dhenu or Kāma-Dhenu) who was taken away by force by the king.

¹ PmP. 5. 12. 118 ; BrP. 13. 161 ; AgP 4.14 ; BrVP. Gaṇapati 25. 10 ; MP. 43.15 ; VyP (Uttara) 32. 10 ; MarP. Chs. 18-19 ; VP. 4. 11. 13 ; NP. 76.3.

² Note 1, Ch. IV, p. 55.

³ Cf. PmP. 5. 12. 119 ; BrP. 13. 162 ; MP. 43. 15ff ; VYP. 32. 11ff ; VP. 4. 11. 3ff.

⁴ दत्तात्रेयप्रसादेन विमानं काञ्चनं तथा । 3. 115. 8ff (App. I. 15).

⁵ Indian Historical Tradition, p. 231.

There is the addition of one more point in the story in *Shrī Gurulilāmṛta*¹ a Gujarati work by *Shrī Raṅga Avadhūta*. Arjuna is shown to have been disgusted with the world after the enjoyment of sovereign rule and the pleasure of the world. He approached Dattātreyā once again and served him faithfully and conscientiously for many a year. He was put through many severe tests by the god but ultimately he was blessed with the highest type of knowledge and returned home with a desire to rule without any attachment whatever.

MarP² informs us that the day when Arjuna got the boons from Dattātreyā was celebrated every year with the performance of Dattātreyā sacrifice (Dattātreyasya Yāgam). VP³ refers to his connection with Rāvaṇa whom he tied like a beast.

Next to Kārtavīrya he is frequently connected with Alarka or Anarka. BrP⁴, BhaP⁵, MarP⁶ and GP⁷ refer to Dattātreyā as a teacher expounding either Aṣṭāṅga Yoga or Ānvīkṣikī and Sutarka-Vidyā to Alarka. MarP narrates the story in detail. Alarka was the fourth and the last son of Madālasā and Ṛtudhvaja. Madālasā herself was a great Yoginī and had the knowledge of self which was imparted to the three elder sons from their very childhood. The fourth Alarka was spared as the king Ṛtudhvaja unluckily intervened in the matter and expressed his opinion that somebody must be spared for the kingdom and for the sake of Piṇḍa-Dāna (offering of oblations after death). Alarka thus got the worldly kingdom after the departure of his parents in the forest. After some years one of his brothers came to fight with him and to release him from worldly attachment. In this fight Alarka was defeated with the help of the king of Banaras and with the Yogic powers which he possessed. Disgusted at the defeat, the broken hearted Alarka went to the forest where he remembered a note given by his mother with instruction to read the same when any calamity befell him. The note stated that one should avoid attachment (Saṅga) as far as possible and if it was not possible one should live in company of saints. Thus he went to the hermitage of Dattātreyā which happened to be very near and learnt Aṣṭāṅga Yoga from him.⁸

In the same way, the name of Prahlāda, the son of Hiraṇyakaśipu and the famous devotee for whose sake Viṣṇu incarnated himself as a Man-Lion is

¹ I. 27. 44 ff.

² 19. 30.

³ 4. 11. 4 ff.

⁴ 180. 32.

⁵ I. 3. 11.

⁶ 16. 12.

⁷ Ācāra Kāṇḍa I. 19 and Brahma Kāṇḍa, 15.13.

⁸ For details cf. Ch. 34-40.

mentioned along with Alarka as getting knowledge of Yoga from Dattātreyā.¹ The BhaP² narrates the whole dialogue between the two on the duties of a Yati.

The next personality with whom Dattātreyā is connected is Āyu, a king without a son, who along with his wife Indumatī performed many rites in order to have a son. It was all in vain. At last he went to Dattātreyā and worshipped him for 100 years. It is interesting to note that during these years Dattātreyā did not speak a single word with him. Pleased with the services he asked why he had come though he knew he had passed through the usual tests which were put to him as described above in connection with the young sages. Moreover, he was asked to bring wine and that too in a human skull. Having carried out the instructions he got favours from Dattātreyā.³

VhP⁴ speaks of one king named Supratika, in Kṛta age who had two wives named Vidyutaprabhā and Kāntimatī. He had no son and so he went to Citrakūṭa to propitiate the son of Atri. After pleasing him he got a son. Here as is seen, he is connected with Citrakūṭa mountain, which reminds us of a reference in the Rāmāyaṇa, when Rāma with Sitā and Lakṣmaṇa visited the hermitage of Atri and Anasūyā.⁵

The SkP⁶ narrates the story of a Brahmin named Durācāra who, owing to bad company lost his Brahminhood and was overpowered by Vetāla. He wandered all over the earth and came to the holy place of Dhanuṣkoṭi. There he was released from the clutches of Vetāla. So he inquired about the sanctity of the place from the sage Dattātreyā who lived there and who was the best among Yogis. Dattātreyā narrated to him the importance (Māhātmya) of the place and the beliefs connected with it. The Brahmin was pleased at the account and went home to pass his life in the way shown by Dattātreyā.

The most famous dialogue between Avadhūta and Yadu about twenty-four Gurus is found in the BhaP.⁷ Yadu was the eldest son of Yayāti, king and ancestor of the Yādava clan to which Shri Kṛṣṇa belonged. Yadu was the eldest among the five sons of Yayāti. The youngest, Puru, was placed on the throne in consideration of his regard for his father in exchanging the father's age

¹ BhaP. 1.3.11; GP Ācāra Kāṇḍa. 1. 19.

² 7. 14.

³ PmP Bhūmi Khaṇḍa 103. 121.

⁴ 10. 18 ff.

⁵ II. 117. 5 ff.

⁶ III. 36. 5 ff.

⁷ 11. 7. 9. This is a dialogue within a dialogue. Originally the dialogue is between Kṛṣṇa and Uddhava where the former imparts the latter the highest knowledge.

with his youthfulness when his father got a curse from Śukrācārya. Yadu took this as an insult and retired to the forest with a disgust for the world. Here he saw Dattātreyā, who was found to be happy and self-satisfied even in the absence of any material possession. When asked, Dattātreyā showed him the way and the secret of happiness which he had acquired by minute observation of Nature and with constant reflection.

Shrī Datta Purāṇa ¹ and Shrī Gurulīlāmṛta ² describe the story of Paraśurāma connecting with Dattātreyā. VYP ³ narrates the story of Kārtavīrya's fight with Paraśurāma, the destruction of the former by the latter while here the story is further developed that after the extermination of the Kṣatriyas twenty one times Paraśurāma was restless and went to the hermitage of Dattātreyā with his mother Reṇukā who became a Satī after her husband. Paraśurāma performed the Śrāddha ceremony with Dattātreyā as the priest. Here Dattātreyā gave him the highest knowledge which, according to the tradition is contained in the Jñāna Kāṇḍa of Tripurā Rahasya.

The foregoing narration about the life and work of Dattātreyā from various sources will show how he happened to be elevated to god-head and was considered as an incarnation of Trinity in general and of Viṣṇu in particular. Here it will not be out of place to go into details about the idea of incarnation in the Epics and the Purāṇas.

The doctrine of incarnation was still developing in Epics. ⁴ It was neither stereo-typed into usual ten nor extended to ten. What is true of the Epics is applicable even to the Purāṇas except the extension of the number of incarnations from ten to either 24 or 39. Dr. R. C. Hazra also concludes that the views of the people regarding the names and number of the principal incarnations varied disappointedly before 800 A.D...and that the group of the ten principal Avatāras had no general acceptance before 800 A.D. Besides this, much has been written on the theory of Avatāras and many fables and stories showing the purpose of the Avatāras have been found in the Purāṇas, ⁵ and in the later literature. ⁶ But all agree to one cardinal fact that God descends on earth for special reasons and in special circumstances. The Gītā ⁷ has aptly ex-

¹ 4.8.

² Jñāna Kāṇḍa Ch. 26.

³ Uttara Kāṇḍa. Ch. 32.

⁴ Hopkins, Epic Myth. p. 210.

⁵ BrmP. Madhya Upodghātapāda 72.62 ff.

⁶ GC. Ch. III. Mṛiṇāl Dasgupta reproduces one based on Nārāyaṇīya section of Śānti Parva 349.17 ff. in IHQ. Vol. VIII, p. 74 ff.

⁷ 4.7, 8.

pressed the mission of incarnation: Whenever there is heavy burden of sins on earth and when righteousness disappears, god descends to the world to establish law and order exterminating the wicked. Many times it serves the purpose of the best example to the people of the service and proper action. Dr. Bhagwandas,¹ the famous theosophist scholar, states that theory is according to the relation with the three main functions of life and mind, *viz.* knowing, desiring and acting. Any disorder in the right knowledge, right desire and right action will cause God to descend in the three main forms. Firstly, when false teachers and false teachings prevail, secondly, when wrong emotion and lower passions begin to grow and thirdly, when wrong knowledge and wrong desire and selfishness prevail, then the epoch-making Avatāras proper appear. Shrī R̥gvedī² refers to the view of the evolutionist Hindus, who consider Avatāra from the evolution point of view. Thus, from Matsya gradually arose Varāha, Narasinha half beast and half human and then Vāmana, imperfect, after whom came Paraśurāma full of vengeance and jealousy. Rāma of good qualities arose after whom Kṛṣṇa who saw pleasure as well as pain with the same eye, and finally came Buddha who wanted to uplift the whole world on the strength of self-knowledge. But this theory is not sound as we find that many lists start not with Matsya but with Hamsa (Swan) and Kūrma (tortoise)³ and that the number varies as regards their names and places. Anyway, the whole idea of incarnation shows belief of several generations that behind all human efforts and achievements there is one Absolute Power working and protecting all and He often sets everything right by descending on the earth when human beings are unable to set them right.

There is another interesting thing that we find in the accounts of Dattātreyā. It is in his connection with wine and woman.⁴ But curiously enough, at the same time we find that the so-called guilty himself says that he is so. Thus when Āyū⁵ went to ask a boon or when gods⁶, headed by Indra asked his help for the destruction of a demon or when Paraśurāma with his mother approached him, Dattātreyā himself is said to have said that he was the drinker of wine and was attached to a woman. Thus, it is futile to ask a boon or help from such a man who is without any character (Anācārī) and who has no knowledge of Dharma and Adharma. The second thing which we find is that it is with

¹ Kṛṣṇa: A study in the theory of Avatāras, p. 27 ff.

² Āryonā Tahevārono Itihāsa, Pp. 213-14.

³ Cf. Nārayaṇīya Section of Mbh. ASB. Edi. XII. 141.

⁴ PmP. 103. 106, 122; MarP. 17.20, 22.

⁵ PmP. 103. 113-14.

⁶ MarP. 18. 28, 30.

the clear intention¹ of avoiding unnecessary crowds and any kind of attachment that he behaves in such a strange manner. He is of the definite opinion that if a Yogī is to perform Yoga practices he should avoid the company of all types.² Moreover, we find that he is not found in the company of women at all times and even his fondness for wine is seen only when he wants to test a devotee. Otherwise he is ever amongst the Yogins.³ MarP⁴ tries to give a philosophical explanation for these two. The gods in reply to Dattātreya's reference to his attachment to wine and woman say: "Oh Lord of earth ! thou art sinless (Anagha) and pure-hearted ; so thou art not bound or fettered and the mother of all the world with thee is also sinless and pure like the rays of the sun falling equally upon both the Brahmin and the outcaste." The same Purāṇa also gives illustration of wind which remains pure for ever.⁵

The question of this connection with wine and woman is also found in one Sanskrit book called Shri Dattātreya Māhātmya. The author is unknown as the colophon tries to connect it with BrmP. It is in the form of dialogue between Dīpaka and his Guru Vedadharmā. Dīpaka on hearing so many stories about Dattātreya, asks⁶ his Guru a question with an humble request to remove the doubt which occurred to him. " Why has a saint, " Dīpaka asks, " who had all the characteristics of a holy seer acted in such an impious way (Anācāramāśritaḥ) ? " Moreover, he further asks the same thing quoting the famous saying that whatever is done by the great is imitated by the masses, and lastly, he asks his Guru anticipating a particular reply why Dattātreya incarnated himself as a Brahmin if a person like him has nothing to do with the question of purity and impurity with regard to his self-satisfied nature and the state of living in ecstasy for ever. Vedadharmā removing the doubts said, " Just as the behaviour of gods and men is different and just as the same is the case with beasts and birds, in the same way men who follow the holy path have their actions different from the duties of all the castes (Varṇa) and stages (Āśrama). If others follow them blindly without understanding the purpose behind them they perish

¹ MarP. 17. 20, 22.

² Cf. His sermon on the illustration of the bangles of a girl (Kumārikā) Kaṅkaṇa). Also refer to his VIII Ch. in Avadhūta Gītā.

³ Cf. In one of his Dhyānas he is described as surrounded by nine Nātha Yogins and even in the descriptions found elsewhere he is described so.

⁴ 18. 29, 31. अनघेयं द्विजश्रेष्ठ जगन्माता न दृश्यते ।
यथाशुमाला सूर्यस्य द्विजचाण्डालसङ्गिनी ॥ ३१ ॥

⁵ 17. 24. अन्तावसायिवेरमान्तर्मातरिश्वा वसन्निव ।

⁶ 3. 1.

like men who drink poison in imitation of Lord Śiva. Vāsudevānanda¹ touches the same question in the words of Sahasrārjuna who says that in the eyes of the world he (Dattātreyā) might be considered reproachable yet, in fact, he is not so as the soul is without attachment and ever free. In another place,² Vāsudevānanda quotes even scripture (Śruti) and explains the real sense lying behind the literal sense. In short, all these attempts to justify the peculiar behaviour of Dattātreyā show that Dattātreyā used these two as his weapons. With the help of these two, he, at times, tested devotees and many times avoided worldly attachment.

As regards inner meaning of the objectionable behaviour, it is worth noting that the followers of Vāma Mārga are seen practising such activities based on five Ma-Kāras. The Vāma Mārga is one of the three branches of Tantras. But before the degradation of this system took place the real meaning behind them all was generally understood by the followers. Dayāśaṅkara Kavi³ tries to throw light on it with the help of Bhāskara's commentary on Lalitā Sahasra Nāma and Tārānanda Tīrtha's Tattvaparakāśa. The wine referred to is not the ordinary wine but is nectar in the form of feelings which are the outcome of knowledge of Brahman. In the same way the union with woman is not to be understood in the popular sense but it is the union of a Yogī with his Suṣumṇā Nāḍī.⁴ Hazariprasad Dvivedi informs us that in Vāmācāra, Ātmā is to be imagined as Vāma (Śakti) while practising the Upāsana.⁵ In this way, all the Ma-Kāras are used by the Vāma Mārgis not in their literal sense (Vācyārtha) but have altogether a technical meaning.⁶ The reason for doing so seems to

¹ Datta Cūpūh I. 30.

² DP. Ṭikā. : 4.7.31 ff. p. 338.

³ Kalyāṇa: Śhri Śakti Aṅka. p. 253 ff.

⁴ The actual verses are as under :—

ब्रह्मस्थानसरोजपात्रलसिता ब्रह्माण्डतृप्तिप्रदा ।
 या शुभ्रांशुकलासुधा विगलिता सा पानयोग्या सुरा ॥
 सा हालापिबतामनर्थफलदा श्रीदिव्यभावाश्रिता ।
 यामित्वा मुनयः परार्थकुशला निर्वाणमुक्तिं गताः ॥
 या नाडी सूक्ष्मरूपा परमपदगता सेवनीया सुषुम्णा ।
 सा कान्तालङ्घनार्हा, न मनुजरमणी सुन्दरी वारयोषित् ॥
 कुर्याच्चन्द्रार्कयोगे युगपवनगते मैथुनं नैव योनौ ।
 ये गीन्द्रो विश्ववन्द्यः सुखमयभवने तां परिव्रज्य नित्यम् ॥

⁵ Nātha Sampradāya, p. 75.

⁶ The other references are also quoted by Dayāśaṅkara from the different Śāstras as under :—

enable the laymen to understand the unfamiliar doctrine through something known. It is to show them that the pleasure they get in ordinary life is rather trifle and nothing in comparison with what the followers of Kaula Mārga or Vāma Mārga get from their technical five Ma-Kāras.

It is for this reason, it seems, that Tantras dealing with different kinds of wines to be used in worship and the ways of making and drinking them used to write verses in disordered letters (Vyākultākṣarāḥ) to keep the content secret. For example Tantrarāja Tantra¹ states that the Siddha should never drink wine unless it has first been offered as Arghya to Devī who is worshipped. Wine should be drunk till the mind is wholly absorbed in the Devī. To drink more than that is a sin. He who drinks without offering and for the satisfaction of his desire is a sinner, a worshipper of ignorance and should be punished by the king.²

Such practice is seen from ancient times. It gives an idea of the highest pleasure through an analogy which ordinary people can easily understand. Thus Mithuna has always remained one of the recurrent themes of Indian sculpture. The Mithuna is the state which is "like a man and a woman in close embrace." The earliest of this Mithuna sculpture is from Sanchi (c. 2nd century B. C.).³ The Buddhist idea of Mithuna is the union of Buddha and Prajñā. The Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up. declares⁴ that just as a man closely embraced by a woman

यदुक्तं परमं ब्रह्म निर्विकारं निरञ्जनम् ।
तस्मिन्प्रमदनज्ञानं तन्मयं परिकीर्तितम् ॥
रेफस्तु कुङ्कुमाभासकुण्डमध्ये व्यवस्थितः ।
मकारश्च बिन्दुरूपः महायोनौ स्थितः प्रिये ॥
अकारहंसमारुह्य एकता च यदा भवेत् ।
तदा जातो महानन्दो ब्रह्मज्ञानं सुदुर्लभम् ॥
कुलकुण्डलिनी शक्तिः देहिनी देहधारिणी ।
तथा शिवस्य संयोगो मैथुनं परिकीर्तितम् ॥

¹ Ch. VIII Vv. 72. 90.

² न कश्चित्पिबेत्सिद्धो देवमर्ध्यमनिवेदितम् ।
पानं च तावत्कुर्वीत यावतास्यान्मनोलयम् ।
ततः करोतिचेत्सद्यः पातकी भवति ध्रुवम् ।
देवतागुरुसेवान्यत् पिबन्नासवमाशया ।
पातकी राजदण्ड्यश्चाविधोपासकैव च ।

³ The monuments at Sanchi, Plate. LXX VII. 20 a.

⁴ IV. 3. 21.

knows nothing more of the outer or the inner world as also does the self embraced by the higher spirit knows nothing more of without or within. This is his true form in which his desire is satisfied. He has also no desire any more, nor any pain. This symbol of Mithuna, as a symbol of Mokṣa, or reunion of the two principles, the essence (Puruṣa) and the nature (Prakṛti) is enjoined to be carved in the Brhatsaṃhitā (Lv) Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra, AgP (civ-30), Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra (XL. 30-34).¹ In the same way, we find in the Yogavāsiṣṭha² the idea of Gaurī being half Śiva, embracing Śiva just as Mādhavī creeper clasps the young Āmra tree. We may also remember our great Kālidāsa,³ who glorified the couple united like word and sense. Later on both the people as well as the followers of the system forgot the real significance of these symbols and stuck to the outward form. Moreover, the common man saw all these things with awe and respect towards a great man. He honestly believed that the actions of the great should not be challenged because great men are above worldly ties. It is worth remembering that these two—wine and woman—have always remained as symbols and the followers of this school have never taken the liberty of using them in their literal sense. Not even a single incident is found in this connection. In this respect it differs from the Vāma Mārga, which later on deviated from its original track. The woman is, in fact, the symbol of self-experience and wine the symbol of pleasure arising out of it. Thus Dattātreya's connection with them is definitely quite in keeping with his status as an Avadhūta. Moreover, there are three categories of devotees, namely Paśu, Vira and Deva. One is pushed forward according to the state in which an individual is seen. God does not enjoy food but devotion of the devotee in offering food. This food will vary according to the status of the devotee who offers the best objects of his choice to his god. It has already been shown that Dattātreya utilised a woman as a means either to avoid people or to test devotees. The offerings of wine and flesh are found in connection with his Kṣatriya devotees like Sahasrārjuna and Āyu who liked these things and possibly used them as their daily food. Such devotees were given instructions in the knowledge of reality through a gradual process and in their lowest gradation. He accepted even their usual food. A new element of Bhakti was added and they gradually changed their ways and later on offered their anger (Krodha), passion (Kāma) and such other offerings and became immortal enjoying the status of Devas. Thus Dattātreya is worshipped by the people of all castes and creeds and he leads them on to the proper path according to their temperaments. This type

¹ All these references are quoted by Stella Kramrisch in his book "The Hindu Temple", Vol. II, P. 346 ff.

² Nirvāṇa Prakaraṇa, XVIII. 3.

³ Raghuvamśa, I. I.

of guide for getting gradual liberation is adhered to by the great followers of this school which we will examine in the following pages.

Dattātreyā : His connection with Tantras :

We, thus, see that Dattātreyā was connected with wine and woman not in their literal sense but in an altogether different manner. He is, in fact, a Yogī in the true sense of the term. Moreover, he is always seen in the company of Siddhas seeking his guidance in Yoga practices. In one Dhyāna-śloka he is connected with Nava Nāthas who worshipped him, standing around him.¹

In another verse he is called “worthy to be worshipped by Yogīs”.² Moreover, we find in manuscripts of works on Dattātreyā worship that he is discussing the Yoga-problems with Sāṃkṛti and others who are desirous of knowing Yoga. No sane person would go to one who follows sensual practices. The later development which connects him with Tantras which simply profess to give Jāraṇa, Māraṇa, Uccāṭana, Vaśikaraṇa and such other low practices while using his worthy name is the result of wrong interpretation. The relation of Dattātreyā with Tantras is, no doubt, very close, but we have to discriminate between the right and the wrong. We do see even in the present times the practice of using the names of great persons to get profit for personal aim and the case of certain Tantras is on the same lines though the Śākta system as such is highly strengthened by Dattātreyā through certain valuable works about it.

We find his connection with all the three kinds of Śākta Āgama viz. Tantra, Yāmala and Dāmara. Gopinath Kaviraj is of the opinion that one who wants to go through all kinds of philosophical thoughts in India must examine the contents of Tripurā Rahasya one of the chief books on the Śākta system. But uptill now nobody had critically examined it for want of sufficient materials. Dattātreyā was closely connected with the goddess Tripurā and he had written a treatise on her worship, though the line of Tripurā is represented by several other teachers like Parśurāma, Durvāsā, Agatsya and Lopāmudrā. We know Dattātreyā's connection with Tripurā from Tripurā Rahasya, “which embodies”, according to Gopinath Kaviraj, “the teachings of Hāritāyana to Nārada representing the old traditional lore of secret science originally revealed by Saṃvarta and subsequently expounded by Dattātreyā to Paraśurāma.”³ As regards Yāmala reference, Dattātreyā Vajra Kavaca, one of the sacred books in the Dattātreyā school is said to have been taken from Rudrayāmal. In the

¹ ध्यायेत्परीतं नवनाथसिद्धैः ।

² ज्येयं सदा योगिभिः ।

³ Tripurā Rahasya Jñāna Khaṇḍ, Part. IV. p. 2.

same way we get a reference of Dattātreyā in Ḍāmareśvara Tantra. In Tripurā Rahasya we have higher philosophical thought and high regard for women in general which would clearly show the true relation of Dattātreyā with the Tantras. But there are other Tantras like the Dattātreyā Tantra. There are the Dattātreyā Paṭala, Dattātreyā Kalpa and many other books of Tantra and Mantra types which connect him nominally. The ideas of these works are far from the pure mind of Dattātreyā. The very definition of an Avadhūta¹ or Kaula who is the highest type of a Śākta follower will make it clear that Dattātreyā cannot be the author of such verses which describes the Vājikaraṇa and such other Prayogas.

Moreover, the Avadhūta Gītā of Dattātreyā in its 8th chapter, emphatically declares that if Yoga is to be practised by a man he shall have no connection, whatsoever, with wine and woman. Thus it is proved beyond doubt that his name is wrongly used with such Tantras where either Īśvara-Pārvati or Dattātreyā-Sāṃkṛti's pair is the common narrattor of their so-called Tantric knowledge.

The Works of Dattātreyā

There are many works connected with the name of Dattātreyā. They fall into two main categories. First, there are certain works such as Avadhūta Gītā directly spoken by Dattātreyā, while some are supposed to be spoken by him and someone else. The Tantra Granthas are instances in point.

Avadhūta Gītā

This passes under many titles, such as Datta Gītā,² Avadhūta Gītā, Datta-Gītā-Yoga-Śāstra,³ Vedānta-Sāra.⁴ The work is on Vedānta and consists of 8 chapters. The 8th chapter is against attachment to women and that too in a very exaggerated language. It is considered by some as a late interpolation. Yet curiously enough the definition of an Avadhūta (one stanza on each syllable) is given there (Ch. 8.6-9). The whole chapter has a peculiar tone. It always speaks of the harm done by women on the path of liberation and the highest

1 “ कर्दमे चन्दनेऽभिन्नं पुत्रे शत्रौ तथा प्रिये ।
श्मशाने भवने देवि तथा वै काञ्चने तृणे ॥
न भेदो यस्य लेशोऽपि स कौलः परिकीर्तितः ॥ ”—भावचूडामणि. Cf. also P. 53.

OR अक्षरत्वाद् वरेण्यत्वाद् धूतसंसारवन्धनात् ।
तत्त्वमस्यादिलक्ष्यत्वाद् अवधूतोऽभिधीयते ॥—अवधूतोपनिषद्-i.

² Sulabhaviśvakoṣa 3. 1144.

³ The Encyclopaedia Indica Vol. X.

⁴ Tanjor Vol. 13, No. 7589.

spiritual happiness. Those who wish to tread the path of liberation and want to enjoy perfect bliss should at once abandon the company of women (8.15). It never gives a hint that a woman herself is bad. On the contrary it advises us to be away from anything that hinders the path of the highest bliss (8.27). For these reasons the chapter which is found almost in all the manuscripts cannot be put aside as an interpolation.

The first chapter deals with the position of the soul. Everywhere the omniscient, omnipresent, formless and endless soul exists. There is no birth, no death, no bondage, no liberation, no mind, no religion and lastly neither form nor name (1.17). Everything is Brahman (1.13) and one should see the self not different from him (1.18). This highest knowledge is supported by the Upaniṣads with passages like Tattvamasi (Thou art That). When the pot is broken, the Ghaṭākāśa disappears in the air. In this way when the mind is one with the soul it becomes the Soul (1.31) and when a Yogin attains this position he is one with the Soul. Then he remains all alone, one with the bliss and moves naked (free from Vāsanā), free from pride (1.73). He then knows no preceptor, does not believe in any preaching (1.54) as he knows the state of the soul which is above Dvaita—duality and Advaita—non-duality (1.36). Thus the perfection of the soul and its real nature, its oneness with the highest Brahman is the central topic of the first chapter.

The second chapter deals with the proofs of the above-mentioned knowledge. Just as there is sweetness in Gur, softness in soft things, coolness in water and bitterness in bitter objects, so is Puruṣa and Prakṛti, one with each other. Though for the time being there may arise different kinds of feelings from the heart like the bubbles in water, yet that is short-lived (2.7) because the outward knowledge is false and the only inner knowledge like the knowledge of the water inside coconut is true. For this inner knowledge the Guru leads his disciples to the right path. The Guru is a guide. People should take whatever is good from him and should not think of anything else. The Guru is quite helpless if the disciple does not act according to his teachings. Like a man takes away a jewel from the heap of impure things (2.1) a man should act according to the teachings of the Guru. Otherwise, going along that path mere instruction will not serve any purpose, especially when we know that knowledge which we want to attain is above all speech and thought. Thus, he should always surrender himself to the highest God the self which ever exists. If this is done there is no need of having the head shaved etc. and of Yogic practices. He is above all things and does not return to this world again.

Chapters third and fourth treat the inner nature of the Soul in a poetical manner. The third chapter repeats the line ज्ञानाश्रितं समरसं गगनोपमोऽहम् । in each stanza while the fourth one repeats the meaning of स्वरूपनिर्वाणमनोमयोऽहम् । The

soul is neither Sthūla nor Sūkṣma ; he never takes birth nor dies ; he is without beginning, middle and end ; he is neither the highest (Para) nor the lowest. He is a reality in the true sense of the term and is Knowledge, Nector, Blissful and detached and Omnipresent like the sky (3.6). Worldly pleasures, attachment, ignorance never touch the Soul ; he is free from all the states viz. waking, dreaming and sleeping and above all the phases of time viz. past, present and future. How can he then have the fourth state and the directions ? (3.20). He performs the best action for he is actionless ; he enjoys the best as he is without attachment and is above all bodily pleasures (3.26). This is the reason why a man should not grieve and should be free from any kind of desire (3.38). This kind of freedom of the soul always exists. His nature is free and innocent. It is not to be attained from outside (4.2-3). There is nothing that can be shown as different from him, there is no secret that is not known to him (4.13). Thus these chapters serve the purpose of Sthānukhanana Nyāya and finally fix the nature of the soul.

The fifth chapter then gives a series of reasons for avoiding lamentations as the soul is the same everywhere. It is the sum and substance of all. There is no difference in self and knowing this men should not be attached to the pleasures of the body (5.30).

The sixth chapter rejects every kind of activity, in view of the Blissful nature of the soul. If everything is blissful at all times how can there be, it is asked, pleasures of senses, nay, the very senses, mind and intellect different from it ? (6.8). Knowing this Blissful nature pervading all there cannot be any distinction between man and man. The same is the case with caste and family. There is neither a Guru nor a disciple nor the teaching and so there is no question of bowing down to any one. (6.22-23). Everywhere the self—the pure and immutable soul is seen pervading as Reality.

In the seventh chapter the state of an Avadhūta is described. An Avadhūta is one with perfect bliss, quite pure and without any attachment. He is clad in rags gathered from the street. He never argues with anybody knowing that the self which is pure and in itself a destination is without any destination. He is above all hopes and despairs. He moves in the world in perfect pleasure. He is a Yogī though he is without Yoga and Viyoga ; he is an enjoyer though he is without enjoyment and non-enjoyment. In short, he is above all dualities. Even contradictory actions are performed by him at the same time. He is free from all desires. The definition of an Avadhūta as based on each syllable is given in the 8th chapter which sums up all the characteristics of an Avadhūta.¹ The syllable 'A' points to the state of Avadhūta, who is

¹ आशापाशविनिर्मुक्त आदिमध्यान्तनिर्मलः ।

आनन्दे वर्तते नित्यम् अकारं तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ ६ ॥

free from the clutches of hope (Āśā), who is pure in the beginning (Ādi), in the middle and in the end and who is always joyful (Ānanda). The syllable ' va ' points to his freedom [from desires (Vāsanā). His speech (Vaktavya) is innocent and he always acts in the present (Vartamāna). The syllable ' dhū ' points to his body, mixed with dirt (Dhūli)—*i.e.* his carelessness regarding external pomp, and his mind is steady. He is above the state of meditation (Dhyāna). Lastly the syllable ' ta ' shows that he has meditated on the Tat-tvamasi-problem and is free from ignorance (Tama) and pride.

The 8th chapter prescribes avoidance of company of ladies in a hyperbolic language so that one who wishes to go along the path of perfect bliss might observe a vow of celibacy which is the primary requirement.

Considering all the points and taking into account the book as a whole we find the following striking points about the form of the work. Almost all the chapters except the 2nd and the 7th speak of the indescribable nature of God and his state, " whom and how should one bow down as everything is one with the highest and the formless " ? Moreover, this kind of verse forms the beginning (Mangala Śloka) of each chapter. In the same way at the end of almost all the chapters except the 2nd, 3rd and 8th there is a repetition of the same verse.¹

These two points show the exclusive authorship and uniformity of the work.

The colophon at the end of each chapter informs us that it is written by Dattātreyā and each chapter is called either Ātmasaṃvityupadeśa or Svātmasaṃvityupadeśa.² Ch. IV-VIII add Svāmikārtika Saṃvāda, while Ch. IV-VI again give additional names to the chapters *viz.* Svarūpanirṇaya, Samadṛṣṭi-kathana and Mokṣanirṇaya respectively.

वासना वर्जिता येन वक्तव्यं च निरामयम् ।
वर्तमानेषु वर्तेत वकारं तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ ७ ॥
धूलिधूसरगात्राणि धूतचित्तो निरामयः ।
धारणाध्याननिर्मुक्तो धूकारस्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ ८ ॥
तत्त्वचिन्ता धृता येन चिन्ताचेष्टाविवर्जितः ।
तमोहंकारनिर्मुक्तस्तकारस्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥ ९ ॥

- 1 विन्दति विन्दति न हि न हि मन्त्रं
छन्दोलक्षणं न हि न हि तन्त्रम् ।
समरसमग्नौ भावितपूतः
प्रलयति तत्त्वं परमबधूतः ॥

² Svātmasaṃvityupadeśa is sometimes given as a separate work. Cf. Hindi Viśvakośa, Vol. X.

Jīvanmukta Gītā :

In the same way there is a Gītā, named Jīvanmukta Gītā named after Dattātreyā. It consists 23 verses and reveals characteristics of a Jīvanmukta. It has a striking similarity with the characteristics of an Avadhūta given in the Avadhūta Gītā. The only difference is that this work is in the Anuṣṭup metre while the Avadhūta Gītā is in a different metre. Self is everything—the Soul, the Teacher and the World. Like the sky he is without attachment. The soul is like the sun shining everywhere and is behind all creatures. Like the moon in water He is revealed as one in many. In short, the work describes the highest state of realisation.

There is a versified translation of the work in Gujarati by Shri Sāgar Mahārāj in his Diwāne Sāgar.

The next work traditionally attributed to Dattātreyā is Tripurā Rahasya. The peculiarity of this work is that it is said to have been directly spoken by Dattātreyā to Paraśurāma. It has three parts: (i) Māhātmya Khaṇḍa, (ii) Jñāna Khaṇḍa, (iii) Caryā Khaṇḍa. The last one is not available at present while the first two are published. It is also named as Hāritāyana Saṃhitā. Hāritāyana is another name of Sumedhā who was a disciple of Paraśurāma. Paraśurāma in his reply to a question put to him by Sumedhā said that previously his preceptor Dattātreyā showed him the way to permanent happiness. The whole work discusses the problem in the form of a dialogue between Paraśurāma and Dattātreyā. In the 2nd chapter the work, however, claims its origin from the greatest god Śaṅkara who told the same to Viṣṇu and Viṣṇu again gave it to Brahmā. In this world Dattātreyā the incarnation of Viṣṇu instructed Paraśurāma and the latter taught it to Hāritāyana who with the permission of his Guru went to Hālāsya village but forgot the teachings owing to his dull memory. Learning the news from Brahmā, Nārada came to hear the Tripurā Māhātmya and after knowing the matter he asked Brahmā, his father, how Sumedhā got the power of telling Tripurā Rahasya. Brahmā narrated the previous life of Sumedhā and informed Nārada that in his childhood owing to utterance of ऐ without the dot, Tripurā was pleased with the boy but as he did not utter the बिन्दुयुक्त ऐ he forgot the teachings of his Guru; but added that with his blessings he would then recollect the same. Saying so Brahmā went away and Sumedhā told Nārada the Tripurā Rahasya as it was narrated to him by his Guru Paraśurāma who again had learnt it from Dattātreyā.

The Māhātmya Khaṇḍa has 80 chapters containing 6687 verses. Starting with the story of Paraśurāma it describes many legends connected with Tripurā and her principal forms under different names, such as Kumārī, Trirupā, Gaurī,

Ramā, Bhārati, Kālī, Caṇḍikā, Durgā, Bhagavatī, Kātyāyanī and Lalitā. It ends with the name of Phalaśruti.

The Jñāna Khaṇḍa is edited by Gopinath Kaviraj in the Princess of Wales Sarasvatī Bhavan Texts (No. 15) with an introduction in the last and the fourth part. It has a commentary in Sanskrit called Tātparyadīpikā from the pen of a Dravida Shrīnivāsa son of Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita, resident of the village of Mahāpuṣkara in the Dravida country. The commentary was written in 1831 A.D. Jñāna Khaṇḍa has 22 chapters and contains 2163 verses. It deals with the philosophy and Upāsanā Paddhati of the goddess Tripurā as the name suggests. Though it is in a dialogue form between Dattātreya and Paraśurāma ' a story-within a story ' method is adopted so as to enable the reader to understand the highest knowledge with ease. Thus many stories are told about subjects such as Satsaṅga Mahimā, Śraddhā and such other topics. Moreover, a few chapters are given in a dialogue form between a husband and his wife, Hemacūḍa and Hemalekhā, and here knowledge is imparted not by the husband to the wife as is seen in Upaniṣads (*e.g.* Yājñavalkya to Maitreyī) but by the wife to her husband. It ends with the usual Phalaśruti. Both the Māhātmya and the Jñāna Khaṇḍa end with the phrase, ' Tripuraiva Hrīm ', the Mantra of the Devī. Moreover, the colophon of the Jñāna Khaṇḍa gives the phrase at the end (*i.e.* in 22nd chapter) " Dvādaśa Sāhasryām ". Thus the book, it appears, might have 12000 verses in all and so it seems the Caryā Khaṇḍa which is lost must have 3150 verses.

CHAPTER V

INSCRIPTIONS

Though the name of Dattātreyā as such appears late in inscriptions we do get records which show that the three highest gods *viz.* Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva were jointly worshipped in temples. The first of such records is of the first half of the 7th century A.D. It consists of four lines in Grantha characters and is a Sanskrit verse in Gītī metre. The inscription states¹ that the shrine was caused to be made by the king Vicitracitta for the accommodation of the three deities Brahmā, Īśvara and Viṣṇu, without using bricks, timber, metal or mortar in its construction. The shrine is on a small hill near Maṇḍagappaṭṭu which is a small village situated in the Villupuram Taluka of the South Arcot District (Madras State) and is about five miles south-west of Peranai—a station on the main line of South Indian Railway. The shrine has at its back end three niches which are dedicated to the three gods.

T. A. G. Rao takes² this temple to be dedicated to Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha or Dattātreyā.

An inscription is also found in a very old temple in the village of Lakhamundul in the Sirmor District on the right bank of the river Jumna and only a few miles from the spot where that river leaves the Himālaya mountains. It was composed by the king of Ayodhyā, Vāsudeva, son of Skanda, son of Kṣemaśiva. The inscription has a benedictory stanza in honour of the three gods jointly. The temple was constructed in memory of the deceased husband of Īśvarā—wife of Candragupta who was the son of an unknown Rājā of Jālandhara and who dies while riding an elephant. It reads as under :

सर्गस्थितिलयहेतोर्विश्वस्य ब्रह्मविष्णुरुद्राणाम् ।
मूर्तित्रयं प्रदधते संसारभिदे नमो विभवे ॥

Regarding its probable date Fitz-Edward Hall writes, “ No reference touching the length of time by which it antedates the eighth or the ninth century can safely be drawn from its palaeography ; and upon future research depends any accession of information bearing on the persons whom it enumerates. ”³

1 एतदनिष्टकमद्रुम [मलो]—
हमसुधं [विचित्रचि]त्तेन [।]
निर्मापितनृपे [ण] ब्रह्मे—
श्वरविष्णुल [क्षि]तायतनम् [॥]

² EI. Vol. XVII, p. 14.

³ JRASGBI Vol. 20. (Old Series). p. 542.

We here find that even in the vicinity of the Jumna river the trinity or the triad of the gods was worshipped in a temple in a group.

There is also another inscription found at Kurda in the Deccan dated 973 A.D. which invokes the triad with their respective wives where the gods are compared to the celestial tree (Kalpataru) while their wives to creepers, encircling them.¹ This is No. 1 of Mr. Wathen's Ancient Inscriptions.²

The inscription mentions Dantidurga as the first Rājā in the dynasty. From this Wathen remarks as follows: " Allowing twenty years for the reign of each prince we have a period of 280 years antecedent to Śaka 894 (973 A.D.) or 14 princes reigning from Śaka 564 (i.e. A.D. 693) and the invocation of the Hindu Triad proving that this triad was worshipped in former times. " ³

Here the introduction of three goddesses shows the developed stage of the worship. Moreover, it is interesting to note that the goddess Sarasvatī the counterpart of the god Brahmā is placed in the middle while Viṣṇu is assigned the first place, judged from the place of Laxmī.

There is one copper-plate inscription found in the district of Gorakhpur near the river called the litten Gandhac. It is undated but there the god Śiva, Brahmā and Viṣṇu are invoked⁴ in the first three verses. Here it is noteworthy that Brahmā not only occupies the middle position but is also associated with the three functions of creation, preservation and destruction. Curiously enough, we find a reference to Pārvati in the form of Bhavānī in the 4th stanza⁵ and the Gaṇeśa in the beginning.

The inscriptions from Belur Taluq belonging to 1270 A.D. and 1261 A.D.⁶ respectively state the following story :—" From the lotus navel of Viṣṇu was born Brahmā. From the mind of Brahmā were born nine sons among whom

¹ श्रीसरस्वत्युमाभास्वद्वल्लीसंश्लेषभूषितम् । भूतये भवतां भूयादजकल्पतरुत्रयम् ॥

² JRASGBI Vol. III Old Series P. 94.

³ JRASGBI Vol. II Old Series P. 379-80.

⁴ श्रीगणेशायनमः ।

क्षित्वदियजमानान्तमन्त्रे विश्वगात्मने ।

मुनीनां ध्यानगम्यावसयस्तव्यापिने नमः ॥ १ ॥

अजाय जगदुत्पत्तिस्थितिप्रलयकारिणे ।

संसारसागरोत्तारपातस्मृतये नमः ॥ २ ॥

नमो तु लक्ष्मीपतये शेषपर्यङ्कशायिने ।

त्रैलोक्यकण्ठकोत्खाति विष्णवे विश्वरूपिणे ॥ ३ ॥

⁵ Asiatic Researches Vol. 9, p. 411.

⁶ No. 92 and 98 in EC. Vol. V. P. I, pp. 69-70.

was Atri, whose fame was greater than that of Pitāmaha (Brahmā) in the three worlds. That son of Sarasijasambhava's (Brahmā's) mind once worshipped Kañjāsana (Brahmā), Viṣṇu and Rudra (Śiva), those three having been pleased appeared before him ; on this occasion he besought them to become his sons and those resplendent ones famed in the highest throughout the three worlds were born accordingly. Hari (Viṣṇu) as Dattātreyā, Agajāvara (Śiva) as Durvās and Abja (Brahmā) as Candra were born from his mind, body and eyes as sons to Atri". The remaining portion deals with the Lunar race and the geoneology of the donee.

What is worth noting here is that Atri is among the nine and not seven mind-born sons of Brahmā. Moreover, here the gods are found together and are either born from Atri's mind or body or eyes—and Dattātreyā is the mind-born son of Atri.

The moon being the eye-born son of Arti is also referred to elsewhere in inscriptions dated 914 A.D.¹ and 1122 A.D.² and even after these dates.³ Students of Vedic literature will note the change where the moon is the mind-born of the Primeval Man referred to in *Puruṣasūkta*.⁴

An inscription from Shimoga⁵ refers to Dattātreyā with the names of Gauḍapādācārya and Govindācārya. It is dated 1235 A.D. and is a Seal. Its obverse contains the impression of a boar and the reverse contains that of Shri Vidyāśaṅkara. The inscription mentions the names thus :

“श्रीगुरुश्रीगुरुदेवनारायणगौडगोविन्द-दत्तात्रेयदर्शनानन्तरं स्वभवनस्थापनसंप्रदायस्थान....”

There are slightly interesting though roughly composed four inscriptions on copper plate belonging to the Phalahāra Maṭha on the Bābā Buḍan mountains. The dates of all the four are 1698, 1702, 1707 and 1717 A.D. respectively. The first three are addressed by the Udāna Swāmī of the Virabhikshavati-maṭha of Śrīśaila or Śrīparvata to the great Swāmī of the Phalahāra-Maṭha of the Ghālīpujeparvata stating that as the two maṭhas are united certain sects residing in specified directions (namely, South, West and North of the Hirehole or old river, the Krishna) should be considered as adherents of the latter and renouncing in its favour throughout the Śālivāhana country their tithes (of Rs. 2½) and offerings. The fourth is a grant by representatives of the 56 countries of certain mirasi or dues to the Phalahāra

¹ EI. Vol. 9. p. 29.

² EI. Vol. 2. p. 33.

³ EI. Vol. 4. p. 93.

⁴ चन्द्रमा मनसो जातश्चक्षुः सूर्यो अजायत RV, X. 90.

⁵ No. 80 EC, Vol. VII. p. 1, p. 30.

Maṭha. It also refers to the grant by the Udāna Swāmī to the Swāmī of the Ghalipuje throne various insignia of his office such as the palanquin with silver mounting, a pearl necklace, a golden umbrella and such other things ending with the five kinds of drums.

The latter Swāmī is said to be seated on the throne of the four Ācāryas; the Swami of the original throne of Guru Dattātreya's Phalahāra-maṭha which is also called the Maṭha of Channavīradeva the disciple of the ancient Phalahāradeva.

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and a good deal of a cold in the head and eyes, but
nothing to alarm.

[illegible]

PART II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF DATTĀTREYA WORSHIP

PART II

3 DEVELOPMENT OF CLIMATE HORROR

THE DEVELOPMENT OF DATTĀTREYA WORSHIP

CHAPTER I

Śrīpādaśrīvallabha-Nṛsinhasarasvatī (?-1458 A.D.)

We have already seen how the worship of Dattātreya originated and how with the progress of time it developed until the advent of Mahānubhāva Panth. During all this time the name of Dattātreya hovered over the pages of history getting honour from prominent personalities right from Paurāṇic kings like Sahasrārjuna, Āyu, Alarka, Yadu and Paurāṇic personalities like Paraśurāma, Piṅgala, Prahlāda and even from the historical personalities like Gorakhanāth and others. But just as the Kṛṣṇa worship though old was introduced and vigorously developed by Bhāgavatas like Jñānadeva and others in the South, Vallabhācārya and his followers in the west, Caitanya in the east and Sūradāsa in the North in the same way Rāma worship became more prominent after the powerful activities of Tulsidāsa and many others in India. Similarly Dattātreya worship is also prominently seen after the rise of the powerful personality of Nṛsinhasarasvatī who, even after five centuries,¹ is still worshipped as an incarnation of Dattātreya. In the following pages we shall see how this and other personalities worked to uplift the people and the world by their foresight and intuition by their graceful and benevolent sermons and by their penance and powerful actions.

About 1300 A.D. there was a Brahmin couple in Piṭhāpur a small village near Rājmahendri. The Brahmin named Āpaḷarāja who belonged to Āpastamba branch of the Vedas had a very devoted and chaste wife named Sumati. Both were very pious and god-fearing. They always welcomed guests and so Dattātreya once in his usual way accidentally happened to be their guest. On that day they had a Śrāddha ceremony in their house and none was more worthy than Dattātreya who though in a disguised form had lustre on his face capable of restoring eternal peace to their ancestors. Dattātreya was served even without waiting for the invited Brahmins and the result was that he had to come to Sumati to address her as his mother in the name of Śrīpādavallabha.

As Śrīpāda grew up he attracted many by his inborn qualities and many extraordinary features. At the age of seven he was invested with the sacred-thread and when there was an offer of marriage at the age of sixteen he at once

¹ The celebration of the fifth centenary on a grand scale was planned and was carried on by a specially appointed committee with Āppāsāheb of Mānik-nagar as the Chairman.

told his parents that his marriage had already been settled with renunciation and now he was not going to be attached to anyone else. Thus renouncing all the pleasures of the world he started his life-work travelling all over India. His main work was to guide and to initiate the saints in the Himālayas. Moreover, he prepared the background for the future when much more was to be done for the guidance of the people along with the path of righteousness. He travelled and stayed for sometime at Banaras, Badarināth and Gokarna. Finally he came to Kuravapur (modern Kurumgaḍḍā, 18 miles from Krishna on the Central Railway line), on the banks of the river Krishna. The people who were wasting their time were taught lessons of work through the example of the son of Ambikā. Both the mother and the son were on the point of committing suicide. Śrīpāda asked them the reason of committing suicide and was told that the son being foolish and unable to do anything had nothing to maintain them. They were asked to observe the vow of Śanipradoṣa and Śivapūjā and as the result of that the foolish boy changed into a learned man who could live a purposeful life.

Attachment to pleasures of the world is always tempting and if it once enslaves the mind of a person, it is very difficult to remove it. This is true even in the case of big personalities, much less about a washerman. A certain washerman used to bow down to Śrīpādavallabha when the latter went to a river for bath. The two never talked to each other. Once the washerman saw a king full of pleasure and for the moment thought his tedious life was worthless. At that very time the Guru came there to take bath and learnt the whole matter from him, who was standing there with folded hands. Saint as he was Śrīpādavallabha bestowed equal attention on all his devotees without distinction. He had already promised Ambikā that in her next life she would have a son like himself. Now he again gave a boon to the washerman that he would be a king in a Mahomedan family in the next birth and also meet him under another name *viz.* Nṛsinhasarasvatī. Desires always come in the way of liberation and saints always point out ways to be free from them. If desires are not overcome, saints show the process of removing them slowly. In the case of the washerman he followed the second way and thus Śrīpāda gave him instructions about the nature of desire. For the time being he stopped his work.

As regards the dates of these two personalities who are considered as identical scholars suggest two probable dates. GC describes¹ the time of

¹ GC. 51

“ ‘कन्यागतीं’ बृहस्पतीसी । ‘बहुधान्य’ नाम संवत्सरेसी ।
सूर्य चाले ‘उत्तर-दिगंते’सी । संक्रांति ‘कुंभ’ परियेसा ॥ ३६ ॥
‘शिशिर’ ऋतु; ‘माघ’मासीं । ‘असित’ पक्ष, ‘प्रतिपदे’सी ।
‘शुक्रवारी’ पुण्य दिनशीं । श्रीगुरु वैसले विज्ञानदीं” ॥ ३७ ॥

Nṛsinhasarasvatī's disappearance which gives two probable years (i) 1380 Śaka era *i.e.* 1458 A.D., (ii) 1440 Śaka era *i.e.* 1518 A.D. Shri L. R. Pangarkar¹ is of the opinion that the former is more probable than the latter for various reasons. The geneology of Sarasvatī Gaṅgādhar, the author of GC is as under:—Sāyan-deva-Nāganātha-Devarāva, Gaṅgādhar and Sarasvatī. The first two *viz.* Sāyan-deva and Nāganātha were the contemporaries of Nṛsinhasarasvatī. If we bridge the gap of 25 years between two generations we get 1450 Śaka era (*i.e.* 1528 A.D.) as the probable date to fix up the birth date of Sarasvatī. This date is likely to be true as GC was formerly informed Nāmadhāraka by Siddha one of the seven principal disciples² of Nṛsinhasarasvatī. This was enlarged by Sarasvatī.³ The second thing which agrees with the historical as well as GC's description is the fact the King Allauddin (IInd) Bahmani ruled in Bedar for 23 years from 1434 A.D. to 1457 A.D. Both GC and Feristan⁴ refer to his ailment of leucoderma which could not be cured by famous physicians of the time. GC further connects this fact with the story of the washerman described above, and adds that with the grace of the Guru the disease was cured. Moreover, the Guru's final disappearance is described within a short time after this incident. Lastly, he was the king of a territory whose capital was Bedar.⁵

"Aprabuddha", however, takes⁶ 1380 (Śaka) as the birth-date of Nṛsinhasarasvatī while 1440 (Śaka) as the date of final disappearance. He is of the opinion that as the Kumbharāśi is mentioned in GC it agrees with the name of Śaṅgrāma which was the original name of Nṛsinhasarasvatī. Moreover, GC's manuscript from Kolagaon (Sāvantavāḍī) from Vaidyabhūṣaṇa Sātavaḷekar has 1504 (Śaka) and that too is at the end of the 50th chapter which is significant. In view of the fact that GC has definitely mentioned Nijānandakālā at the end and not the Janmakālā and the loss of the original manuscript of GC written by Sarasvatī himself and also the facts proved by historical evidence, it is possible to show that the year 1380 (Śaka) is the probable date of Nṛsinhasarasvatī's final disappearance. Chitrav Shastri⁷ and Shri Gadre⁸ hold the same view.⁹

¹ म. वा. इ. खंड— २, P. 115

² बालसरस्वती—कृष्ण°—उपेन्द्र°—माधव°—सदानन्द°—ज्ञानज्जोतिः°—सिद्धसरस्वती.

³ For discussion *cf.* the end of this chapter.

⁴ म. वा. इ. खंड-२ P. 118

⁵ *Ibid* B. 118

⁶ GC. Puraskāra P. 682

⁷ म. च. कोश.

⁸ म. म. पू. P. 66 & 98

⁹ Cf. also Shri Nṛsinhasarasvatī, by R. C. Dhare, P. 112-116

It will be interesting to examine the contemporary condition of the country in general and Maharashtra in particular. The rule of the Mohamedans was not generally popular. The rulers tried to attract people towards them and many were drawn for various reasons. By this policy people not only got protection but they got also rank and money. Evidently, people had only two alternatives before them—either to change religion or to bear insults from the rulers.¹ Some learned people, enjoying the protection of the ruling party by changing their ways of living, tried to insult the illiterate who had not left their group. GC² gives us a fair idea of the pathetic condition of Brahmins by narrating an incident of two arrogant Brahmins, who after insulting many poor Brahmins had come to Trivikramabhārati a disciple of Nṛsinhasarasvatī. At this time in the interest of humanity there was a pressing need of a powerful personality who would not only check this element but would at the same time change it and put on the right track. Nṛsinhasarasvatī was such a personality of the time. With his Yogic powers and penance he represented himself as one who had come for mankind to save it from the clutches of narrow mindedness, ignorance and shameless behaviour of persons who took body as god and eating as prayer. He uplifted the people by guiding them along proper actions and by punishing the wrong either by giving them the way of severe Prāyaścitta or by allowing them to experience the fruits of their wickedness at the hands of the wicked. Thus stress was laid on Karmakāṇḍa, Vratas and many such things as that was the need of the hour. People simply carried on tall talks of highest philosophical doctrines and simultaneously began to fight amongst themselves for nothing or changed their religion and became slaves for the sake of belly. For both the types of the people emphasis on action was the only means of uplifting them. Moreover, there was a feeling of inferiority or superiority prevalent among the Muslims of the Deccan who had changed their religion and the Deccani Brahmins who had not changed their religion.³ Here the grace of a Yogin intervened between the two. The grace of Nṛsinhasarasvatī was equally showered on both the parties who became free from their difficulties and got earthly pleasures. Behind each and every miracle (Camatkāra) associated with his name one thing is always stressed by the author of GC that these pains and pleasures are of no value and that the real value lies in something else—the ultimate goal of life in the form of final emancipation. The Self alone is real and all actions are meant only for purifying the mind. Gradually

¹ म. म. पू. Pp. 113-114.

² GC. Ch. 25-27.

³ म. म. पू. P. 137. Even politically there were two parties (i) Deccanis, who had changed their religion, (ii) the foreigners like Arab, Turka, Persian, Mogal. Cf. Maharashtra Paricaya. P. 520,

the time came when people broadened their views and the differences between different sections of the people were bridged over. By such a miracle he influenced not only the Hindus in not changing their ways of life but also the Mahomadans in having good behaviour towards the Hindus. He even attracted the Mahomadan Kings—a fact which is the most important and inspiring.¹

But before Nṛsinhasarasvatī this was not the only problem. Being rulers the Mahomadans were hard to deal with and the people were both ignorant and misguided. The former did not at all understand what to do and the latter wrongly understood the philosophy of life. In the succeeding pages we shall see how Nṛsinhasarasvatī showed them the path of right action.

Nṛsinhasarasvatī was born in a Brahmin family at Karañjanagar in the Varad district. His father's name was Mādhav who belonged to the Vājasaneyī branch of the Vedas, and his mother's name was Ambā, a lady who got a boon from Śrīpādavallabha in her previous birth. Till the time of his thread-ceremony he was uttering only OM and nothing else. At the time of the thread-ceremony he further surprised the people by uttering the sacred hymns of all the Vedas. Promising his parents to return after twenty years he went out to fulfil his life-mission. He came to Banaras and practised penance and Yoga. Considering his qualities and his firm determination of renouncing the unreal even in young age, Kṛṣṇasarasvatī an aged Sanyāsī belonging to a venerable order² of Sanyasins gave him Dikṣā which he accepted in the interest of the people.³ After Śaṅkarācārya the fourth Āśrama of Hinduism had no attraction owing to its rigidity and in the absence of a personality as great and gigantic as that of Śaṅkarācārya. Consequently the people had no respect for the Sanyasins.⁴ Nṛsinhasarasvatī even guided Sanyasins and won his respect for them for the people. He initiated many and the seven chief disciples developed the order under his guidance.

Moreover, being a Sanyasin, he used to wander in villages and never stayed for more than three or four days except in monsoon when he stayed somewhere for four months. This helped him to fulfil his mission. Wherever he went he guided and uplifted those who were in the need of spiritual help, gave boons to many and explained to them the real meaning behind the external

¹ म. म. पू. P. 137.

² GC. Ch. 12. 103ff. gives the order as under :—

शंकर-विष्णु-ब्रह्मा-वशिष्ठ-पराशर-व्यास-शुक-गौड-गड-गोविंद-शंकराचार्य-ज्ञानबोधगिरि-सिद्धगिरि-ईश्वरतीर्थ-नृसिंहतीर्थ-विद्यातीर्थ-शिवतीर्थ-भारतीतीर्थ-विद्यारण्य-मलयानंतीर्थ-देवतीर्थ-याज्ञवल्कर-सरस्वती-कृष्ण-सरस्वती. For detail discussion, cf. *Śrī Nṛsinhasarasvatī* by R. C. Dhere, pp. 116 ff.

³ GC. 12. 91.

⁴ Ibid. 12. 92.

practices laid down in the scriptures. Thus he encouraged sacrifices to such an extent that there was ultimately a big storage of ashes collected near Gāṇāgāpur. The Bhasma and the Rudrākṣa were also highly recommended. GC narrates the story of a Cāṇḍāla who defeated two arrogant and learned Brahmins and of a Satī whose deceased husband brought to life with the grace of the Guru¹ who gave Rudrākṣa to her in another form.² Both these instances viz. of Bhasma and Rudrākṣa-Mahimā, have evoked much criticism. Shri Gadre³ the author of Maharashtra Mahodaya is of the view that in the Cāṇḍāla story both Varṇa and Jāti are associated with a person from the time of his birth and could never be changed afterwards. Shri Phadke agrees with this⁴ and further construes these instances in the light of Bhasma and Rudrākṣamahimā and the faith of the Satī. Both these instances depict the contemporary society and show how the people were taught their Ācāradharma with solid result and with proof of scriptures as well as with actual incidents of the time. Thus Bhasmamahimā was told in connection with the Cāṇḍāla and it showed how the removal of Bhasma cleared the position. In the same way after giving Rudrākṣa he even restored the life of the Satī's husband and proved beyond doubt that no good action was worthless. The grace of God is always there for the good and it does not discriminate between the rich and the poor. This is proved by narrating the most insignificant incident in his life. Thus we see that during his time he not only tried to stop the change of religion by the people but also tried to guide them in the proper way—those who went wrongly along the same path. To an individual devotee he was a god in the form of a man⁵ and to the society he was a leader for checking the wrong.⁶ That is the reason why, it seems, historians have stressed his social aspect of the mission only. No doubt, he did his social duties in a very successful and awe-inspiring way but his real service is in the spiritual field which is decidedly much better. Like Śaṅkarācārya he placed the Sanyāsamārga on a solid foundation. He inspired many in this direction and he still dwells in the hearts of all. He always took care to see the real purpose of action and the correct way for its performance. Like a foolish Brahmin who cut his tongue,⁷ mere torturing of the body and its limbs is of no avail nor mere literary knowledge devoid of practice will be of any use in life. We must try to understand the correct spirit and behave accordingly. In the same

¹ GC. Ch. 32. 154.

² Ibid. 32. 84.

³ म. म. पू. as quoted by Shri Phadke. द. सु. Ch. V. p. 55.

⁴ द. सु. Ch. V. p. 56.

⁵ GC. Ch. 44. 38.

⁶ म. म. पू. p. 98; म. बा. इ. खंड 2 p. 113.

⁷ GC. Ch. 17.47.

way he is always merciful to those who are miserable and degraded. He gives them chance to lead a life of higher purpose. Thus the Brahmacārī¹ is seen telling the transient nature of world and is always seen stressing the need of seeing life as it is. Pleasures and pains are but different phases of life. Faith in the same values of life is seen even today at different sacred places attached to Dattātreyā as well as to him and the real credit for that goes to Nṛsinhasarasvatī who started the way of life—a line of thought which was strengthened by his followers in the country. He is a pioneer in advocating the line of thought put forward by Dattātreyā and through his honoured personality and qualities the worship of Dattātreyā in this Kali age like that of Rāma-worship by Tulsī-dāsa, sprung with great force like a great river that fertilised many lands and inspired personalities about whom we shall learn in the following chapters.

The worship of Dattātreyā developed considerably after this century and in one way or other inspired many saints in Maharashtra. Later on it dwindled into mere worship of a Guru. Even at the time of Nṛsinhasarasvatī the features of this line of thought viz. a Guru is all in all, were marked in stories such as Tantuka,² Narakesarī Kavi of Kalleśvar³ and others; but when GC was written they were firmly established and we see a whole chapter being devoted to the importance of a Guru, with quotation from the ancient lore⁴ and the

¹ GC. Ch. 30.121.

² Ibid. Ch. 43.

³ Ibid. Ch. 45.

⁴ गुकार म्हणजे सिद्ध जाण । रेफः पापस्य दाहकः ।
 उकार विष्णुरव्यक्त । तृतीयात्मा श्रीगुरु सत्य ॥
 गणेशो वाग्मिना युक्तो । विष्णुनामसमन्वितः ।
 वर्णद्वयात्मको मन्त्रश्चतुर्मुक्तिप्रदायकः ॥
 गुरुः पिता गुरुर्माता गुरुरेव परः शिवः ।
 शिवे रष्टे गुरुस्त्राता गुरौ रष्टे न कश्चन ॥
 गुरुर्ब्रह्मा गुरुर्विष्णुः गुरुर्देवो महेश्वरः ।
 गुरुरेकः परं ब्रह्म तस्माद्गुरुमुपाश्रयेत् ॥
 हरौ प्रसन्नेऽपि च वैष्णवा जनाः
 संप्रार्थयन्तो गुरुभक्तिमव्ययम् ।
 गुरौ प्रसन्ने जगदीश्वरः सदा
 जनार्दनस्तुष्यति सर्वसिद्धिदः ॥
 गुरुः सदा दर्शयिता प्रवृत्तिम्
 तीर्थव्रतं योगतपादिधर्मान् ।
 आचारवर्णादिविवेकज्ञान्
 ज्ञानं परं भक्तिविवेकयुक्तम् ॥ GC. Ch. 2. 29ff.

whole story of Dīpaka,¹ a disciple of Vedadharmā, is narrated mainly to stress the point as well as to show the way how to serve the feet of one's master. In the same way the Guru himself narrates² the story of Dhaumya Ṛṣi and his three disciples and concludes that he who denounces his own Guru cannot hope to win the other world. If he pleases a Guru, what thing will he not attain?³ Thus GC speaks volumes for the glorification of a Guru and has a Guru-Gītā as a part of the same. Thus gradually the prefix Shri Gurudeva was automatically fixed in the minds of the devotees before they thought of Shri Datta. This process is so natural and so quick that we cannot imagine how it evolved. Shri S. B. Joshi tries to trace the origin of the Yatimārga which later got the synonymous name of Gurumārga having compared it with the Vaidikamārga. Originally, the Vedic people, the worshippers of fire broadened their meaning of sacrifice as seen in the Gītā and gradually faith began where reason ended.⁴ But it is not always the case that faith is invariably the cause of absence of reason. Many a time faith itself forms a part of reasoning. Any way, the importance of a Guru is traced everywhere. Besides Āchāryadevo Bhava,⁵ we find in the Upaniṣads that though a student like Śvetaketu was well-versed in all the scriptures he lacked spiritual knowledge and that unless a student approaches a Guru with humility in the quest of higher knowledge he would not have it. Thus the importance of Guru is really very great. It is said that the Guru, Vedānta and Īśvara should be served for the whole life.⁶ They should be served for the sake of knowledge in the beginning, while after achieving the same they should be respected for the obligation. Shri Phadke,⁷ while comparing the life of the Guru (Nṛsinhasarasvatī) with that of Dattātreya maintains that God is trinity and Trinity is Guru. In other words, he says God's incarnation in Datta and Shri Guru is one and the same. Shri S. B. Joshi, in the same way, agrees that the modern form of Dattātreya is nothing but representation of Guru Mahimā.⁸ Shri Raṅgādhūta⁹ further elevates the point while explaining the famous śloka¹⁰ that a Guru is Brahmā for he creates (manifests) the real form of disciple by removing his individual

¹ GC. Ch. 2.

² Ibid. Ch. 16.

³ Ibid. Ch. 16. 30-31.

⁴ Marhaṭī Saṃskṛti p. 151 ff.

⁵ T Up. 11.

⁶ DP. 1. 6. 2.

⁷ द.सु Ch. V. p. 142.

⁸ Marhaṭī Saṃskṛti p. 160.

⁹ Śrī Gurulīlāmṛta P. I. 3. 8-10.

¹⁰ गुरुर्ब्रह्मा गुरुर्विष्णु etc.

personality (Jīva Bhāva). He is Viṣṇu as he protects his disciples from ignorance and he is Śiva so far as he destroys worldly ties ; and that is why he is the highest reality for the disciple. Moreover, it is well-known that Dattātreya himself believed in taking any good from any source—this eclecticism is well demonstrated in the story of his 24 Gurus.¹ He learnt lessons even from trifling things. Persons like Nṛsinhasarasvatī, Ekanātha, Dāsopanta, Vāsudevānanda, Jālavaṅkar, Keḍgāoker and many others in the line were saints of a high order and were worthy to be Gurus in the line of Dattātraya.

Jñāneśvar holds saints in high esteem. “ The holy place Banaras is, no doubt, very liberal in granting liberation. But it is necessary to die there. The Ganges, no doubt, removes sin and heat of pain but it is necessary to plunge into it. On the other hand, although saints are ocean of compassion and holiness and their depth is unfathomable the devotees have neither to die nor to drown. Their depth is unfathomable, still devotees do not drown but get liberation immediately without dying.” Even Ekanātha² stresses the same when he writes that saints are Purusottama incarnate—talking and walking Parabrahma, and living image of God. He further declares that saints and Sadgurus are one and the same³ and sounds a note of warning that we should discriminate between the real and the unreal types. This warning is really very significant. It shows that though a Guru is all in all people should always take care before choosing him. Before putting faith in him they should think twice whether the person is really competent to remove their bondage. Once you put your faith you see that it is absolute. GC, no doubt, stresses the need of such absolute faith ; while Ekanātha, while demanding it, saw the need of striking a note of warning to prevent the doctrine from abuse. This stream of faith which was eventually strengthened by many saints and gigantic personalities is widely prevalent even today. Dattātreya is the Guru Avatāra and in some way or other enlightens the hearts of the people by disseminating right knowledge. In the world darkness in the form of ignorance will always be there and there will always be the need of Guru Dattātreya to remove it,⁴ for there will be no liberation without knowledge which, in turn, is not possible without the Guru, as said by Vāsudevānandasarasvatī.⁵

In the light of the above discussion it is worth noting that even the Swā-

¹ For details cf. Avadhūta : Reasons and Reverence P. 6 ff.

² प्रतिमा माझ्या अचेतन व्यक्ती । संत सचेतन माझ्या मूर्ती ॥
संत प्रत्यक्ष पुरुषोत्तम । चालते बोलते परब्रह्म ।

³ As quoted by N. R. Pathak, एकनाथ वाङ्मय आणि कार्य, p. 166.

⁴ GC. P. 693.

⁵ DP. 1.3.47.

mi of Akkalakoṭ used to recite some verses¹ in his prayer which were often heard by his attendant disciples. In India this kind of eternal relation between the Guru and his disciple is stressed from very ancient times. Gītā declares: “Oh, Arjuna! many cycles of birth have gone and the same thing you have been told by me, which I know and you do not.” Even Purāṇas declare the Śiṣyatva of Brahmā from Viṣṇu as regards the knowledge of Vedas and in the Tantras Śaṅkara is said to be the Ādi Guru. As time went on there arose the need to define the term Guru in clear terms. Etymologically the Guru is one who preaches religion (from root Gr. to know or sprinkle) or who destroys the ignorance (from root Gr. (गृ) to swallow) or who is praised by gods (from root Gr. (गृ) to praise)². The KP enumerates the persons coming under the word Guru³ while the Kulārṇava Tantra⁴ refers to the various types of Gurus. The same source tries to give the etymology and declares that a Guru is so called because of his power to remove ignorance.⁵ But this and such other attempts described in GC,⁶ where each letter expresses some function, show the nature of the function of a Guru much more than what the etymology of the term shows. Any way, we see in these attempts a necessity to discriminate between the right and the wrong. No doubt, a person may have many relations and elderly persons in the house but it is generally believed that the Guru of whom we are talking here is one who initiates a person in the path of the Absolute Reality. Śaṅkarācārya has accepted the very same meaning of the word.⁷ But Ekanātha

¹ ध्यानमूलं गुरोर्मूर्तिः पूजामूलं गुरोः पदम् । मन्त्रमूलं गुरोर्वाक्यं मोक्षमूलं गुरोः कृपा ॥ श्रुतिस्मृती न वक्तव्ये केवलं गुरुसेवनम् । ते वै संन्यासिनः प्रोक्ता इतरे वैषधारिणः ॥ गङ्गा पापं शशी तापं दैन्यं कल्पतरुस्तथा । पापं तापं च दैन्यं च सद्यः साधुसमागमः ॥ Quoted by Shri N. H. Bhagvat Cf. श्रीअकलकोटस्थस्वामीचरित्र, p. 1-2

² गृणाति उपदिशति धर्मं, गिरति (नाशयति) अज्ञानं यद्वा गीर्यते स्तूयते देवादिभिः इति गुरुः—Quoted by Shri T. B. Khare, मन्त्रशास्त्र आणि मन्त्रशास्त्रयोग, p. 196.

³ उपाध्यायः पिता माता ज्येष्ठो भ्राता महीवृत्तिः । मातुलः श्वशुरश्चैव मातामहपितामहौ ॥ वर्णज्येष्ठः पितृव्यश्च सर्वे ते गुरवः स्मृताः ॥

⁴ प्रेरकः सूचकश्चैव वाचको दर्शकस्तथा ।

शिक्षको बोधकश्चैव षडेते गुरवः स्मृताः ॥ उल्लास २३ as quoted in 2nd परिशिष्ट, परशुराम कल्पसूत्र, p. 363

⁵ गुशब्दस्त्वन्धकारः स्याद्गुशब्दस्तन्निरोधकः ।

अन्धकारनिरोधत्वाद्गुरुरित्यभिधीयते ॥

⁶ गुकार म्हणजे सिद्धजाण etc (cf. p. 91).

⁷ अविद्याहृदयग्रन्थिबन्धमोक्षो यतो भवेत् ।

तमेव गुरुरित्याहुर्गुह्यशब्देन योगिनः ॥

As quoted in मन्त्रशास्त्र आणि मन्त्रशक्तियोग p. 196.

has seen the possibility of Gurus who wear cloaks of saints only to fill their bellies. The Tantras also show the same thing when they say that there are many Gurus who get money from their disciples but do not mitigate their suffering.¹ There may be a lamp in every house but not the Sun, the powerful source of light, enlightening the heart of a disciple.² That is why a Guru should be such a person whose eyes are fixed without any base and whose very Prāṇa is controlled without any attempt to do so.³ Ekanātha tells the very same thing in a different way when he says⁴ that the characteristic of a real Guru is eternal peace which he has attained and is prominently seen in his very face. Moreover, he should be proficient both in Śabda-Jñāna and Brahma-Jñāna and must be well versed in the art of making his disciples enjoy the benefits. It is really essential that the disciple should experience the thing which the Guru teaches. No one could be satisfied with mere talks about a beautiful dish unless he tastes it. This is the reason why Vāsudevānandasarasvatī with the authority of the Śruti⁵ declares that a man equipped with all the means such as the power of discrimination between the right and the wrong and with clear determination should surrender oneself to a Sadguru who is both a scholar and one who is fixed in Brahman (Śrotriya and Brahmaniṣṭha).⁶ It is only such a Guru through whose grace we experience highest joy and become free from bondage owing to clearance of all doubts.⁷ His very favour and grace make our thinking easy and proper.

¹ गुरवो बहवः सन्ति शिष्यवित्तापहारकः ।

दुर्लभोऽयं गुरुर्देवि शिष्यदुःखापहारकः ॥

² गुरवो बहवः सन्ति दीपवच्च गृहे गृहे ।

दुर्लभोऽयं गुरुर्देवि सूर्यवत्सर्वदीपकः ॥

³ दृश्यं विना स्थिरा दृष्टिर्मेनश्चालम्बनं विना ।

विनायासं स्थिरो वायुर्यस्य स्यात्स गुरुः प्रिये ॥

⁴ शब्दज्ञानं पारङ्गत । जो ब्रह्मानन्दे सदा डुल्लत ।

शिष्य प्रबोधनीं समर्थ । तो मूर्तिमन्त स्वरूप माझे ॥

एकनाथी भागवत, Ch. 11.32.

⁵ “अंगीं निज शान्ति पूर्ण हेचि सद्गुरुत्वाचें लक्षण ।

मुख्य भूषण हेचि ” ॥

⁶ ‘तद्विज्ञानार्थं स गुरुमेवाभिगच्छेत्समित्याणिः श्रोत्रियं ब्रह्मनिष्ठं’ ‘अनन्यप्रोक्तेगतिरत्र नास्ति’ इत्यादि DP. Tikā IV.1.39.

⁷ सर्वसाधनसंपन्नः पुरुषो जातनिश्चयः ।

श्रोत्रियं ब्रह्मनिष्ठं तं सद्गुरुं शरणं व्रजेत् ॥

⁷ Cf: तथाप्युत्थित एवानुस्मरे श्रीसद्गुरोः कृपाम् ।

परानन्दे निमग्नस्य त्रिपुटी नैव भाति मे ॥ DP. 4.3.34.

Such a state is hardly attained by mere scholarship. Thus it shows the very essence¹ of it. Scriptures refuse to consider such a Guru as a mere human being.² Such a Guru and not others³ is alone equal to all holy places and religious practices⁴. We shall close this discussion after quoting a Sanskrit Stotra which expresses in a nut-shell the motive behind the worship of a Guru. "Really, the grace of a Guru is the only cause of Śiṣya's highest kind of happiness. The strength of body, the possession of worldly things like a house, wealth and all other things and even control of the mind are of no value and of no purpose without the Guru-worship. The Sadguru is the highest Brahman, manifested in the world in a human form and the man who propitiates him gets supreme bliss. Nothing is impossible for the Guru. He is Brahmā though he has only one face (and not four); he is Viṣṇu, without four hands and the excellent dancer Śaṅkara, Oh Raṅga! though he hasn't the three eyes"⁵.

Thus the grace of a Sadguru is the primary necessity of life. It is in the same light that the GC, the sacred book by Sarasvatī the son of Gaṅgādhara was written and now it has become a fountain source for the devotees of Dattātreya so that the "Water" of the grace of the Guru is constantly available through its repeated readings. Many read it daily and many finish it within the period of 7 days which is called Saptāha Pārāyaṇa as is the case with the BhaP or within 3 or even one day. The geneology of the author Sarasvatī is given by the author himself in the first chapter from which we come to know that Sāyandeva who was under the direct grace of the Guru, (Nṛsinhasarasvatī)—a Brahmin of Āpastamba branch and of Kauṇḍinya Gotra was one of his ancestors. After Nāganātha the son of Sāyandeva was Devarāva, whose son was Gaṅgādhara the father of

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- ¹ गुर्वनुग्रहमात्रेण विचारः सुलभो नृणाम् ।
विचारेण परं तत्त्वं स्वयमेव प्रकाश्यते ॥ DP. 4.1.16.
 - ² गुरौ मनुष्यबुद्धिं च मन्त्रे चाक्षरबुद्धिकम् ।
प्रतिमासु शिलाबुद्धिं कुर्वाणो नरकं व्रजेत् ॥
नरवद् दृश्यते लोके श्रीगुरुः पापकर्मणा ॥ as quoted in परशुरामकल्पसूत्र.
 - ³ यो वेत्ता सच्चिदानन्दं हरेदिन्द्रियजं सुखम् ।
सेव्यास्ते गुरवः शिष्यैरन्ये त्याज्याः प्रतारकाः ॥
 - ⁴ किं तीर्थाथैर्महात्यासैः किं व्रतैः कायशोषणैः ।
निर्व्याजसेवा देवेशि भक्तिर्गुणैर्निजे गुरौ ॥ *Ibid.*
 - ⁵ रङ्गहृदयम्, p. 67; for the idea in the last stanza :
Cf. अत्रिनेत्रशिखः साक्षादचतुर्बाहुर्च्युतः ।
अचतुर्वेदनो ब्रह्मा श्रीगुरुः कथितः प्रिये ॥
कुलार्णव तन्त्र (प. क.)

Sarasvatī¹ Now the whole book of GC is written in a dialogue form between Nāmadhāraka and Siddha one of the 4 disciples² who were present at the time of the final disappearance of the Guru and who was one of the same blessed four devotees who got the Prasāda-Puṣpa from the Guru. Now regarding this Nāmadhāraka, it is clearly seen, as Shri Kāmat has already proved,³ that it is the synonymous name of Saravatī while Shri Pangarkar's opinion⁴ that Siddha told this Kathā to Nāmadhāraka and Sarasvatī enlarged it is already referred to. (P. 160). Shri Kāmat's points are as under: Firstly the author himself has said categorically that Gaṅgādhara was his father and Sāyandeva one of his ancestors and later on Nāmadhāraka is seen asking Siddha the way in which his ancestors got the grace of the Guru.⁵ The reply of Siddha makes Sāyandeva an ancestor of Nāmadhāraka.⁶ Secondly, at some other place it is stated that Siddha told this Kathā in detail and Sarasvatī narrated it in Marathi.⁷ Moreover, Siddha showed even a book in which the life of a Guru was described with its usual Phalaśruti⁸ and about which Siddha experienced a lot and which was his very food as it were. It is quite natural that Sarasvatī being new in the field of Marathi literature and being very modest and not praising his own self might have devised such a dialogue under the name of Nāmadhāraka. It is also possible that the book which Siddha showed might be in a dialogue form between Nāmadhāraka and Siddha

1 आरतं शखेंसी । गोत्र काण्डिन्य महाकृषि । साखरे नाम ख्यातीसी । सायंदेवा पासाव ॥ ४१ ॥ त्यातसूनी नागनाथ : देवराव तयावा सुत । सश श्रीगुरुचरणव्यान । गंगाधर जनक माझा ॥ ४२ ॥ GC. Ch. I.

2 Sāyandeva, Nandī, Naraharī and Siddha of 51. 58-59.

3 श्रीगुरुचरित्रान्तर्गत-गुरुगीता P. 18ff.

4 म. वा. इ. खंड २, P. 116.

5 आमुच्या पूर्वजें कवणें रीती । सेवा केली श्रीगुरुची । GC. 41.4.

6 पूर्वी कथानक सांगितले । जे कां श्रीगुरुसी भेटले । वासरग्रामीं होते भले । पूर्वज तुमचे परि- येसा ॥ ७ ॥ त्याचे नाम सायंदेव । केळी पूजा भक्तिभावे । त्यावरीं प्रीति अति स्नेह । आमुचे श्रीगुरुमूर्तीचा ॥ ८ ॥ GC. 41. 7-8.

7 पुढें वर्तलें अपूर्व ऐका । सिद्ध सांगे नामधारका । महाराष्ट्रभाषें करुनि टीका । सांगतसे सरस्वती गंगाधर ॥ GC. 11.107.

Or पुढील कथा पावन । सांगे सिद्ध वितारोन । महाराष्ट्रभाषें करुन । सांगे सरस्वती गुरुदास ॥ GC. 28.95.

8 श्रीगुरुचरित्र महिमान । तें चि आह्मां अमृतपान ।

सश सेवितों याचि गुणें । म्हणौनि पुस्तक दाविलें ॥ ८ ॥

भुक्ति-मुक्ति परमार्थ । जें जें वांछि मनीं आर्त ।

त्वरित होय साध्यत । गुरुचरित्र ऐकतां ॥ ९ ॥ etc. GC. 3. 8-12.

either in Marathi or in any other language which, in essence, remained the same in Marathi language with its narrator and hearer. This is the reason why Nāmadhāraka is referred to as some Brahmin with a desire to have the Darśana of the Guru and having heard the fame of Gāṇagāpur he is told to have come there where, at first, he was not favoured at all.¹ This Nāmadhāraka, later on, as the story goes becomes one with Sarasvatī who is favoured by the Guru from his ancestral times and is even directed to write GC.² Any way, it is a question which we cannot answer categorically except noting the fact that there was some such book like GC which was even as sacred as the present one and the whole story has a solid traditional³ basis and even personal⁴ proof.⁵

This GC later on became not only just like Vedas among devotees of Dattātreya but sometimes more than Veda⁶ also. It also attracted scholars

¹ Ch. I. 74 ff. Ch. 2. 2. ff.

² पूर्वापार आमुचे वंशी । गुरु प्रसन्न अहर्निशी ।
निरोप देतीं मातें परियेसीं । चरित्र आपुलें विस्तारीं ॥ ५२ ॥
म्हणे ग्रंथ कथन करी । अमृतघट स्वीकारी ।
तुझे वंशी पारंपरीं । लावती चारी पुरुषार्थ ॥ ५३ ॥
गुरुवाक्य मज कामधेनु । मनीं नाहीं अनुमानु ।
सिद्धि पावविणार आपणु । नृसिंहरस्वती ॥ ५४ ॥
आता असे श्रीगुरुची । म्हणौनि वाचें बोलतसे ॥ ५६ ॥ GC. Ch. I

³ Ch. 3. 8 ff.

⁴ Ch. 1. 62 ff.

⁵ It is worth noting in this connection the names of the narrator as well as of the hearer in Gujarati form of GC written only after a call from Guru have many similarities with the circumstances under which Sarasvatī wrote GC. Instead of Siddha we have here Alakha and the place of Nāmadhāraka is filled up by Nirañjana. Even the place is also shifted from Gāṇagāpur to Girnar. Thus it proves that either we cannot peep deep into such mystic matters or they do not care for such matters which are trifles in their eyes as they think of their inspirer only. Cf. Śrī Gurulīlāmṛta, Part I. 1. 93 ff., II. 105.71-73.

⁶ Shri Kamat reproduces the following story (cf. श्री. गुरुचरित्रान्तर्गत-गुरुगीता p. 20 ff). Once a learned Daśagranthī Brahmin, who had leucoderma all over body came to Narasobāwādī after trying all the known remedies to cure. He started to read RV during the day time to please God Dattātreya. But after sometime Dattātreya in the form of a small boy gave him a call telling him that instead of Veda he should read GC. The Brahmin, at first, did not understand the call and continued to read the Vedas but as his throat was choked up and as the priest of that place explained the call he resolved to start reading GC from next morning if his throat would be alright. The same thing happened and the Brahmin was cured from his fatal disease after the Saptāha Pārāyaṇa of GC.

to appreciate it. Aprabuddha¹ opines that Śrī Jñāneśvarī, GC and Śrī Dāsabodha—three in a combined way uplifted Maharashtra in the field of religion. Moreover, praising the absence of a single word of the rulers' language (Yāvanī) of the time he gives great credit to GC about its work in creating an atmosphere of courage and sacrifice by showing proper conduct to the people who had missed their way, by following the path of Bhakti alone. Pangarkar² has admired the author's respect for women and their proper place in life as well as in society and the views regarding a person's own duties in the society. Thus this book has not only played an important part in life and literature of Maharashtra but also carried the society in general along the true path. Aprabuddha rightly says:³ "GC neither speaks of disinterested Vedānta nor the actionless Bhakti nor the illusioned mission considering mortal life quite worthless. It teaches us the way which is confined to actions with a devotion arising from the right knowledge. (ज्ञानपूर्वकभक्तियुक्तस्वकर्मविचारणा). One must follow Vedic preachings and gradually move towards liberation while enjoying life in a restrained way as prescribed in the Scriptures (Śāstras). In short the double purpose of life viz. Bhakti and Mukti or Ihasukha and Parāgati is the unique feature of the book GC." This is the reason why it has commanded great respect from the people and has induced Vāsudevānanda⁴ to translate it into Sanskrit for the betterment of the people other than Marathi-knowing persons. We have also its Gujarati version form Raṅga Avadhūta in the second part of Śrī Gurulīlāmṛta. All these prove the significance of the term Guru Sampradāya. It is started by the Guru and developed by the disciples.⁵

Regarding the number of Adhyāyas and contents of some chapters, there are different opinions (from the very ancient time of their origin) though they have never affected the path of devotion. The oldest edition has 1504 (Śaka) era as its date and the date is found after the 50th chapter. Śrī Anṇā Sāheb Patwardhan is of the view that originally there was a chapter on Mantraśāstra which was dropped according to the direction (Ādeśa) of the Guru by Sarasvatī Gaṅgādhara himself; and that the chapters 41 and 42, which narrate Kāśīyātrā were combined into a single chapter though the oldest edition already referred

¹ GC. Puraskāra, p. 681.

² म. वा. इ. खंड. २ p. 125.

³ GC. Puraskāra, p. 689.

⁴ गुरुसंहिता: उपोद्धातः 5. 6.

चरितं यन्महाराष्ट्रभाषया रचितं हितम् ।

सरस्वत्याख्यविशेषेण वच्मि तद्देवभाषया ॥ ५ ॥

महाराष्ट्रीयभाषा तु न सर्वविषयोचिता ।

अतः सुगमया देववाण्येदं तन्यते मितं (मया) ॥ ६ ॥

⁵ मन्दाटी संस्कृति—p. 151; cf. also संग्रहायः गुरुपरम्पराऽऽचारानुसरणम् ।

to has got them as separate. The chapter of Avataraṇikā which gives the whole GC in a nut-shell chapter by chapter is definitely by another hand and added later on as is seen from its Oṽs (GC.'s metre) which are different. In the same way Guru-Gītā and Guru-Samādhi chapters are also the production of a later date if not of another hand. Aprabuddha sums up all the points in the following way : " (Originally, there must be 51 chapters to which Avataraṇikā was added and this position remained unchanged for sometime as we see in the attempts of the devotees to have GC in 52 ślokas. (५२ श्लोकी गु.च.). But the chapters on Mantraśāstra were dropped and the chapters on Kāśiyātrā were separated. So again it came to fifty-two. But after sometime people thought that nothing should be dropped ; so they either took Guru Gītā which was a separate work by the author or Guru Samādhi chapter according to their desire and joined the chapters on Kāśiyātrā making it again fifty-two. But that too was changed by some and taking the chapters on Kāśiyātrā separately, brought the number to fifty-three. Thus the different editions have different numbers of chapters, beginning from 49 to 53." But he rightly adds that these are all arguments after all and we cannot express the final word regarding the same. Śrī Kāmat also regrets for not having the original edition written by Sarasvatī Gaṅgādhara himself. Moreover, the Oṽs in the beginning as well as in the end of the Guru Gītā clearly shows the hand of Sarasvatī Gaṅgādhara and the whole book is written after many years have passed when Nṛsiṃhasarasvatī finally disappeared. It is not proper to say that Sarasvatī Gaṅgādhara did not write the chapter on Guru Samādhi. Arguments of this type may be advanced at all times. We should like to accept the view of Śrī Kāmat who has taken great labour and care in critically editing the GC in which he has accepted 51 chapters including that on the Guru Gītā ; adding Avataraṇikā after it and making it of 52 while the chapters on Kāśiyātrā are taken jointly. The total Oṽs come to 7386 + 105 = 7491.

CHAPTER II

JANĀRDANASWĀMĪ AND EKANĀTHA

(i) Janārdanaswāmī (1504 A.D. - 1575 A.D.)

Just at the time of Sarasvatī the author of GC and soon after the disappearance of Nṛsinhasarasvatī another powerful personality arose who, with his great influence over the ruling Mohamadan king, not only enhanced the spiritual tradition, but also gave a novel touch to it that is seen in his life and also in the life of his most famous disciple Ekanātha. He, with other saints in this line, worked when the political field was controlled by the Mahomadans. So ill-feelings between the two parties were very much reduced and were removed by their personal influence. But that is only one side of their work. The Sun rises in the east and yet its effect is seen in many places; it is felt on lotuses, animals and birds, and even on human beings. In the same way Saints also work in many spheres for the benefit of the people. They influence society in general and individuals in particular. Pangarkar rightly remarks¹ that a saint and a god are equal and their work is beyond our understanding and description. We should always remember that whatever may be their external ways their actions in general inspire and guide persons who are in need of their guidance on their way to final emancipation. Bearing this in mind we shall be able to fathom the internal mission for which they lived and died. Janārdanaswāmī was one of such powerful lamps who "with his brave, firm influential and bright personality"² successfully carried out his mission of life and even lighted a more powerful lamp in the life and literature of Maharashtra. It is needless to say that he was Ekanātha, besides the other four in Ekanātha-Pañcāyatana.³

Janārdanaswāmī was born in 1504 A.D. in the village of Chalisgaon in Khandesh district. He was a Deśastha Brahmin of Āśvalāyana branch and followed the School of Śaṅkara.⁴ He was a minister in charge of the fort at Daulatabad and had so influenced the ruling party that Thursday being a day sacred to Dattātreyā, his personal deity, was observed as a holiday. He used to sit in a lonely place in the fort upto noon worshipping and meditating Dattātreyā. After this he did the routine work.⁵ Dattātreyā gave him Darśana

1 देवभक्तचरित्रमाला -५- दोन शब्द.

2 म. वा. इ. खंड-२,—p. 131.

3 Ekājanārdana, Rāmājanārdana, Janījanārdana, Śrī Viṭhā Renuka-nandana and Dāsopanta.

4 महाराष्ट्रीय ज्ञानकोष, भा. १३.

5 श्रीज्ञानेश्वर महाराज अने महात्मा श्रीएकनाथ, p. 316.

whenever needed.¹ About his early life it is said that it was immoral like that of Tulsidāsa.² Ekañātha has described the first Darśana of Dattātreyā to Janārdana which may be quoted in the words of Prof. Ranade : “The divine discontent of Janārdana made him senseless. Dattātreyā, who expects only sincere faith from his devotees approached him and placed his hand on the head of Janārdana. Miraculous was the touch and its effect as light came to Janārdana. Dattātreyā taught him that faith which preaches inaction through actions. Janārdana now understood the secret of living free though embodied.”³

It is this preaching of inaction through action, the Māyāmukta and Māyāyukta forms of Dattātreyā which add and enhance the tradition of this school. This school has never kept its door shut or made them narrow so that the new order could not replace the old. It is very liberal. Janārdana and many others not only lived a married life but also worked in society for guiding it. Janārdana had to fight with foes even. About the preaching of Dattātreyā about Āśrama life, Pangarkar rightly observes : “Though Dattātreyā himself free from the Āśrama stage, gave just a contradictory call to remain in Āśrama, it is proper because of its difficulties if not impossibility, in this Kali age.”⁴ Janārdana fulfilled both the worldly (Prapañca) as well as the spiritual (Paramārtha) mission of his life. His life clearly shows that a saint may be a minister but a minister may or may not be a saint.⁵ The same kind of spiritual life is even more successfully displaced by his direct disciple Ekañātha.

Regarding the saint giving Guru-Upadeśa at Ankalkhope on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā under the Udumbara tree Shri Phadke gives some more details though

¹ Kalyāṇa : Yogāṅka, p. 858.

² Phadke : द. सु. प. 236

³ Mysticism in Maharashtra : p. 229

सद्गुरुप्राप्ती लागीं सर्वथा । थोर जनार्दनासी चिंता ।
विसरला तीन्हीं अवस्था । सद्गुरु चिंतितां चिन्तनीं ॥
देवो भावाचा भोक्ता । दृढ जाणोनि अवस्था ।
येणें झाले श्रीदत्ता । तेणें हातु माथा ठेविला ॥
हातु ठेवतांचि तत्काळ । बोधु आकळिला सकळ ।
मिथ्या प्रपंचाचे मूळ । स्वरूप केवळ स्वबोधें ॥
कर्म करुनि अकर्ता । तो चि अकर्मात्मकबोध झाला देता ।
देहीं असोनि विदेहता । ते ही तत्त्वतां आकळिली ॥

एकनाथी भागवत : अ. ९

⁴ म. वा. इ. खंड २: p. 135.

⁵ Ibid, p. 136

he leaves some points unsolved. Prof. Ranade¹ and others² identify Nṛsinhasarasvatī as the Guru of Janārdana though Ekanātha never mentioned the name even and it is believed that Dattātreyā directly gave Upadeśa to him. Now from this fact arise two problems. One is pointed out by Shri Phadke.³ If we consider the Abhaṅga of Ekanātha which describes direct grace of Dattātreyā (Datta-Anugraha), and if we allow the Deva-Darśana before the Guru-Darśana, as is seen in the lives of saints like Nāmadeva and others, we fail to understand why was Janārdana not directed by Deva to Guru afterwards and why did not Nṛsinhasarasvatī give Darśana in his personal form? The second problem is rather an answer to the first that is raised by Shri Pangarkar.⁴ Pangarkar considers the literature of Ekanātha as genuine and trustworthy as regards the life of Janārdana while the Abhaṅga etc. attributed to him are considered doubtful as Janārdana, in his opinion, has written nothing. No doubt, the Abhaṅga etc. clearly show that he tried to propitiate Nṛsinhasarasvatī and even used to read some such text as GC⁵ but he was given Darśana in Dattātreyā's usual form. But if we carefully consider the spiritual lineage⁶ given by Ekanātha we find that Dattātreyā's spiritual lineage in Satya-Yuga is continued by Sahasrārjuna and Yadu while Janārdana is the third in the Kali age. Now Nṛsinhasarasvatī and Śrīpādavallabha before him were, no doubt, earlier than Janārdana. Why is Nṛsinhasarasvatī (or Śrīpādavallabha) omitted from the account of the spiritual lineage if Nṛsinhasarasvatī was his direct Guru? The reason seems to be that Nṛsinhasarasvatī being an incarnation of Dattātreyā is not at all considered in the Śiṣya-Paramparā and consequently the real discipleship in Kali age went to Janārdana.⁷ This solves the points raised by Shri Phadke and also the question of Janārdana's literature whether it was genuine.⁸

¹ Mysticism in Maharashtra, p. 214, Prof. Ranade also adds that the place is still in the Satara District.

² महाराष्ट्रीय ज्ञानकोष, भा. १३, म. च. कोष p. 391, योगाङ्क (कल्याण).

³ द. सु. p. 238 ff.

⁴ म. वा. इ. खंड २: p. 131 foot note.

⁵ Phadke: द. सु. p. 239.

⁶ दत्तात्रेय शिष्य परंपरा । सहस्रार्जुन यदु दुसरा ।

तेणें जनार्दन तिसरा । शिष्य केला खरा कलियुगी ॥

एकनाथी भागवत: अ. ९

⁷ It is worth noting in this connection that Ekanātha in his Bhāgavata invokes Dattātreyā as his Guru's Guru (आचार्याचा आचार्य) who directed him to write the work on hand just to have clear insight into self-knowledge: Cf. आतां नू दत्तात्रेया । जो कां आचार्याचा आचार्या । तेणें प्रवर्तविलें ग्रंथकार्या, अर्थवाक्या निजबोधू ॥ एकनाथी भागवत, अ. ९.

⁸ Shri R. C. Dhare quoting Shri V. S. Bendre takes Cānda Bodhale as Guru of Janārdana. For details cf. Shri Nṛsinhasarasvatī by R. C. Dhare, pp. 130-132.

Many take him as a poet and ascribe to him पञ्चीकरण, श्रीदत्तस्तुति, उपदेश, समाधिप्रकरण,¹ योगगीता,² and अभय³ and Ārti written by him on Nṛsinhasarasvatī is still sung at Gāṇagāpur,⁴ a place sacred to Nṛsinhasarasvatī where his Nirguṇa-Pādūkās are still worshipped with great respect and devotion. He completed his mission on the sixth day of Phālguna Kṛṣṇa in the year 1497 of Śaka era i.e. 1575 A.D. This day is still celebrated under the name of Nātha-Śiṣṭhī at Paithān.⁵ The Yoṣāṅka of Kalyāṇa informs us that Janārāna disappeared through Yoga-Mārga. He passed away at Daulatabad (Devagaḍh) where his Samādhi is seen even today.

(ii) Ekanātha (1533 A. D.—1599 A. D.)

We now pass on to the age of Ekanātha which is considered as an age of Synthetic mysticism by Prof. Kanade. Politically as well as socially there was chaos at that time. People were narrow-minded and selfish. Religion had lost its wide outlook and came circumscribed to an individual. Its practical side was altogether forgotten and the philosophical idea behind it was out of reach. In short, the whole country was without any vigour and strength and was completely degraded. Trambakrao has described the state of the time and has separated the four Panthas viz. Varna, Bheda (of Yavanas), Nirvāṇa of degraded Bauddhas and Abhedha of the degraded Śāktas. At this time it was but natural that hypocrisy, untruth and ill-conduct reigned supreme.⁶ Ekanātha appeared at such a critical time and through his life and literature established a true and powerful school which is called Deva-Pantha by Trambakrao.

The inclusion of Ekanātha among the promulgators of Dattātreya-worship is not improper, though his literature speaks mainly of Kṛṣṇa and Rāma Bhakti. Ekanātha's name is respectfully uttered among Datta-Bhaktas⁷ as well as among the writers of the lives of the devotees of Dattātreya.⁸ His name is invariably

1 मध्ययुगीन चरित्रकोश.

2 कव्यः योगाङ्क-p. 658.

3 Phadke gives some of them in द. सु. on pp. 242-43.

4 मध्ययुगीन चरित्रकोश.

5 This was started by Ekanātha after his Guru though the day accidentally happens to be the day of (1) Janārdana's birth-day, (2) Janārdana's Datta-Darśana day, (3) Day of grace on Ekanātha by Janārdana, (4) The day on which Janārdana relinquished his body, (5) and even the day on which Ekanātha passed away.

6 म. वा. इ. खंड २ : p. 176 ff.

7 Cf. नारायणपुत्र अत्रिनाथ । दत्त जनार्दन एकनाथ ॥

Or दत्तात्रेय अवधूता । जनार्दनस्वामी एकनाथा ॥

8 Cf. Datta-Prabodha. Ch. 52.

associated with Janārdana,¹ his Guru—a devotee of Dattātreya. He himself referred to Dattātreya with great respect and invoked him in his Bhāgavata² and Bhikṣu-Gītā.³ Moreover, the Ārti written by him is sung at noon time⁴ even today at Narasobā Wādī. In this Ārti he has said that his devotion to Dattātreya is so strong that his mind is mad after him and the idea of mine and thine has gone away.⁵ He has written a short life-sketch of Dattātreya. Moreover, he had a vision of Dattātreya owing to the grace of his Guru. We may or may not accept the legend of Dāsopanta who saw Dattātreya as a door-keeper in the form of a Paṭhān.⁶ We are also told that Ekanātha was directed by a divine voice to go to Devagiri and to take initiation from Janārdana. This was heard at the age of twelve, a fact which speaks a lot for his selection by the divine power for the spiritual mission which was to be understood from the devotee of Dattātreya. Pangarkar rightly observes⁷ that Ekanātha worshipped Dattātreya, Viṭṭhala and Janārdana with equal respect and carried on Dattātreya worship which was the worship of his Guru, and Viṭṭhal worship which was his family worship. In this sense he represented not only his age of synthetic mysticism as described by Prof. Ranade but also the synthetic thought underlying the worship of Dattātreya.

Opinions regarding the date of birth of Ekanātha vary. Shri Bhavé and Sahasrabuddhe take 1548 A.D. while Shri Pangarkar states the possibility of two dates viz. 1528 A.D. and 1533 A.D. The last view is generally accepted.⁸ He was born at Paithan and had a nice family tradition. His great grandfather Blānūdāsa and his grandfather Cakrapāṇi were devotees of Viṭṭhal. His father Sūryanārayaṇa and mother Rukmiṇī died when he was a small child. The name Ekanātha suggests that he was the only child left behind to carry on the line of family. His nature was calm and his heart god-loving from the very

¹ Even Ekanātha is known as Ekā-Janārdana.

² Ekanāthi-Bhāgavat Ch. 1.

³ श्रीज्ञानेश्वर महाराज अने महात्मा श्रीएकनाथ, p. 334. cf. also

माझे निजगुरुचा हि गुरु । श्री दत्त परमगुरु ।

तो भिक्षुगीतार्थे सा चार । योग्यां योगेश्वरं तुष्टला ॥

⁴ Śrī Dattapadāmṛtaḥ p. 12.

⁵ दत्त दत्त ऐसें लागले ध्यान । हरपले मन झाले उन्मन ।

मी-तूंपणाची झाली उसण । एका जनार्दनी श्रीदत्तध्यान ॥

⁶ Cf. निळोधा : “ दासोपंतोचा अभिमान । गेला होतांचि दर्शन ।

दत्तत्रैय चोपदार । तेथे उभे काठी वर ॥ ” quoted by Shri Phadke द. मु.,

⁷ म. वा. इ. खंड २, p. 133.

⁸ Ranade : Mysticism in Maharashtra. p. 215.

childhood. So after his thread-ceremony which was performed by his grandfather Cakrapāṇi at the age of six he became quite eager to have a Guru who can guide him on the spiritual path. The desire of the child was strong and his intellect was very sharp. He was, therefore, selected by the divine power at the age of twelve and was directed by a divine call to go to Janārdana who was at Devagiri. A call was heard outside his village near the temple of Śiva, called Pimpaleśvara and the small child did not even stop to take permission of his grand parents and went to Janārdana after three days. Janārdana was much pleased to see the small boy of twelve with a keen spiritual sense. Phadke has taken note with great respect for Ekanātha's firm determination.¹

Ekanātha himself described his first meeting with Janārdana when a series of questions and answers took place between the two and finally Janārdana having satisfied accepted Ekanātha as his disciple and at the end of a poem composed by him he reveals the joy of getting a Guru in a poetical way.² This Abhaṅga was one of his daily recitations. He served at the feet of the master for six years. His devotion to his Guru is seen not only in his works but also reverently revealed in the writings of his biographers.³ Mahipati describes his daily time-table which starts from four early morning and which includes many services for the Guru.⁴ Ekanātha took less food so that there may not be any disturbance due to sleep or laziness. "This kind of services for the Guru", says Phadke,⁵ "might be considered either as exaggeration or slavery by some but that is either due to ill-luck or perverted mind." It is the grace of the Guru that works miracles and self-knowledge could never be attained merely from books and scriptures without the Guru's blessings. Really speaking, during this time the Guru fathoms the qualities of his disciple after coming in close contact with him and strikes at the proper point when the iron is hot. Janārdana did the same thing. Once he gave him some checking work and Ekanātha did not find even one small mistake after a good deal of trial. But Ekanātha would not find the trouble of going through it again and again and that too for the whole night which he passed unawares. Janārdana while congratulating him on finding out a mistake said with a serene voice: "If you concentrate on God in the same way, He will certainly come to you."⁶ These words prepared his heart to

¹ द. सु. प. 246 ff.

² एकनाथ महाराज कृत त्रिदावली अंश प. 3.

³ मध्ययुगीन चरित्रकोश, p. 172 enumerates both ancient and modern writers' high regard for him.

⁴ As quoted by Shri Phadke: p. 247-48.

⁵ द. सु. : प. 248.

⁶ ती एकाग्रता दत्त चिंतनाकडे लावल्यास ते तुला प्रत्यक्ष होतील.

receive the lustre of the Lord. His emotions for Guru are nicely depicted in one of his Abhaṅgas. He tells us that he first prepared a seat for his teacher in his purified mind then he burnt the incense of egoism at his feet, lighted the lamp of good emotions and offered him the five Prāṇas.¹ The Guru thought it fit to introduce him to his personal deity Dattātreyā and instructed Ekanātha that the god would come to him in any form. But Ekanātha like Viṣṇudatta could not recognise him twice. At first Dattātreyā appeared in the form of a hunter dressed like a Yavana and Ekanātha doubted whether such a person might be Dattātreyā. The god disappeared as soon as Ekanātha doubted him, and Ekanātha having known his fault became much restless and repented. Again the same was the case when the god appeared in the form of a Paṭhān. Finally, Ekanātha with great determination caught the feet of the Lord who came in the form of a Malaṅga.² Even at this time it is said that he had postponed to eat the Prasāda given by the god and Janārdana had to intervene and he was forced to eat the same and the god was requested by him to protect the disciple.³ The god showed his grace with the words that that great Bhāgavata devotee would uplift and emancipate thousands of souls during his life.⁴ Ekanātha was overjoyed. He wrote about the incident giving all credit to his Guru with the words that through the grace of the Sadguru he recognised Shri Datta and got him fixed in his heart.⁵ After this he saw everywhere the lord

- 1 प्रथम अंतःकरण जाण । चित्त शुद्ध आणि मन ।
चोखाळोनि आसन । स्वामीसी केलें ।
अनन्य आवडीचें जळ । प्रक्षाळिलें चरणकमळ ।
वासना समूळ । चंदन लावी ॥
अहं जाळयला धूप । सद्भाव उजळिला दीप ।
पंचप्राण हे अमूप । नैवेद्य केला ॥

2 श्रीदत्तप्रबोधः Ch. 52. Cf. also Phadke : श्रीदत्तपंचामृतः p. 84. Shri Phadke (द. मु. प. 241) tries to solve the question why Ekanātha has not described this meeting which is rather astonishing as regards the Malaṅga form of Dattātreyā. He says that Ekanātha might not have any astonishment as we have. We also do not see awkwardness in the incident as Dattātreyā, being Avadhūta and Bālonmattapiśācaka, is even known for such type of external absurdity at first sight. His famous devotee Viṣṇudatta similarly experienced the unusual tests and after passing through them like Ekanātha got his Darśana in the usual form.

- 3 आख्यानमाला-२, p. 191.

4 म. वा. इ. खंड-२ : P. 138. "हा महाभागवत जन्मास आला असून हा सहस्रावधि जीवांचा उद्धार करील."

- 5 सद्गुरु कृपे श्रीदत्त ओळखिला हृदयडोला त्यावरी बैसविला ॥

श्री एकनाथ महाराज कृत त्रिदाबळी अभंग p. 6.

of the universe and experienced natural and eternal joy, being one with animate and inanimate things.¹ He acquired the power of muttering the name of Shri Datta by whose incantation highest joy is bound to arise.²

He was granted a mission of becoming a Mahābhāgavata (great Bhāgavata) even by Dattātreyā and in view of his propensities and feelings through spiritual heritage from his devotion to Viṭṭhal Janārdana gave him a call to that effect.³ Ekanātha sat for religious austerities and meditation for about six years in a beautiful place on a hill called Śūlabhanjana alias Sulabha which was a part of Devagiri. This place was the place of penance for Mārkaṇḍeya. Moreover, the services rendered to the Guru, the direct guidance that was available every now and then, the keen interest and hard labour bore fruit and Ekanātha got a vision of Śrīkṛṣṇa.

Once Janārdana was meditating and all of a sudden the enemies attacked the fort of Daulatabad. Ekanātha thought for a moment of the situation and at once prepared himself in the disguise of his Guru, fought bravely and defeated the foes. Afterwards he put aside the robes of the Guru and began his work. The Guru came to know the whole incident after sometime and his joy knew no bounds. Besides the whole-hearted services of the preceptor he had even given up his fame and career in the name of the Guru. The Guru knew thoroughly well that the disciple had understood the way of inaction through action. Now there was nobody who would defeat him along the path of inaction without being bound by actions done for the sake of duty towards society. Ekanātha got blessings and leave to go to his place and was directed to live married life.

Before he married Girjābāi he travelled for about two and half years all over India. This gave him additional knowledge and prepared him for the life of an ideal house-holder. His wife co-operated wholeheartedly in his daily routine work which was full of various religious, social and ideal activities. Shri

1 जिऊडे पाहे तिऊडे चक्राणि । बोलायासि नाहीं राहिलेते राणी ।

जनी वनी एकात्मता खाणी । एका जनार्दनी रंगली ही बाणी ॥

2 दत्त दत्त बाणी । दत्तरूपी होय प्राणी ॥

दत्तनामाचा छंद । नामें प्रगटे परमानंद ॥ श्री दत्त उपासना :—L. G. Paranjape, p. 25.

3 Shri Phadke raises a point for considering this matter of giving another Upāsana to Ekanātha. (द. सु. p. 240). Yet he himself has noted the fact that Jani Janārdana another disciple of Janārdana had Gaṇeśa-Upāsana. Moreover, it is not unnatural in the Dattātreyā-school which synthesises the differences that the Upāsana of the favourite god might be given to an aspirant (Sādhaka). Again, in the life of Ekanātha we see that he considered all Upāsana as equal as is seen in his equation noted above (p. 105. Note 7).

Chitrav Shastri after referring to many incidents that happened in his life concludes that Ekanātha was a visible personification of the qualities like calmness, pity and sense of equality.¹ Prof. Ranade agreeing with him further adds regarding these qualities of Ekanātha that they were beyond description. He further remarks that his life was a model for one who would realise god.² Pangarkar goes further than this and pays him a high tribute by saying that modern as well as ancient leaders who went to change the society or to uplift the villages as whole must learn some kind of lesson from the life of Ekanātha.³

As regards the literary career, he edited Jñāneśvaī, and his Bhāgavata got place among the Prasthāna-Trayī of the Vākarī school. Besides these, the Bhavārtha Rāmāyaṇa and Rukmiṇī-Svayamvara are the most popular. But his esoteric doctrine is seen in the Abhaṅgas and Bhāruḍas. Chitrav Shastri has enlisted his works which are about twenty-five.⁴ On the whole the personality of Ekanātha was much above the ordinary level and he lived a spiritual life doing Bhakti, giving alms and followed the philosophy of Śaṅkarācārya.⁵ He passed away at Paithan in 1599 A. D.⁶ leaving behind him a son named Haripaṇḍit and two daughters Godūbāī and Gaṅgābāī. Godūbāī was the mother of the famous Mukteśvara⁷ who became a great poet through the grace of Ekanātha though he in his childhood was dumb. He was initiated by Ekanātha and was drawn towards Datta worship. The Samādhi of Ekanātha at Paithan is seen even today and the ceremony started by him on Phālgun Kṛṣṇa 6 after his Guru is now celebrated under the name Nātha-Śiṣṭhi by the Bhāgavata devotees.

Thus Ekanātha throughout his life remained under the grace of Dattātreyā indirectly. Janārdana his Guru remained as a chain between the two. Ekanā-

1 मध्ययुगीन चरित्रकोश, p. 172.

2 Ranade : Mysticism in Maharashtra. p. 216.

3 म. वा. इ. खंड-२, p. 185.

4.5 मध्ययुगीन चरित्रकोश, p. 173.

6 Ranade: Mysticism in Maharashtra. p. 217.

7 He worshipped Dattātreyā in the form of Śiva, under different names such as Viśvambhara, Līlāviśvambhara and Mukteśvara. He has described the Pañcāyatana as well as the Trimūrti form of Līlāviśvambhara. e.g. In Ādiparva of his Mahābhārata he writes in the beginning :

“ कौ नाभिपाशत कमळांसनु । मध्यकंठत रमारमणु ।

स्कंधा वसतो त्रिलोचनु । अंगत्रयी जो एक ॥ ”

Cf. महाराष्ट्रीय संतः वाङ्मय व जीवन—p. 134. cf. also :

विश्वेश लीला विश्वंभर । दत्तात्रेय जगद्गुरु ।

तत्प्रसादं मुक्तेश्वर । निरोपी तै परिसावे ॥ आदि०२६-१२२.

tha's devotion to his Guru was really extraordinary or exceptional and the Guru was also kind enough to reciprocate his feelings. Ekanātha carried out Janār-dana's directions thoroughly and successfully among which his life-mission of being actionless amidst actions which was given to him by Dattātreyā himself was with equal-even more-credit carried out by Ekanātha. His ideal household-ship, his accuracy in all matters gave him a high place among saints. Moreover, with his personality and behaviour he became a veritable link between the Vāraṅkarī and the Datta school. The two sects never thought of their differences and if some untoward incident took place as is seen in the anecdotes regarding Dāsopanta they never quarrelled. It is this synthetic outlook which is the result of the work of Ekanātha and which is entitled to admiration by the devotees of Dattātreyā ; and it is this indebtedness that has given him a high place in the hearts of all. Saints are respected everywhere by all but their contribution to the special branch gives them some special kind of credit. Ekanātha though a follower of the Vāraṅkarī-school would command great respect even from Datta-worshippers.

CHAPTER III

DĀSOPANTA

(1551 A. D.—1615 A. D.)

Ekanātha established a relation between the Vārakarī and the Datta schools. In the same way Dāsopanta's name will also be remembered for examining the relation between the Nātha and the Datta schools. He was a devotee of Dattātreyā but his initiation was after the type of the Nātha School and Dāsopanta is also considered as Nāth-follower.¹ These types of relations of the devotees of Dattātreyā with other sects reveal the liberal view taken by the devotees of Dattātreyā. Moreover, the people of the time did not consider that kind of relation unnatural as the contemporary period was influenced by the eclectic life of Dattātreyā as well as by those of the followers of the sect. Dāsopanta was the contemporary of Ekanātha, Janī Janārdana and Sarāsvatī Gaṅgādhara. He wrote much and it is said that he spent two pice daily for ink. But he is not popular as Ekanātha is. As far as his literature is concerned he is considered one of the prominent personalities in the Marathi literature. Shri Pohnekar² sees two factors lurking behind the obscurity of Dāsopanta—the self-satisfied nature of Dāsopanta and his dislike for popularity. Shri Phadke gives³ some other reasons such as profuse writing, lack of lucidity (Durbodhatā) and the curse due to his envy towards Ekanātha, whose popularity was increasing. But this is rather extreme; for Dāsopanta is referred to by Mahipati with respect. Jayarāmasuta in Santa-Mālikā and Giridhara in Samartha-Pratāp take note of his Gītārṇava. In the same way the Ekanātha Caritra of Keshava Kavi and Tattva-Vilāsa in 9th Paṭala describe his episode with Ekanātha and his volumous writings respectively.⁴ Moreover, popularity is not the real measurement to assess the work of a man. Bhavabhūti depended on eternal time and the vast world for the appreciation of the real worth of his works. The patience of Dāsopanta in this respect exceeds that of Bhavabhūti for Dāsopanta went on writing continuously and produced vast literature.⁵

But this is only one side of his mission. Apart from the literary side there

¹ म. च. कोश, p. 453.

² Intro. to दासोपंताची पासोडी.

³ द. मु. प. 291.

⁴ Quoted from Intro. to दासोपंताची पासोडी.

⁵ धन्य धन्य दासोपंत । जयाचे लक्षावधी ग्रंथ ।

भक्ति-ज्ञान-वैराग्ययुक्त । न भूतो न भविष्यति ॥

are rather more important aspects of his life which are visible in his intent devotion¹ and Nāmavāda.² He had the firm belief that devotion to the god must be firm and absolute. He himself was a great devotee of the god and throughout his life he has sung the name of the god in one way or the other. Over and above this, he laid stress on self-experience. Unless and until a man sees or understands a thing, it is no use simply believing it blindly. 'बाबावाक्यं प्रमाणं' was never encouraged by him. He always preached that knowledge must always be put to practice otherwise it is of no use. This can be done by conquering the mind which can be attained by self-satisfaction and good company. Even after attaining liberation he discriminated between the right and wrong. He used to hold that after all a foot is a foot and a brow a brow³! The high place of the one cannot be replaced by the other. This was to be strictly observed while maintaining relation with the Guru. After reaching the top-most height of the absolute and eternal Brahman the place of a Guru, in the eyes of Dāsopanta is reserved at least ten fingers higher than that of the disciple, says Shri Pohnekar⁴. Dāsopanta's reasoned brain gives an explanation for this that even though all are equal after final emancipation a harlot cannot be addressed as mother.⁵ This sort of independent thinking, self satisfaction and care-free life mainly dependent on the strength of the self and faith in god along with other saintly virtues gave him a worthy place in society and Shri M. A. Karandikar still stresses the point put forward by Shri Bhawe that Dāsopanta might have a member of one of the parties which tried for national uplift.⁶

Dāsopanta was born at Nārāyanapeṭh in Hyderabad though the actual place is not still finally located or fixed. His father Digambarapanta was Despande of Nārāyanapeṭh in the territory of Bedar and the name of his mother was Pārvatibāi.⁷ His birth date falls on Bhādrapada Kṛṣṇa 8, 1473 (S'aka era). He was intelligent from his very childhood and his complexion was

1 म्हणौनी सद्गुरुची महिमा । ते दुर्जया न ये उयमा ।

म्हणौनी सर्वदेशित्वीं आम्हा । एकदेशित्व प्रिय ॥

2 मुखीं नाम हातीं टाळी । दास नाचती गोधळी रे ।

तुम्हीं श्रीस्त म्हणारे । सर्व साङ्गिनी कल्पना रे ॥

3 कगळ तें कगळ आणि पाय तें पाय च.

4 दासोपंताची पालोडी—p. 35.

5 सर्वत्र ऐक्य म्हणौनी । वेश्या ते नव्हे जननी ।

व्यवहारी स्त्री भगिनी । येकी नेणाची या ॥

6 महाराष्ट्रीय संत, वाङ्मय व जीवन—p. 143.

7 Once due to drain, it is said that Digambarapanta did not collect, out of mercy the taxes from the people and the king being angry, Dattātreyā in the guise of Mahāra paid the money to the king on the appointed day.

beautiful. His father being learned, god-fearing and wealthy, got him married in his young age. In this way Dāsopanta had no reason to renounce the world from the worldly point of view. But the inner call for the emancipation of self and for the betterment of the world at large, grew so strong that one day, like Gautama Buddha, he, at the age of sixteen, went to Mātāpur on the Sahyādri hills, which are famous being the sleeping place of Dattātreyā and practised severe penance for twelve to fifteen years. Here he got a vision of Jagadambā and a call from Dattātreyā that he should go to Rākṣasabhuvan a village on the bank of the river Godāvarī and should take the foot-prints (Pādukā) which lay under the sands of the river and worship them. Here he stayed for twelve years worshipping the Pādukās sacred to Dattātreyā and he got the vision of his god Dattātreyā, and was initiated in the Nātha-school. Dāsopanta has composed an Abhaṅga on his ravishing experiences after the vision of Dattātreyā. “He had no sense regarding things to do. He could not understand whether he should stand or sit down. He did not even like to eat. Even the rosary stood still! Whom will he meditate with eyes shut? and what will he see with eyes open? Such had been his condition after the knowledge of self says Digambara¹ (alias Dāsopanta).”² After this he started writing to reconstruct the Hindu religion and settled at Āmbe Jogāi for the remaining period of his life.

He always worshipped the Pādukā-form of Dattātreyā and never an idol. Moreover, he has not described any type of image of Dattātreyā in his writings. But at the end of Pāsoḍī in which Pañcīkaraṇa is written, the icon of Dattātreyā³ with different weapons is inferred as having one head and six hands.⁴ The icon at Āmbe Jogāi as is seen now has a peculiar history though it was not what Dāsopanta worshipped as some believed. At the time of Dāsopanta’s death people asked him for his remembrance. Dāsopanta prepared the icon of Dattātreyā in the present form seen at Āmbe Jogāi. It was made of clay of the river.

¹ Dāsopanta writes under different pseudonyms like Digambara, Digambarānucara. The significance of the name Digambarānucara seems to be the humble servant (Anucara) or follower of Dattātreyā-Digambara while Digambara might be the short form of it though accidentally it happens to be the name of his father. In the literary field he is known as Dāsodigambara.

² उभा ना बैठा ठायीं ठायीं भानची नाही ।
जेवावे कैसे काई ? दिगंबरा ! वृत्ति विलयी ॥
हाती राहिली स्मरणीं चाळावे कैसे मणी ?
डोळे उघडुनी काय पाहावे ? डोळे झांकुनि कवणा ध्यावे ?
दिगंबर आत्मा जीवे जाणिले असता बरवे ॥

³ दासोपंताची पासोडी p. 127.

⁴ The emblems in the hands are rosary (Mālā), water-pot (Kamaṇḍalu), drum (Ḍamaru), trident (Triśūla), Conch (Śaṅkha) and disc (Cakra).

Dāsopanta after placing it under corn told all the people, "At the end of subsequent month it will change its metal. Thus first it will become of brass, then of copper, then of silver, after that of gold and finally of diamond. Have faith and take it out after five months." After saying so Dāsopanta took Samādhi and after two months one of the devotees, without informing anybody, tried to test what Dāsopanta had said. He found the icon being changed into copper but he put it as it was. The other devotees after five months could not see it changed into diamond as one had already violated the conditions put forth. Any way he had one-headed and six-handed Dattātreyā before his mind; and this is even proved by another fact that he gave such icon to his devotee of Dākulaḡi named Kṛṣṇāḡipanta Kulkarnī. This icon still exists. He worshipped both Śiva and Datta

In the school of Dattātreyā, Śiva and Viṣṇu worships have joined and the Avadhūta-Mārga never binds a man to a particular form. Even in this school there are three doors to enter. One is Avadhūta-Mārga, the second is the Guru-Mārga and the third is the Ānanda-Mārga. The god worshipped is one in all the three but the mode is some what different that too only in a name. This can be seen from their way of expressing joy. Avadhūtas cry out 'अवधूतचित्तनश्रीगुरुदेवदत्त' while Guru-Upāsakas, 'श्रीगुरुदेवदत्त' and the followers of Ānanda-Mārga, आनंदे दत्तात्रेय देवदेव'. Dāsopanta belongs to the third type and his followers at Āmbe Jogāi as well as others follow the same. Moreover, he believed in 16 incarnations of Dattātreyā and he has composed a Stotra in which all the sixteen incarnations are briefly described.¹

His Padas, one and a quarter of a lakh in number, are of great value. Many of them are mystical in sense.² Over and above the same, there are about fifty books³ written by him among which Gītārṇava, having about one and a quarter of a lakh of Oṡis and Pañcīkarana, written on cloth, which was 24 hands in length and 2½ in breadth, are notable for their special peculiarity. His literature on Dattātreyā is also vast. Dattātreyā-Māhātmya in Sanskrit, commentary on Avadhūta Gītā and many Stotras regarding the sacred names of Dattātreyā are seen with other collections at Āmbe Jogāi the place of his Samādhi. He passed away on Māgha Kṛṣṇa 6 in 1537 (Śaka era) at the age of sixty-four. His worth is fully recognised by Vāsudevānandasarasvatī a venerable name among the devotees of Dattātreyā. It is said⁴ that a man who went to have a Darśana of Vāsudevānanda neglecting the yearly celebrations observed in memory of Dāsopanta could had no Darśana of his and was given the direction that as there was no difference between the two personalities it was no use leaving the worship of Dāsopanta.

¹ दत्तात्रेयषोडशावतारजयन्तीकल्पम्, p. 139 ff.

² Some are published under the name दासोपंताची पदे by K. V. Lele, Wai.

³ For the list Cf. म. क. चरित्र—? p. 21.

⁴ As quoted by Shri Phadke: द. मु. p. 292 cf. also श्रीगुरुलीलामृत: ३-१४३-८७-८८

CHAPTER IV
BHAIKAVA AVADHŪTA JÑĀNASĀGARA
(? — 1843 A.D.)

We have already referred to the liberal attitude maintained in the Dattātreya School. India as a rule has always kept her door open for free thinking in the field of philosophy and religion. In the same way, there are many saints and devotees in this school who preach and practice, enjoying peace and achieving the final goal of their life. Of course, all this is under the worthy name of Dattātreya. Their devotion to the god and the Guru is incomparable while they lead the people with their spiritual life. Bhairava Avadhūta Jñānasāgara alias Āppājibovā is an instance in point. Jñānasāgara was his pen-name while he was called Āppājibovā because of his birth in the lineage of the sister of Ciddhanaswāmī who was the Guru of Uddhavaciddhana.¹ His birth-date is not known. His father's name was Jyotipanta and mother's name was Yamunā. He was a Deśastha Brahmin of Viśvāmītra clan belonging to the Āśvalāyana branch. He was born at Viṭa in the district of Khanpur in Satara district.

About his capacity, it is said that the idol of Dattātreya which was at Paithan came to Viṭa owing to his deep devotion (Āśādha Śukla 7 of 1733-Śaka era). In the Jñānasāgara he has treated some philosophical problems. Phadke has taken note of the difference in his thinking and has quoted it² in which Saguṇa, Nirguṇa, Saguṇa-Nirguṇa nature of Brahman is explained with the example of the moon. The moon is Nirguṇa on the new-moon day while he is Saguṇa on the full-moon day and Saguṇa-Nirguṇa on the eighth day. Besides the book Jñānasāgara, his poems are about a thousand in number.

He used to preach to the devotees the Mahā-Vākya, सर्वं खलु इदं ब्रह्म (Verily, this whole world is Brahman). He took Sanyāsa in 1762 (Śaka era) on Kārtika Śukla 11 and it is said that soon after this his body became lustrous. Moreover, all kinds of birds and animals came to him without fear playing with his body. The name of his Guru was Śiva-Chaitanya while the spiritual lineage of these Caitanyas is from Nirguṇa Śiva who became Saguṇa in form of Dakṣiṇāmūrti in the interest of humanity.

He passed away in 1765 (Śaka era) and his Samādhi is still at Viṭa where a temple of Dattātreya is built and maintained from the yearly help of Rs. 150/- given by the Pawar family of Devās.³ He had a son called Digambara who was very beautiful, an incomparable orator and a songster.

¹ म. च. कोश, p. 591.

² द. सु. p. 330.

³ म. च. कोश. p. 591.

CHAPTER V

NIRAÑJANA RAGHUNĀTHA

(1782 A. D.—1855 A. D.)

Saints generally avoid talking about themselves. They give their names or family history only when the occasion arises and that too in a few words. Mostly, they give their spiritual lineage and praise their Guru who gave them insight into the reality and from this incidently we get an account of their life. They do not write for recording their own history. They write it with the special purpose of guiding people when they hear a special call from their Guru or favourite deity. It is the direction of the Guru or a call from the favourite deity that works behind the pen of the saints and so their writings are inspired. Nirañjana the disciple of Raghunātha, used his pen for writing for the special reason of giving the Guru-Dakṣiṇā which was demanded in that form by his Guru and thus we get the experiences of Nirañjana in स्वात्मप्रचीति and साक्षात्कार two works dealing with his experiences and showing how he got the grace of god Dattātreya. Nirañjana is one of the few saints from whom we get their life in detail. The following life-sketch is mainly based on the writings of Nirañjana himself and other necessary details are taken from the life-sketch given by Shri Kolhatkar in his introduction to the collected works of Nirañjana published by him.¹

Nirañjana was born at Kaḷamba on Kārtika Śukla 8 of the Śaka era 1704. Kaḷamba is on the banks of the Vañjarā river near Balaghat and is four miles away from the eastern side of Paraḷi Vaijanāth. It belongs to the district Dhārūr of Nizam Hyderabad state. His father Śrīdharapanta was a Deśastha Brahmin of Kauśika Gotra belonging to the Āśvalāyana branch. His mother's name was Lakṣmī and his original name Avadhūta was changed to Nirañjana by his Guru after initiation in 1733 (Śaka era).

His early life seems very simple. He was a manager (कारभारी) in the South away from his native place. But when he went to his native place the relatives always demanded something of him. This kind of selfish nature of the relatives he condemned very strongly. In the meanwhile once he attended the Kīrtana in the temple of Viṣṇu recited by Ṭhākurdāsa who had been at the place of his service. Ṭhākurdāsa proved the existence of God with the example of a wood. Just as there is fire in the wood but we cannot see it in the same way, god is among all of us but not visible.² Just as the log of wood becomes one with

1 श्रीनिरंजन रघुनाथोचे ग्रंथ : सांगली

2 सर्वाभूती ईश्वर असं । असोनिया प्रगट नसे ।

जै काष्ठामाक्षी अग्नि वसे । परि न दिसे कवणासी ॥ स्वात्मप्रचीति : १.१८,

fire after the fire is produced in the same way when a Guru gives knowledge of the self we become one with the Lord. On hearing this he was greatly moved. He went to Thākurdāsa and reported his intense desire of search for God. Thākurdāsa gave him the blessings that he would be Nārāyaṇa.¹ After this incident he travelled much and saw the world in its naked form.

At last he came to Dehū a place made sacred by its association with Tukārām. Here he became impatient to visualise God so much so that he thought of nothing except the very idea of meeting God and became completely averse to worldly things (उदासीन). Discarding all his garments he sat for the whole night waking and praying. His devotion was rewarded by God. He was given Kaupin and Kaṭisūtra in a divine way when he went for a bath early morning. He took the garments as an act of grace (प्रसादवत्स) and putting them on took a vow : "I shall give up this body, if I shall not get the vision of Dattātreyā in his Saṅga form within a year and seven days."² The day on which he took such a determined vow was the day of Bhādrapada Kṛṣṇa 8 of 1733 (Śaka era). He was twenty-nine then.

Afterwards he travelled over many places and went further experiencing much about the nature of the people in general. Some called him mad while some respected him; but he was not at all disturbed. He thought : "Oh God ! when I hav'nt seen you how can I show them the way ?" and at such time he left the place without giving any hint of his departure.

At last he came to Aṅkula at the house of Caṇḍidāsa, a learned Brahmin of the town. Here he heard the dialogue between Avadhūta and Yadu from BhaP. He again lost his ease and his eagerness to have vision intensified considerably. After four days he saw while meditating in the morning the form of Dattātreyā with one head and six hands having rosary (Mālā) and water-pot (Kamaṇḍalu), drum (Ḍamaru) and trident (Triśūla) and conch (Śaṅkha) and disc (Cakra) displaying the unity of the three principal gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa. He even got the eight-syllable Mantra from him.³ All these happened in meditation so he went ahead to fulfil his vow. Through this he got temporary solace. In this way on another occasion also Dattātreyā

1 तूं होशील रे ! नारायण.

2 हृदयीं ठेवीञ्ज नेम करून । आजपासून द्वादश महिने । उपरी सात दिन जाण । देह धारण करणें हा ॥ मजला दत्तात्रेय दर्शन । झालिया ठेवीन हा प्राण । नाही तरी देह अर्पण । केला असे गुरुपायीं ॥ स्वात्मप्रचीति: १. ५५-५६

3 अष्टाक्षर मंत्र संपूर्ण । अर्थ जया चा गूढज्ञान ।

तयेवेळीं आनंद समरस । एकचि झाला उद्वास ॥

स्वात्मप्रचीति: २. ७५.

suggested to him that his grace was upon Nirañjana by directing that Nirañjana should accept clothes which were offered to him by Bābājī Bhāgvat a man at whose place he stayed at Depur.¹ Going further he reached Nāśika where he met Raghunātha who initiated him on the day of Kārtika Kṛṣṇa 14 of 1733 (Śaka era).

After initiation he stayed there for about fifteen days as directed by the Guru as the Datta-Jayantī was approaching. Even Dattātreyā directed him in a dream to witness the celebrations.² Here he had many miraculous experiences and dreams and he marched on the way to self-knowledge. Later on, he had peculiar experiences during meditations. During mid-night hours a harlot came to him and rubbed her breasts against him. Afterwards eight such harlots were seen sitting on the windows of eight houses who beckoned him. He further saw a Brahmin with many ladies who were singing in praise of Śrīguru. He sat on the bank of the Ganges hearing these prayers and soon his body became full of lustre. Guru Raghunātha then appeared on the scene and gave him a lotus with eight-petals. Keeping this in hand he saw eight doors where a miracle happened. When he happened to look at one door he would see all the eight doors simultaneously. He went further and he was transformed into a lady in the clothes of a lady and his body was all besmeared with Turmeric powder (Haridrā). In the meanwhile another lady came to him and told him that he should not leave Raghunātha who was an incarnation of the saint Bhṛgu and disappeared. With the departure of that lady his meditation also ended and he saw himself beside the image of Dattātreyā. He bowed down and all of a sudden heard the sound of different musical instruments from unknown source as there was nobody waking in the city and the night was passing silently.

Next morning interpretation of the dream came from Raghunātha in response to an appeal. The eight harlots were the eight Siddhis the natural and tempting result of Yoga. The ladies around the Brahmin who was none other than Dattātreyā were powers of the Rddhis and Siddhis. The lustrous form was that of the self, the eight-petalled lotus-Nirguna-Brahmā, doors, Vedas and the sound of ten directions (Daśa-Nāda). The form of a lady dressed in a bridal

1 का रे! अंगवस्त्र न घेसी? इतका त्याग कासिया करिसी?

कोणा दुखावुं नये मानसी? सुखे देतां घ्यावे पै ॥

स्वात्मप्रचीति: ३. ४८.

2 मध्यरात्रीं ब्राह्मण होऊन । दत्तात्रेय स्वप्नीं पै आले।

म्हणती ऐक रे! सावधपण । इथें रहावे पंधरा दिन।

जें जें होईल तें तें पाहणे। स्थिरमन करोनिया ॥

Ibid. 4.24.

form ready for marriage was meant to explain that he was now married to Raghunātha his Guru and thus was instructed by Dattātreyā in the form of a lady not to leave her husband Raghunātha. This is clearly seen in his devotion to the Guru. A Guru is all in all. All credit is given by him to the Guru and he remained in close contact with him through letter even on his way to Girnar.

We find his high respect for Raghunātha in श्रीरघुनाथचरित्र written by him. According to Nirañjana, the experiences (प्रचीति) regarding knowledge of Scriptures (शास्त्र), Guru and the self must be during one's own life.¹ Raghunātha was an incarnation of Bhṛgu. Dattātreyā has recognised him as such² and his worth was seen from his directions given in a dream to Nirañjana. He had a brother named Nārāyaṇa and a sister named Jīubāī. He ran away from home when there was a proposal for his marriage. His mother felt much but the boy with many difficulties reached Nāsik and impressed the people there. A man named Bājirāo Balavant Phadke took him to his place and here Raghunātha learnt Daśagranthas and initiation from Mahādeva Bābā Yatisvara was accepted. Even at this stage many miraculous things were seen by the people. In his young age a young lady belonging to a rich class tried to attract him with all her wealth and beauty and went away in disgust when Raghunātha did not pay heed to her. He used to have direct talk with the god Dattātreyā and he could awake for all the twenty-four hours. Nirañjana in one of his Padas says that there is no object in the world which can stand in comparison with the glory of the Guru. Even if we compare the Guru with a precious stone that transforms iron into gold the comparison will apparently be inadequate for the Chintāmaṇi cannot bestow his own form while the Guru is invariably capable of doing so. If we call him a Kalpataru the celestial tree which fulfils all desires there is the need of a desire of our own imagination while the Guru gives the thing beyond our comprehension.³

After receiving blessings from such a Guru Nirañjana went further towards Girnar just to have the vision of Dattātreyā. Raghunātha gave him

1 पहली पहावी शास्त्रप्रचीति । दुसरी घ्यावी गुरुप्रचीति ।
तिसरी ते आत्मप्रचीति । उपरीं ग्रंथीं लिहलीसे ॥

स्वात्मप्रचीति: ५. १२२.

2 म्हणाल भृगु असें संबोधन । तरि ते मिथ्या न वदे जाण ॥
मज लागीं श्रीदत्तात्रेयनें स्वप्नीं येऊनि कथियेलें ॥

Ibid : ३. ९४.

3 सद्गुरुचा महिमा वर्णू काई । उपमेसि तयाच्या दुजा नाही हो । परिसाची उपमा देऊं जरी ।
तरि तो लोहा लागतां सोने करी । नंकरवे आपुल्या एसी परी ॥ १ ॥
कल्पतरु उपमे लागीं द्यावा । तरि तो कल्पीलासि ये अनुभवा । अकल्पित देतसे गुरु ठेवा ॥ २ ॥

even the Dhyāna of Dattātreyā and with varied experiences at Dharampur, Sūrat, Baroda and even at Girnar he reached his destination and there composed a poem. After circumambulation of Girnar there remained only three days for the fulfilment of his vow. He lost much of his consciousness in meditation. Moreover, there was a storm and heavy rain-fall on the hill where the Pādukās of Dattātreyā were worshipped. Even in such a situation, he was given food by some lady who came from an unknown place. At night he received garments of grace and during the next night in a dream he received the Pādukās with a golden line from Dattātreyā.¹ On the last day he injured himself by dashing his head against a stone in despair as to why Dattātreyā did not appear before him and came only in a dream. But that happy moment was not far off. Dattātreyā appeared in person before him and asked him to keep with him Pādukās and garments of grace (Prasāda Vastras) and acquainted him with his omnipresent nature. No object could exist without his presence. Sometimes he manifests himself in different forms but in reality he is without any fixed form or quality.² Remembering this Nirañjana throughout his life behaved as if he was a bodyless, though actually he possessed the body and performed actions. In this respect he resembles Janārdana and Ekanātha though he differs from them when he acts like a mad man.

His literary career is equally great. Different opinions prevail about the exact number of his writings. His grand-son Vāmana prepared a list as under : (1) Commentary on Jñāneśvari, (2) Commentary on Amṛtānubhava, (3) Śākṣātkāra and Svātmaprācīti with some Padas, (4) Commentary on Bhāṣya of Śaṅkarācārya on Gīta, (5) Commentary on Kenopaniṣad, (6) and on Māṇḍūkya. Out of these the third and the fourth are in verse while others are in prose. But to this list his younger brother Viśvanātha adds the following two: (1) Commentary on Ātmabodha of Śaṅkarācārya in verse and (2) a prose commentary on " Mahāvākya " of Vidyāraṇya though this is said to belong to Jagannātha (either his grandson or disciple) and corrected by Nirañjana. More works are added to the list by the late Shri Nārāyaṇa Kelkar who published a collection of poems of different poets on the subject of Bhakti and Paramārtha. Thus, (1) पतिव्रताख्यान, (2) गौधडी, (3) केशवचैतन्यकथातरु and (4) some stray Ovis are ascribed to Nirañjana. Shri Kolhatkar has printed even श्रीरघुनाथचरित्र in the

¹ " These Pādukās " says Shri Kolhatkar, " were seen by him but does not know their whereabouts now ".

² मी सर्व व्याकरण । असे तुझे हृदयीं बसून ।

मज वेगळा ठिकाण । नाही कोठे रिकाम ॥ ७४ ॥

क्षणेक होतो मी सगुण । परि अक्षरींमणें निर्गुण ।

माझे सत्यस्वरूप जाण । निराकार सर्व ही ॥ ७५ ॥

साक्षात्कार : Ch. VI.

edition of his complete works. Among these works the commentaries on Jñāneśvari, Śāṅkara-Bhāṣya on Gītā and Māṇḍūkya are not available as yet.

About the origin of अमृतानुभवपदबोधिनी, Jñānadeva himself showed grace when requested by Nirañjana.¹ As could be seen from some Padas we see that all the works had been lost (lit. burnt) and Dattātreyā restored them as before.² It is possible that the works being lost or burnt, he might have dictated again as usual. Generally he dictated them to his disciples when he received inspiration for writing. It is the usual practice of devout authors to assign the authorship of their works either to their favourite gods or Gurus. Nirañjana is not an exception to this rule though there are direct references to miracles.³

Apart from his mystical utterances in स्वामिप्रचीति and साक्षात्कार which are full of touches of self-experience and the grace of the god we can also read his Abhaṅgas, Padas with interest as they would appeal to our heart. Even his Hindi prayers show how he experienced joy due to his faith in God. He sometimes becomes critical when he complains that there is chaos and injustice⁴ for a harlot (गणिका) lives happily while a chaste woman like Draupadī suffers. The devotional touch is clearly seen with the complaint and in this way all his whole literature is full of faith, devotion and knowledge.

¹ In the beginning he says “ ऐसी प्रार्थना ऐकिली असतां श्रीज्ञानेश्वर स्वप्नांत येऊन आज्ञा करिते झालजे, तू निर्भय अनुभवामृता वरि टीका करी, अर्थ करूं सांग होईल. ऐसा प्रसाद झाला. ”

² तुझे आज्ञे वरुनी वदलों कविता । पद आणि ग्रंथा करूनीया ॥
तेथे झाले विघ्न जळली कविता । रक्षा आली हातां मुष्टी भरी ॥
तेचि रक्षा आतां बांधानी पदरीं । सप्तशृंगावरी आलों स्वामी ॥
निरंजन म्हणे धाऊनीया यावें । ग्रंथ ऊठवावे जळाले ते ॥ ४ ॥

निरंजन रघुनाथांचे ग्रंथ : अभंग २५ pp. 30-31.

³ ऐसे पांच दिन सरोनियां गेले । रात्रि स्वप्नीं आले दत्तात्रेय ॥
म्हणति निरंजना खेद न करी मना । ग्रंथ अवलोकना ऊठ वेगीं ॥
जागें होवोनिया रक्षेसि पाहिले । तव ते ग्रंथ जाले पहिल्यावाणी ॥
निरंजन म्हणे धन्य आजी झालों । आनंद पावलों गुरुकृपे ॥ ४ ॥

Ibid. अभंग : २८ : p. 31.

⁴ साहेबके दरबार बीचमो अंदाधुंदी भारी रे ।
दुर्जन तो बैकुंठ चढे हैं संतन पर अफतारी रे ॥ ४ ॥
गणिका दासी पास उतारी द्रौपदीको दुःखदारी रे ।
न्याय नहीं इस दरबारोमें हरजीकी अखत्यारी रे ॥

Ibid. Pada. 38 : P. 162,

His view of life is depicted in one of his Padas where he says that one must be faithful to self and to one's own duty (Sva-Dharma) and do actions without attachment. One must catch hold of the feet of the master with full faith and with all determination of achieving self-knowledge.¹ The goal is final emancipation from where there is no return.² In practical life one must remember God constantly and do one's duty sincerely in the company of the good, leaving aside the bad. While doing so if wealth is acquired it should be divided among all for happiness of all otherwise remain content with whatever little is gained and enjoy a care-free life like that of an ascetic or a monk.³ He desires to lead such a care-free life⁴ and wishes no discrimination between pleasure and pain. He has severely criticised the Sādhus, who cheat others in the name of religion.⁵ Yet his generosity is equally remarkable as he says that peaceful silence is the only apt reply to critics and the wicked.⁶

¹ Cf. निरंजन रघुनाथांचे ग्रंथ : Pada 24 : p. 51.

² Cf. एक बार जिस गैर गये पर फेर पलट नहीं आवेजी : Ibid : p. 158.

³ Cf. नि. र. ग्रंथ, p. 163 : Ibid : Pada 41.

⁴ सूकी रोटी, फटी लंगोटी, झाड़ाके तल वासा ।
दौलत औरत कछु नहि चाहि सब ही झूठ तमाशा ॥
निरंजन मन यही फकीरी सदा फफत् मिल रहना ।

Ibid : p. 161 : Pada 35.

⁵ Cf. साक्षात्कार : Ch. II. 82 ff.

⁶ अस्तु बहुप्रकार चे जन । तयांसी करावे साष्टांग नमन ।
आपुले आंगी अनुभव घेऊन । शुद्ध वृत्ति करावी ॥

स्वात्मप्रचीति: Ch. I. 92.

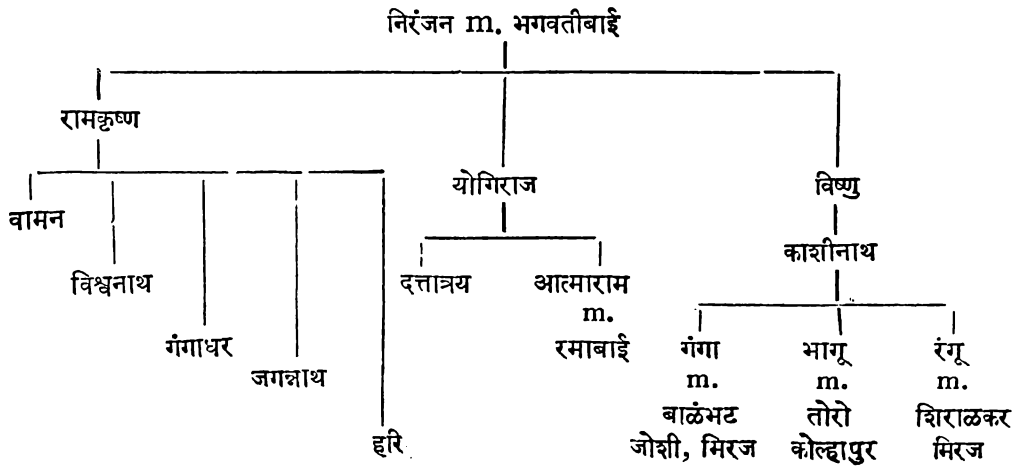
and also regarding the critics he says :

निरंजन म्हणे शांति चा तो मंत्र ।
तेणें अपवित्र आकळावा ॥

निरंजन रघुनाथांचे ग्रंथ: P. 35

He took Sanyāsa in 1777 (Śaka era) and took Jala Samādhi in the same year on Bhādrapada Śukla 11. His wife Bhagavatībāi lived for many years after his death with her four sons and perhaps even with grandsons. ¹

¹ Geneology of Nirañjana is said to be as under :



CHAPTER VI

NĀRĀYAṆA MAHĀRĀJA JĀLAVAṆAKAR (1807 A. D.—1867 A. D.)

The mount Girnar has been a source of great solace to the devotees of Dattātreyā. Dattātreyā is sure to meet them if a devotee goes there with full faith leaving off all the worldly and bodily attachments. We have already seen in the life of Nirañjana Raghunātha how he got the vision of Dattātreyā at Girnar. In the same way Nārāyaṇa Mahārāja of Jālavaṇa near Jhansi worshipped Dattātreyā at the age of twenty and got the vision. He was born on Aṣāḍha Kṛṣṇa 5, Thursday, in 1729 (Śaka) i.e. 1807 A. D.¹ His father who recited the Purāṇas in the palace of the king had done 100 Pārāyaṇas of the Bhaṭṭa and as a result of that Nārāyaṇa was born to him to fulfil his father's desire to have a son. His father was known as Tātyā Purāṇi and was getting annuity of Rs. 800 ; but Nārāyaṇa from his very childhood, was not attached to worldly things. He used to sit in a silent corner of the house and meditated with shut eyes. If asked about it he used to say that he tried to see the God.²

He was married at the age of ten but he immediately ran away to Mathura. There he stayed for four years with Govardhanabābā who was a very old Haṭha-yogī.³ Here, after sometime, a man from his village happened to come there on pilgrimage and seeing him told Govardhana all about his life and was taken to his house where he was warmly received. A son was born to him within two years but both the mother and the child died on the eighth day of the child's birth.⁴ Nārāyaṇa then again went to Mathura but was not quite

¹ Chitrav Shastri gives the period from 1806 A.D. to 1868 A.D. (i.e. 1728-1710 Śaka) while Shri Ketker 1793 A. D. to 1868. We have chosen 1807 A. D. to 1867 A. D. because he died at the age of sixty and the day, Tithi, month and year happened to be the same as those at the time of birth. Moreover, it is confirmed by the biography published by सद्भक्तिप्रसारकमंडल, which is an authoritative and organised unit of the followers of Nārāyaṇa.

² “ काय करतोस ? ” “ देव पहातो ”

³ His age is shown to be of 350 years in the biography published by सद्भक्तिप्रसारकमंडल.

⁴ The marriage was, it is said, the result of his promise in his previous birth under the name Hiraṇyagarbhācārya. Once Hiraṇyagarbhācārya, who was one of the four Siddhas staying at Girnar, was wandering for his Bhikṣā and a lady was attracted towards him. He refused to marry in this life but promised to do so, when in the next birth, he would accept the householder's life.

satisfied with Haṭha-yoga ; so he was directed by Govardhana to go to Girnar and worship Dattātreyā. He thus went to Girnar and fourteen days passed without food or water meditating on Dattātreyā for getting vision. Dattātreyā did not appear before him. He then decided to die and even climbed high hill to put an end to his life. Dattātreyā in the form of a Fakir appeared on the scene and caught his hand and took him away in one of the caves where he gave him Darśana.¹ Then he was handed over to Nirañjana Yogī² for his uplift and for four years he mastered many things. Being free from ignorance he went out into the world to show light and path to many who were in darkness and who had lost their way.

Like many great mystics he had also many miracles to his credit. The chief mystery is that Dattātreyā came to dine when he used to give him Naivedya and many heard his foot-steps in the closed room where the dish was usually kept. Moreover, pieces of paper were changed into gold and the water pot into a pot filled with Ghee, and the wine and flesh which were sent by the queen of Gwalior, Bāyābāi Sinde, to test him, were also turned into milk and flowers respectively. These are some of the miraculous incidents of his life.—He had also left behind him his powerful disciples many of whom were of great vision and having the knowledge of Reality through his grace and guidance. Moreover, he himself has written many books which guide and inspire persons desirous of liberation even at this date. They are as under:—(1) बोधसागर, (2) कैवल्यसागर, (3) ज्ञानसागर, (4) विज्ञानसागर, (5) आनन्दसागर, (6) शान्तिसागर, (7) कृष्ण-सागर-पूर्वार्ध and उत्तरार्ध, (8) समाधितत्त्वोपदेश, (9) चिद्रत्नमाला, (10) निर्वाण पंचक, (11) सिद्ध-योगाष्टक, (12) परमार्थदीपिका, (13) अमंगचाळिशी, (14) अष्टांग योग. Over and above this list, there are collections of his पद्यs, धावाs, सुविचारs and letters, many of which are published. Among his सप्तसागरs, कृष्णसागर is well-known for its deep devotion

¹ The talk between the two is interesting : “ काय रे मुला ! हे काय करतोस ? ” “ दत्त भेटत नाहीं म्हणून देहत्याग करितो. ” “ देहत्याग केल्याने दत्त भेटतो काय ? कलियुगांत कोठें देव भेटत असतात ? ” “ मग देह ठेवून तरी उपयोग काय ? ” Cf. His संक्षिप्तचरित्र, p. 2.

² It is not known who this Nirañjana was. We have already gone through the life of Nirañjana Raghunātha who also met Dattātreyā on Girnar. It is likely that Nirañjana might have stayed at Girnar after his vision in 1734 (Śāka era). It is very likely if we take 1715 (Śāka) as birth date given by Shri Ketkar that both meet in the same year and Nārāyaṇa was given to Nirañjana who was well-versed in the knowledge of Yoga before coming to Girnar. But this is only a conjecture. Any way the name of his Guru was Nirañjana a fact which is proved by his reference at the end of his Abhaṅgas. e.g. म्हणें नारायण गुरू निरंजन । दास म्हणवीन सतांचा मी ॥ and in another भेट देई नारायणा । दत्तदेवा निरंजना ॥—Quoted by पांगारकर, संतचरित्रमाला, p. 122.

expressed in a poetic way with great simplicity and grandeur.¹ He wrote this book in Banaras where daily he used to write twenty to thirty Ovis in prayer to the Lord. The total Ovis thus formed are 17,672. In his letters his main stress is on service to others, unity² and self-satisfaction. He emulated the example of Yudhiṣṭhir, Kṛṣṇa and others whose lives taught us that we should always try to live the life as ordained by God and that we should ever remain contented.³ In Suvicāramālā the same kind of courage and inspiration for higher life are stressed. He says that a man should not be afraid of the opposites (Dvandvas) that are bound to come in the stream of worldly life; and one should show one's own worth (Sattva) when a great cause arises in the world.⁴

During his life-time he used to lecture on certain topics mainly religious, when people attended in thousands as he was a good orator and his speech was fluent and entertaining. Most of life he passed in tour all over India and he gave Dikṣā to many. Once he stayed for twelve years in Dhaumāranya for his own uplift completely aloof. He had a disciple with him and it is said that he went on without food eating only the juice of green leaves. He had a good many disciples in Bombay etc. He never classified his devotees and imparted knowledge equally to all who were desirous of it, whether they were male or female, rich or poor and Brahmin or non-Brahmin. Thus Nārāyaṇabābā of

¹ Some examples :

तुझे भरंवशावरी । खरी खोटी बाजीगिरी ।
करोनि वागलों संसारी । क्षमावंता दयानिधि ॥
पति असतां शिरावरी । व्यभिचार कर्मी प्रवर्ते नारी ।
गर्भ रहिला जरी उदरी । तरी आधार पति चा ॥

To God who is not seen he says, supposing his idleness :

किंवा भक्ता घरीं फार जेविला । तेणें तुजला आळस आला ।
सांग किंवा नाश झाला । अनंत गुणाचा ।

² एकत्र रहा आणि परमार्थ करा.

³ ठेविलें अनंतें तैसेंचि रहावे ।

चित्ती असो द्यावे समाधान ।

⁴ संसारीं असतां प्रवाहपतित द्वन्द्वासि त्रासूं न को ।

भूलोकांत महाप्रसंग पडतां तू सत्त्व सोडूं न को ।

Like these we can quote further more as under :

जो कोणी भवदुःख सर्व निरसी तो देव सोडूं न को ।

कर्णी दुष्ट कठोर शब्द पडती तें दुःख मानूं न को ।

कोणाचें इतिकृत्य तें स्मरूं न को, माझें तुझें हें न को ।

जेथे जाउनि येतना मुनि कदा तें धाम सोडूं न को ।

Ratnagiri and Sakhārāmabābā of Kalyāṇa in the Thana District attained the state of eternal peace. They also in turn directed their disciples to the blessed path, which their Guru taught them, prominent among whom were Shri Torāṇe, a military office-clerk in the secretariat of Bombay and Viṣṇubovā Bramacārī. Nāṇiyabā, the wife of the Diwan of Dhar King and Raghunātha, her second son, were in direct contact with and enjoying the grace of Nārāyaṇa who wrote them many letters.¹ At present his literature is published by सद्भक्तिप्रसारकमंडल, जोगेश्वरी and his anniversary is celebrated at Lashkar (Gwalior, Madhya Bharata) where his Pādukās which were given to Bālābāī, one of his disciples are still preserved with great care, and at Bombay in the office of the above-mentioned Maṇḍal. The golden idol of Dattātreyā² which he used to keep with him is installed at Banaras and the other idol is at Devas installed by Shri Jayarāma one of his disciples who got the same from his Guru. By the side of the idol the fork³ of the Guru is seen carefully preserved.

¹ These letters are published by सद्भक्तिप्रसारकमंडल under a name महाराजांची अस्सल पत्रे.

² This idol, 50 Tolas in weight, was given with many other things by the King of Devas, who had given him a great honour by practising Pūjā and Abhiṣeka of the golden coins (Mohars).

³ He used to put on many things over his body and kept चिमटा in his right hand while in his left hand he took a chain of different metals at different times. Cf. His संक्षिप्तचरित्र p. 7.

CHAPTER VII

DATTANĀTHA UJJANĪKAR (1713 A.D.—1849 A.D.)

When the Marāṭhā rule prevailed in northern India Maharashtrian Saints did the work there and the name of Dattanātha Ujjanikar is one of the most prominent among them. In Santa-Mālikā, Bālkr̥ṣṇa Rājūrkar considers him as great devotee and an Avadhūta.¹ His father had no child. So both Nārāyaṇa and Lakṣmībāī his parents, took a vow that if they would get a son they would hand him over to Anantanātha who was a saint of Nāth-Cult at Rākṣasabhuvan. Dattanātha was eventually born in 1713 A. D. The parents fulfilled the vow and after his thread-ceremony at the age of six he was dedicated to Anantanāth. It is but natural that parents, who remain faithful to their promises generally get children who do something for the good of the self as well as of society. Dattanātha, under the guidance of Anantanātha learnt not only Yoga in which he became proficient but also astrology and other sciences. He practised celibacy upto the age of 24 ; and afterwards he married according to the instructions of the Guru. He had two brothers younger than he, who were also dedicated to Anantanātha by the parents but were given back by the former to be reared as wards.

Dattanātha narrates the spiritual lineage as under :—

दत्तात्रेय-गोपालबाबा-नागनाथ-विदेवर-निंबराज-नरहरि-जनार्दन-एकनाथ-दत्तभाऊ² while in foot-notes³ adds to the list the names of सच्चिदानंदबाबा-अंतोबादादा राक्षसभुवनकर and tells that he is the disciple of अंतोबादादा. So Dattabhāū is someone else quite different from Datta-Nārāyaṇa as is clear from the foot-note. Another lineage⁴ also written by him—

- 1 आणि दत्तात्रेय बाबा अवधूत । सोरटी बुवा परमभक्त ।
हे आदि करानि प्रकट गुप्त । राहती संत अनेक उज्जनी ॥

quoted in म. क. च. ६. p. 223.

- 2 नमामि दत्तगोपालं नागनाथं विदम्बरम् ।
निम्बराजमिति ख्यातं पश्चात् नरहरिं स्मरेत् ॥
एकनाथं महाप्राज्ञं तथा परिजनार्दनम् ।
श्रीदत्तसद्गुरुं वन्दे परम्परानुवर्णनम् ॥

3 दत्तात्रेय—गोपालबाबा—नागनाथ—निम्बराज—नरहरि—जनार्दन—एकनाथ—दत्तभाऊ,
त्यांचे बंधु सच्चिदानंदबाबा, त्यांचे पुत्र अंतोबादादा राक्षसभुवनकर त्यां उपदेश दत्त नारायणास ।

- 4 दत्तपरंपरा अनंत सोयरा । जोडील निर्धारि माय बाप ॥ १
वेडा जगन्नाथ निंबराज नरहरि । प्राप्त गिरिधारी जनार्दन ॥ २
तेथें एकनाथ विनटला पायीं । दत्तभाऊ तो ही दत्तवर ही ॥ ३

self adds the name of Giridhar after Narahari and the name Nāganātha is found in brackets against the name Veḍā Jagannātha. In the same way Saccidānandabābā is addressed as Keśava. The long list throws light on many personalities among whom some were known as prominent worshippers of Dattātreyā. Besides the name of Janārdana and Ekanātha, Cidambara and Nimbarāja are also referred to with respect. After the Samādhi of his Guru Anantanātha in 1768 A. D. he went on tour all over India and came to Ujjain where he came in touch with Mahādji Shinde who was a very brave Marāṭhā soldier and the politician of the time. Shinde is known for his battles and victories in the north and he did much for the Marāṭhā power. He was much influenced by the Dattanātha and always used to ask him for an auspicious day to start for battle, as Dattanātha was very efficient in that science also. Once he even took him to battlefield. Dattanātha had a commanding personality and no one dared to look at him. Shinde recognised his worth and even built for him a Maṭha at Ujjain as Dattanātha grew old. After passing sometime in Ujjain Dattanāth went on a pilgrimage reciting Padas composed by Marathi saints and poets and often sung his own poems. Shinde and he met once more at Mathura where the former had been for a fight. Muktabāī, the daughter of Dattanātha, was married to Rāmacandra Pant, the personal secretary to Shinde. Dattanātha influenced Shinde to write Padas even.¹

At the fag-end of his life he stayed at Ujjain where he wrote many books on Yoga which are still unpublished and are lying in a Maṭha at Ujjain. He passed away on Āśvin Śukla 9 in 1771 (Śaka) i. e. 1849 A. D. He is one of very few saints in the Dattātreyā Sampradāya, who had a long life of more than hundred years. His Samādhi is seen near the Maṭha at Ujjain and he had four principal disciples among whom the names of Narhari Mahīpati, Ātmārāma Shastri and Shivadatta are well-known.

भाऊ दत्तनाथ केशव अनंत । दत्त मटीं राहत राक्षसभुवनीं ॥ ४

परंपरा बंदी दत्तनारायण । दत्तगुरुचरण भेटी जाहल्या ॥ ५

¹ Here also he met Sohīrobā Ambīye, a Marāṭhā saint and poet who was also on tour like Dattanātha. Though Shinde not directly benefited, learnt much from the conversation of these two saints. Both proceeded to Ujjain it seems, and stayed together though Sohīrobā later on miraculously disappeared from Ujjain.

CHAPTER VIII

MĀṆIKAPRABHU

(1817 A. D.—1855 A. D.)

Māṇikaprabhu had many contemporaries. The followers and the disciples of each saint consider them as different Avatārs of Dattātreyā. Śrī Bakaprabhu¹ was famous among the Liṅgāyatas while Śrī Ālamprabhu was famous among Yavanas and who completed his mission in about 1819 A. D.² Both these saints were considered promulgators of this school and were respected as incarnations of Dattātreyā. After these two, Māṇikaprabhu is the third name. Moreover, the Swāmī of Akkalkoṭ, whose birth-date is now known, lived and even met Māṇikaprabhu when his penance shone in a lustrous and luxurious way, while the former continued to live for some thirteen years after the latter, burning the powerful lamp of the worship of Dattātreyā. Both these saints are also considered as incarnations of Dattātreyā by their followers and given fourth rank. In this position it is rather difficult to assign rank to saints like these ! They never cared for fame. No doubt, fame, inspite of their dislike for it, came to them and even after their departure, has clung to their names ! The saints who were contemporary always considered the worth of one another and never talked of their own greatness. They were born for a particular mission and they did their duty without any attachment. To the needy, they gave things they desired while to others who had the mission to fulfil in one way or the other, they gave their good wishes and even, respect ; for they always thought in terms of divine power that worked in their actions. Gandhijī and Ramaṇa Maharshi of Aruṇāchal are living examples of the same. In the same way Bakaprabhu, Ālamprabhu, Māṇikaprabhu, Swāmī of Akkalkoṭ, though a contemporary had some work assigned to them and they did it without coming into conflict with anybody. We have already observed, while examining the life and work of Shri-Pāda-Vallabha and Nṛsinhasarasvatī that they along with their other activities, tried to enhance the power of great Yogīs, on the path of final emancipation and guide them, if necessary. The lives of both Māṇikaprabhu and the Swāmī of Akkalkoṭ reveal at every step the truth of the above-mentioned mission in the life of a saint about whom we shall see in the following pages :—

Māṇikaprabhu was born on Mārgaśīrṣa Śukla 14 in 1739 (Śaka era) *i.e.*

1 माणिम्यविजयः P. II P. 263 (44.22 ff) described his meeting with Bakaprabhu for certain purpose.

2 दत्तावतारिक माणिकप्रभु यांचे चरित्र, सोलापुरकर P. 4

1817 A.D. at Lāḍavanti.¹ Before his birth his father, Manoharṇāyaka Hara-kuḍe, a Vatsa-gotrī Deśastha R̥gvedī, well-versed in Yoga and other scriptures, had one son, who was non-attached from the very beginning of his life. Afterwards, his father left the high post of the Nizam at Kalyāṇa and with his wife Bayādevī started the Pāyāṇa of Guru Caritra with rigid observance of the rules of worship for sixteen continuous years. Afterwards, Dattātreyā, in a dream gave him Darśana which showed three heads and six hands and asked him to choose a boon. Both, like Atri and Anasūyā, preferred to have a son like him to anything else. Thus the birth of Māṇikaprabhu came into existence in the world. His father left this world after ten years after getting birth to one more son after him. The elder and the younger brothers of Māṇikaprabhu are known as Dādāsāheb and Tātyāsāheb respectively among his followers.²

From the very childhood he was known for his worth in Yoga and the result followed automatically. Thus Bayādevī was enraptured like Yaśodā, when on Thursdays, people flocked to-gether to have something from the child. It, thus gave birth to another miracle that Māṇikaprabhu learnt without any guidance, many languages like Kanarese, Urdu, Persian, Sanskrit, Marathi and even wrote Padas and such other poems. He never went to a school nor was he instructed by any Guru. On the contrary, he wandered here and there, for which his maternal uncle scolded him and he had to go out for some time. He at times did just the contrary to the rules of society as for example once he put all his clothes with his shoes on the head of Māruti. Such and many other things are attributed to him both before and after his settlement at Māṇikanagar, some 40 miles away from Gulbarga on the Central Railway mainline.

His settlement at Māṇikanagar, has a history behind it. Once a certain Brahmin started with his family for Darśana of Māṇikaprabhu. On his way, near Humanābād, there was a temple where they all sat to rest, without knowing that it was meeting place of thieves. The party, when caught into the hands of the rouges, cried aloud for help calling, Māṇikaprabhu to their help.³ Soon a miracle happened and the thieves saw a great Yogī, with all kinds of jewels on

¹ Shri Phadke gives 1743 (Śaka Era) as his birth year. Cf. द. सु. P. 171. But here the above date is accepted on the evidence of the publication of the institution at Māṇknagar.

² These three are invoked as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa-

Cf. ब्रह्मांशोऽभूत्तुजो वृषिर्हो दुर्वाससोऽशादनुमान्त्वग्रजः ।

सेवार्थमस्य मुनि रत्ननाथो दत्तांशजातस्य तवावतीर्णः ॥ माणिक्यविजय 6.56

³ Cf. One of his prayers : सदा चक्रवाकसी मार्तण्ड जैसा ।

दृष्टी घालितो संकटीं स्वामी तैसा ॥

his body standing on the threshold of the temple and thought it better to go to him than to have a little loot from the poor party. As soon as they reached him—and some could not even reach—their bodies stopped working. All realised their folly and came to their senses. Māṇikaprabhu, thus stayed there and the forest was turned into a town¹ where people saw both renunciation and enjoyment—renunciation on the part of Māṇikaprabhu and enjoyment for them—at the same place. He never ate rich food, prepared for the Bhaktas, who came there in thousands on certain occasions but always lived on Mādhukārī food brought by his disciples, begging from house-to-house. Sometimes he himself went for begging in that way. Thus the people could see the worthy example of a rich beggar with all his royal pomp and humble personality. Even at first sight one would be full of respect for him as soon as his white complexion, his hands reaching upto the knees and his bright serene face were seen. We not only see in him perfect knowledge of saints but also luxurious worldly life of a great monarch, giving away all his luxuries with free-hand without any attachment and care.

In the same way, his life gives us another contradictory example, and that is seen in his unbroken celibacy even amidst women and wealth. He never associated with ladies in loneliness, yet a woman like चक्रवर्ती reached the highest point and become Mahāyoginī under his guidance. Many others worshipped him and were blessed. He showed to the world that even ladies could, with proper directions, attain to the height of the Absolute, if the director is careful about his own self.

Similarly, he could mix with the Mohamedans and with other non-Hindus for he always took equal care of all. If some of them went on wrong lines, he had the power to check them and he put all things right. Thus, like Nṛsinhasarasvatī he influenced both the Hindus and the Mohamedans alike. Moreover, owing to his belief of similarity in all ways towards God, he attracted many others towards him. Thus the founder of Shikhism, has considered him as the fourth incarnation of Dattātreya and Colonel Alkot, founder of Theosophy prepared a life-sketch of Māṇikaprabhu for his journal while Basaveshvar, the founder of Lingayat sect foretold that he (Māṇikaprabhu) would create Māṇikanagar after being born in the world for the good of the people.² His wisdom and foresight in handling different kinds of people under one banner must really be very great. This is seen in his instruction given at the time of his Samādhi. The whole incident was kept a secret; even though he took Samādhi on Mārگاśīrṣā śukla 11, it was not announced, for four days! This served two

¹ The Sthāna-Māhātmya is published under the title Nitya-yātrā-Vidhi with a Marathi translation of the original Sanskrit verses, which speak of the auspiciousness of the various places near the vicinity.

² As quoted by Shri Phadke अ. गृ. p. 170.

purposes ; namely, it avoided clash among different kinds of disciples and it allowed the people to enjoy celebrations of Datta Jayantī without marring the joy, which would have been upset at the news of his passing away.

As has already been referred to above his mission included the task of enhancing the power of Siddhas and others¹ who were along the path of liberation. Haṃsarājaswāmī, the author of वाक्यवृत्ति, सदाचार, वेदेश्वरी and many other books, was given many sittings in private solitude. In the same way the Swāmī of Akkalkoṭ also met him. His connection with Siddhas dated from his very young age. When he was asleep a certain Siddha used to come daily at midnight with a hundred fresh lotuses and called Māṇika, in a slow and serene voice to wake up for the sake of the world, to uplift people in various ways. This Siddha with the unknown origin turned up daily, brought with him fresh lotuses and called out even though the doors of the house were shut². His connection with Ālamprabhu,³ his meeting with many Siddhas headed with by Revāṇa-siddha, Basava, Surājā Sadānanda, for whose sake he himself went out at midnight hours,⁴ and his mysterious disappearance for some days with a certain Siddha when he had been to Pāñcāleśvara⁵ are very well-known in his life. Often his meeting with Siddhas lasted for days together in privacy and they never came out of the place where they sat. During that time nobody knew what went on inside and what they did and how they lived without food, water and other daily necessities of life and body.⁶

But inspite of all his great power of Yoga, he respected the great deserving leaders of his time. The description of the grand reception accorded by him to Śaṅkarācārya of Śrīngarī and the various functions and celebrations arranged in his honour at that time when the strings of his purse were kept wide open certainly fills our hearts with awe and admiration.⁷ It speaks volumes about the powers of Yoga ; but besides that we also realise the humble nature of the great saint who gave honour to the man who carried on the work of the great Śaṅkarācārya. It is said that he went on foot with closed hands tied with handkerchief, to receive the honourable guest from some distance when the latter was in a

¹ For details regarding his principal disciples please refer to श्रीमाणिकप्रभु-चरित्र, by Kulkarni pp. 253 ff.

² माणिक्यविजय : 6.32 ff (p. 40-41)

³ माणिक्यविजय:—अ० 6.43 ff. (p. 41)

⁴ „ „ 10.12 ff. (p. 70) ff.

⁵ „ „ 18.39 ff. (p. 131) ff.

⁶ Once he himself had a Samādhi for one year in one cave, specially prepared and had a great function at its end from his devotees.

⁷ For detail cf. दत्तावतारिक माणिकप्रभु यांचे चरित्र By सोलापुरकर

palanquin but when he knew that the Ācārya was out of it and was coming on foot he went on prostrating with all his eight limbs (Sāṣṭāṅga). It was a rare combination of humility and grandeur. Even his Birudāvali¹ was discontinued at that time.

In fact his whole life passed in such activity as of joining hands of the so-called opposites. His conception of honour to be given to all ways and means meant for reaching the final goal (Sakalamatasthapana) and his attitude of seeing no difference between activity (Pravṛtti) and renunciation (Nivṛtti) gave him the proper place even in the same century, when both the ideas were deeply rooted in the hearts of the people.

He observed both these principles in his life successfully and taught them to his followers. He stressed the point that there should be no opposition to anybody during the discharge of duty.²

After him his followers Manohara Māṇikaprabhu, Mārtaṇḍa Māṇikaprabhu, Śaṅkara Māṇikaprabhu and Āppāsāheb carried on his work. The Upāsana became tri-fold: The idea, that 'Atman is independent' formed the Ādhyātmika Upāsana regarding the highest Brahman. It is the Ālhidāivika way of worshipping the fourth incarnation of Dattātreya keeping in view the form of Dattātreya who is working with his Energy (Śakti) not different from him. The last Ādhibhautika way of worshipping the Guru in the form of Māṇikaprabhu while taking part in the celebrations is attached to the organisation at Māṇika-nagar. The goal is final liberation, coming in the most natural way by means of high-thinking about the right type of knowledge.³

¹ His Birudāvali is as under :—“ भक्तकार्यकल्पद्रुम गुरु सार्वभौम श्रीमद्राजाधिराज योगिराज महाराज त्रिभुवनानन्द अद्वैत अभेद निरंजन निर्गुण निरालंब परिपूर्ण सरोदित सकलमतस्थापित श्रीसद्गुरु माणिकप्रभू महाराजकी जय ”

It is astonishing that this Birudāvali does not refer to him as the fourth incarnation of Dattātreya, the epithet that is always attached now.

² श्रुतिधर्मरक्षुनि सकलमतांचे वंदा ।

सर्वातरिं आत्मा न को कुणाची निंदा ॥

—Quoted by C. N. Joshi मराठी वाङ्मय p. 342.

³ Cf. माणिक्यविजयः, 44. 23 ff. (p. 286)

मतमेतत्प्रवक्ष्यामि माणिक्यस्य महात्मनः ।

तत्तद्धर्मानुसारेण स्वेष्टदेवार्चनादिकम् ॥

कुर्यात्सर्वमताभीष्टं माणिक्यं मनसा स्मरन् ।

न विनेयान्मतं कञ्चिद् ग्राह्यस्सारस्तु सर्वतः ॥

जयन्त्यां प्रभुवर्यस्य प्रत्यब्दं प्रीतिपूर्वकम् ।

कार्यक्रममनुवर्त समगल यथोचितम् ॥

Māṇikaprabhu has written a book called !Kalpataru which contains the knowledge given by him to his younger brother Nṛsinharāo. Moreover, many Padas, Artis, सातवारांचे भजन, हनुमंतजन्म, महारी माहात्म्य etc., are ascribed to him. The subject of Gopi-Kṛṣṇa is interwoven in many of his Padas with exquisite touch of sentiments and depth. He took Samādhi in a special room at Māṇikanagar in 1865 A. D. at the age of 48. The devotees, still, experience his divine grace at that place and the same has become a place of pilgrimage, where people come for the fulfilment for their cherished desires.

CHAPTER IX

SWĀMĪ OF AKKALKOT (? -1878 A. D.)

The three highest gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva are combined in the form of Dattātreyā. Naturally, their Śaktis, being highly chaste women follow their husbands and shower their favour on their devotees. Thus the grace of the goddess Sarasvatī, as regards knowledge is fully showered by her as soon as a call is heard from the Guru. Sarasvatī Gaṅgādhara, Dāsopanta, Nirañjana, Vāsudev-ānanda and others wrote many inspiring works for aspirant who were desirous of liberation (Mumukṣu). In the same way, the goddess of wealth always remained at hand whenever necessary, and we see the inexhaustible mines of wealth thrown open for advancement of Bhaktas towards their spiritual goal. The life of Māṇikprabhu is an instance to point. The same is the case with Annapūrṇā the highest manifestation of goddess Pārvatī in the role of mother of universe (Umā), and thousands of devotees share the sacred food—the divine grace—without knowing from where it comes and how it is managed. This kind of grace is clearly seen in the lives of all great saints of this school. The prominence of the three gods varies according to the need of time and place, yet all the three remain together.

Just like the grace of the goddesses of all the principal deities, we often see that the characteristic features of one or the other of the three gods are more prominently observed in the life of these saints. Dāsopanta went on writing without caring for anything. His life was otherwise self-satisfied and introspective and he spent his whole life in service of the goddess of learning producing many literary works on various topics. Māṇikprabhu was as if the Lord of the goddess Lakṣmī, while the Swāmī of Akkalkot like the lord Śiva, always enjoyed the pleasure of ecstasy, without caring for the other two deities, though his knowledge and his power could do wonders in the world. In Nṛsinhasarasvatī, the Paramahansa aspect of Dattātreyā is manifested while in the Swāmī of Akkalkot his child-like (Bāla), and mad-like (Unmatta) aspects are visible.

We really experience such an eccentric behaviour from the very beginning. Much ink has been poured to find some kind of meaning from his stray sentences uttered at times at the time of questions put to him directly regarding his name, place and other details about his origin. Three theories are evolved out of many biographies of the Swāmī regarding the origin. Shri Rao Saheb Mulekar¹ has put forward the story of a wood-cutter who destroyed one of the

¹ As quoted by Shri Phadke ३. ५. p. 189-90.

ant-hills injuring the Swāmī's thigh. Swāmī-suta Haribhāu takes his birth on Caitra Śukla¹ at Chelīkheḍī near Hāstinapur² while according to the third view he was an incarnation of Nṛsinhasarasvatī, who appeared after 400 years of penance in Kardalīvana. The reasons for this view seem to be as follows. Firstly, he uttered some time that his name was Nṛsinhabhāna and that he was born 450 years ago.³ Secondly, at some other time he uttered that from Kardalīvana (Himālaya) he moved on to Calcutta and had the vision of goddess Kālī after which he went to the bank of the Ganges, Haridvār and Kedāreśvara. Afterwards he came to the bank of the Godavari river and after seeing many places like Paṇḍharpur, Maṅgalvedhe, Begampur, Mohaḷa and Solapur, finally settled at Akkalkoṭ.⁴ Thirdly, at times he gave out his caste as a Brahmin belonging to Yajurveda branch while his Gotra was Kāśyapa. Moreover he gave out his name as Nṛsinhabhāna as before, besides giving his Rāśi as Mīna.⁵ Fourthly, once he described himself as an originator, having his bed on the leaf of banyan tree while his place at that time was known as Dattanagar.⁶ The first is said to have been said to a certain Pūjārī of Gāṅgāpur,⁷ the second to a certain Pārsī gentleman, third to Shri Karve, a devotee and the fourth to a wine-merchant. The third and fourth are combined by Vāmana⁸ who has described the early life of the Swāmī at Kardalīvana and at other places which were visited by him afterwards. Shri Phadke has noted this fact in the life of Nṛsinhasarasvatī. He considers both Nṛsinhabhāna and Nṛsinhasarasvatī as the same personality and thus confirms the theory. Mādhava Shastri in his work, which is written in Sanskrit takes the same view, that Nṛsinhasarasvatī after disappearing from Gāṅgāpur declaring his desire to go to Kardalīvana again appeared after hundreds of years leaving his penance for the sake of his devotees.⁸

Once while in the house of one of his early devotees Citopanta Toḷa, he instantaneously broke out loudly with a Lāvaṇī, which belonged to old songs, Shri Toḷa asked him whether he was a householder in his early life and if so, what was his caste and who were his parents. The reply came with a laugh

¹ Even in this days this day is celebrated at Bombay.

² " माझे नांव नृसिंहभान आहे. आमचा जन्म साडेचारशे वर्षापूर्वी झाला. "

³ Cf. द. सु. P. 188.

⁴ आद्वी यजुर्वेदी ब्राह्मण, आमचें नांव नृसिंहभान, काश्यपगोत्र, आमची मीन राशी.

⁵ " मूल पुष्य वडाचें झाड दत्तनगर ".

⁶ श्रीस्वामी समर्थ चरित्र by राजा कुर्लेकर, p. 6.

⁷ Cf. श्रीगुरुलीलामृत, Ch. viii : " आद्वी यजुर्वेदी ब्राह्मण । आमचें नाम नृसिंहभान । मूल पुरुष बटवृक्षस्थान । दत्तनगर निवासी हो ॥ "

⁸ Cf. द. सु., p. 191.

that he was an out-caste (Cāmbhār) and his parents belonged to the caste Mahār.¹ Moreover, his talks led his devotees to infer that he was distributing Ghee in the sacrifice performed at Gurlahosur by Cidambara Dikṣit.² Owing to such conflicting accounts it is difficult to ascertain the origin of the Swāmī. But one thing is certain that after his appearance he travelled much, about which our knowledge is next to nothing. Much information is available about his appearance at Maṅgalaveḍhe in 1838 A.D., his departure from it in 1850 A.D.³ and his final settlement at Akkalkoṭ in 1857 A.D.⁴ During this period he was known under different names as Cañcalabhāratī at Rājūr⁵ Digambarabābā or Govindabuvā at Maṅgalaveḍhe⁶ and was later on known either as Swāmī of Akkalkoṭ or Shri Swāmī Samartha. The last is even now accepted by his devotees in view of his final stay at Akkalkoṭ and his ability to do anything like Shri Samartha Rāmadāsa.⁷ It is worth noting here that though he himself has mentioned his name as Nṛsinhabhāna, nobody called him so either during his life time or after his Samādhi.

Just as his statements regarding his name and caste are varied and are made in the state of ecstasy, his behaviour and daily actions often appeared to be strange transgressing the bounds of decency. But from his utterances as well as from his strange behaviour the devotee could get solution of his problems in life. He has never uttered any word on any occasion from which we can clearly understand his mind.⁸ His statements were very vague often baffling his devotees. Nobody is reported to have said to him that he behaved against the rules of society. Everybody respected him as a saint, unfathomable in behaviour, though some critics at first called him mad and considered him a Sādhu, enjoying fine dishes at the cost of public money. Later on these people stopped criticism and respected him when they saw him eating chillies and showering equal grace on all people.

1 “आमचो जात चांमार, आई महारीण व बाय महार आहे”.

2 मध्ययुगीन चरित्रकोश, p. 1.

3 श्री स्वामी समर्थ चरित्र,—p. 8.

4 महाराष्ट्रीय ज्ञानकोष, Part VI, p. 24.

5 Cf. द. मु. p. 190.

6 Cf मध्ययुगीन चरित्रकोश, p. 1.

7 श्री स्वामी समर्थ चरित्रकोश p. 2 ff. Shri Kurlekar, even compares the lives of both Rāmadāsa and Swāmī, who had the prefixed-title Shri Samartha.

8 It is said that one mad goldsmith woman understood to some extent his utterings and interpreted at times as soon as the Swāmī uttered them e.g. मूल पुरुष वटवृक्ष दत्तनगर was interpreted by her like this: “वटवृक्षयनीं मूलपुरुष दत्तात्रेयपत्ने अवतरले आहेत.”

Let us now describe some of the miracles ascribed to him. A reader of his biography, might find that the life of the Swāmī was full of miracles only and only those people who were desirous of worldly happiness gathered about him in thousands while none went to him for spiritual progress. The up-to-date record of his life, after his appearance at Maṅgalaveḍhe, is preserved with care and devotion. No saint of this school of thought has a more wonderful record of his deeds. Each utterance of the Swāmī was regarded as containing some secret meaning or a reference to certain incidents in future.¹ Thus the devotees with full faith preserved his speeches and biography and got their desires fulfilled. Swāmī Shīvānandji gives us an excellent idea of the Swāmī of Akkalkoṭ when he remarks that: "these sages were absolutely free from selfish desires, that they simply willed at times to do good to humanity and everything came to pass instantaneously".² It is true that miracles ascribed to saints are never the products of their studied efforts. The result follows the words automatically. In this sense a saint differs from a juggler who performs magic with a selfish motive. Moreover, the action is only an illusion created by him while in the case of a saint it is not so. Moreover, the case of the Swāmī of Akkalkoṭ is somewhat peculiar in the sense that he always expressed his grace indirectly and showed it with a peculiar action without context, its meaning was understood long after the incident had happened.

This does not mean that Swāmī showed grace to the wicked for their wickedness and never discriminated between the right and the wrong. He might have behaved like a mad man but his wisdom was never lost. He used to abuse the idle and the wicked.³ To a bogus Sādhu his anger was greater than that to others.⁴ Not only did he chide such persons but also scolded hasty people and reminded them of the proverb—'Haste is Waste'. The absence of his grace to Vāsudeva Balvant Phadke, one of the greatest revolutionists of the time, to Malhārāy, the Gaekwar of Baroda, who tried to tempt him with money and to many who approached him with bad motives is well-known in his life. His life has, no doubt, inspired and led many disciples on the path of liberation, including Nṛsinhabhārati of Ālandī, Thākordāsabuvā, Ābājībuvā, Sitāramā Maharaj, Swāmī Suta, Bābā Sabnis, Saiyyada, Bāḷappā, Coḷappa. His worth

¹ Cf. His utterings and actions regarding the famous War of Independance in 1857 A. D. and similar events.

² As quoted by Shri Kurlekar, p. 23 from "Meditation and Philosophy".

³ Shri Phadke quotes so many instances where the Swāmī is as seen to open the secret wickedness and misconduct of many, who visited his place with a selfish motive. cf. द. सु., p. 193.

⁴ To him he used to say with an abuse :—"आय ते खायला हूडकतो × × × ! बापाची मत्ता". cf. देवभक्तचरित्रमाला, p. 183.

was recognised even by Māṇikaprabhu, who handed over Bābā Sabnis one of his disciples from Akkalakoṭ to him with words: "This is your Guru from this moment".¹ Even Shri Sabnis knew his spiritual strength, when he informed him about his mother's illness whom he had left in that condition at Akkalkoṭ. Thus the miracle ascribed to him appear to have some significant purpose. The Swāmī always emphatically told persons coming to him for worldly objects, that those who were interested in the pleasures of the world would ultimately find dissatisfaction, defeat and disgrace. He used to say that it was that person alone who forgot himself in serving the feet of the Master and performed with full faith his worldly duties got the victory, fulfilment and grace of the saints. A man is thus led along the path of liberation.

The above-mentioned view about the miracles ascribed to the Swāmī is clearly observed in his prescriptions for various diseases which were often incurable. The very nature of the prescription tested the faith of the devotee. To a patient of leprosy he prescribed a charcoal as in the case of Thākuraḍāsabovā of Bombay; and to some others he prescribed excretion. Thus medicines varied with the faith of the patients from the juice of a lemon to the trifling action of putting a hand bitten by a scorpion inside a shoe.

The highly spiritual life of the Swāmī was clearly observed in his daily routine. He did each and every work only when he had a mind to do it. None could compel him to do anything. This kind of free behaviour is peculiar to Dattātreya who is described to have his fifth Āsrama, different from the ordinary four Āśramas. There the result follows even without the cause and Yadu found him healthy even in the absence of food. The Swāmī in the same way behaved care-free like Dattātreya without even being conscious of its effect though that produced the most lasting result. Such contradictory actions on his part, at times proved his connection with Dattātreya. Moreover, the devotees connected with the place sacred to Dattātreya, such as Gāṇagāpur, Narasobā-wādi etc., got the mysterious call from their deity to go to the Swāmī of Akkalakoṭ for their need and they were satisfied with what they experienced at Akkalakoṭ.²

Although he was an ardent devotee of Dattātreya he emphatically told his devotees that all deities were equal in devotion. At times he is said to have given experience to devotees of either Malhārī or Viṭhobā as they wished him to

¹ हेच तुझे या पुढे गुरु ”.

² The most famous example is that of Thākuraḍāsabovā of Bombay. He desired to worship Dattātreya with musk and was in the meanwhile, directed to go to Akkalakoṭ. Forgetting to offer musk to his god he at once ran to Akkalakoṭ; and there the Swāmī at once demanded musk with words "—हमारी कस्तुरी अभीके अभी लव ”.

be and in the manner they worshipped them. In the same way the story of Jarābāī, who was a staunch devotee of Viṭhobā at Paṇḍharpur stresses the point in a different way that Viṭhobā is not only form of God who is present everywhere and one should worship him as the omnipresent and omnipotent God.¹ Janābāī was a follower of the Vāraṅkarī school, and visited Paṇḍharpur every year. Once it so happened that she was not sure of her visit owing to heavy rains. She went to the Swāmī for guidance and was told that Viṭhobā was everywhere. She was satisfied with the Swāmī's instructions and experienced the same kind of joy at Akkalkoṭ which she used to experience at Paṇḍharpur.

Again the Swāmī very often declared that there was no difference between man and woman. Once Rādhā a beautiful and proud harlot of that time was employed by some to test the Swāmī and was asked by him whether there was any difference between him and her. Rādhā replied that in her eyes the breasts of a woman manifested the difference between woman from man. The Swāmī retorted in his usual way that her breasts should be given away to a Brahmin instead of showing them to him for test.² After her departure Rādhā found that the breasts were absent from her body ; and from this she learnt a lesson and began to worship God. The Swāmī changed the life along with the change of sex.³ Many such instances are found in the life of the Swāmī.

In short, the Swāmī laid emphasis on the purity of mind. He loved all equally even creatures like cow and dog. Shri Phadke refers to this equality and considers it a special feature of the Swāmī's life. But the Swāmī had his own peculiar way, which was beyond the comprehension of ordinary people. The most prominent feature of the Swāmī's life was his regard for his Guru. This is quite evident even from the prominence given by him in verses praising his Guru in his daily prayer at night quoted elsewhere (Ch. १) and also from his instructions⁴ to Bālappā who was ashamed of doing certain work of the Swāmī. Guru-worship which is considered the most important item in this school of Dattātreya-worship is stressed here also; and that is practised even to-day.

Such a personality, most remarkable both from physical⁵ and spiritual

1 श्रीगुलीलामृतः Ch. XII :

पंढरपुर क्षेत्रीं आहे देवराय । अन्यत्र स्थलीं नाहीं काय ?

आतां परमात्मा सच्चिन्मय । हृदयीं माय पाहीं गे ॥ ६४ ॥

2 “ अगे हे तुझे स्तन ब्राह्मणास देऊन जा. येथे आमचे जवळ काय पहातेस ? ”

3 Cf. Shri Gurulilān ṛta, Ch. XIV.

4 “ निर्लेजो गुहसंनिधौ ”.

5 Both Vāmana and Bhāgvat have described his gigantic personality having lustrous light on the forehead and his hands reaching upto knees.

points of view, passed away on 30th April, 1878 A. D. (i. e. 1800 Śaka era Caitra Kṛṣṇa 12). The devotees of Dattātreyā even now go to worship the Samādhi built on the spot. Besides this the Maṭha of Bāḷappā, whom the Swāmī, gave many things over and above his Pādukās at the time of his departure is also a happy memorial of the Swāmī. In Bombay and Baroda there are places, sacred to the Swāmī, though they are now limited in their sphere and work. The Swāmī himself has written nothing yet his whole life inspired many works in this school at a time when people were led astray in the wrong direction. There was a serious lack of purity of mind in the character of the people. The Swāmī therefore stressed it very strongly. While residing both at Akkala (Buddhi) and at Koṭ (Āvaraṇa) as a mere witness of both he removed ignorance and showed a clear vision of the reality beyond all things ;¹ and that his is great work indeed.

¹ cf. Shri Gurulīlāmṛta ch. XX 61-70.:

या बुद्धिक्रोशादिकां चा साक्षी स्वामी ।

सच्चिदानंद स्वरूपात्मा अंतर्यामी ॥

चैतन्यरूपे अमूनी इन्द्रियग्रामी ।

आदे तद् व्यतिरिक्त समर्थ हा ॥ ६८ ॥

CHAPTER X

VĀSUDEVĀNANDASARASVATĪ AND GAṆḌA MAHĀRĀJĀ

(1854 A. D.—1914 A. D.)

(i) Vāsudevānandasarasvatī

“ A man shou'd remain satisfied with the performance of his own mission in life through the worship of Saguṇa God without which there would be no realisation of Brahman. Just as a king has great regard for his laws and coins, God has, in the same way, high respect for his Saguṇa form and for the scriptures. It is true that the coins do not mean a king but without them there will be practical difficulty for a king though it is equally true that there will be no importance of coins without a king. A king is satisfied if his laws are respected. In the same way God is pleased if human beings obey the rules of the scriptures. For this reason a man should worship the Saguṇa form of God obeying the rules prescribed by the scriptures and should thus lead life towards higher values of life¹. ”

The above-mentioned quotation is from the pen of a saint who commands great respect from all sections of society. At the time of Shripādavallabha and Nṛsinhasarasvatī people attached great importance to ceremonials. But in course of time ceremonials lost their significance. Vāsudevānandasarasvatī also saw that the people in general talked of the highest knowledge without understanding the A. B. C. of it. In the same way, they performed daily as well as ceremonial functions without knowing the motive behind them. It is true that actions and ceremonies on the part of a man do purify the heart, but it is very difficult to control the fickleness of mind in the midst of worldly pleasures. Mind can be controlled only through devotion to God. Vāsudevānand saw this tendency of the people so he laid more emphasis on the devotional aspect, which was fully practised in his own life. Even in his final sermon which he himself considered as the essence of all his writings and sayings, he has stressed the worship of God, with some practical instructions to be followed by ordinary man in his everyday life. There it is said that worship remains steady only if the heart is pure which, again, depends on the performance of one's own duties.

It is only after attainment of steadiness in Upāsanā that one can achieve peace and later on the knowledge which leads men to the final realisation.² Taking this emphasis (Upāsanā) into consideration, the biography of Vāsudevānanda by Shri Raṅgādhīta is named Upāsanā-Kāṇḍa which forms the third and the last part of his Shri Gurulīlāmṛta.³

¹ Shri Gurudeva Caritra. P. 116.

² Ibid. Pp. 332-3.

³ . Introduction : Upāsanā-Kāṇḍa.

Vāsudevānanda was born at Māṇagaon a small village near Sāvantvāḍī. His father Gaṇeśa never cared about worldly matters so Haribhaṭṭa his grandfather took of him and educated him. Before his birth his father used to go and stay for many years at Gāṇagāpur in the services of Dattātreyā. Once he was directed to go to his place from Gāṇagāpur with instructions that he should stay there as there was then no need to come to Gāṇagāpur. Soon after this Ramābāi, his wife, gave birth to Vāsudeva on Śrāvaṇa Kṛṣṇa 5 1776 in (Śaka Era) i.e. 1854 A. D.

As regards his education he learnt for some time from Śambhu Shastri Sadhale who was well-versed in astrology and scriptures. But Vāsudeva surpassed his teacher within the short time and had to leave his studies as his teacher could not tolerate him. Later on he studied with Niḷaṃbhaṭṭa Pādye, a famous astrologer of the times, but this time domestic circumstances compelled him to leave off study within nine months. During intervals for solution of his difficulties he went to Sāvantavāḍī, where he received help from Viṣṇubhaṭṭa Aḷavaṇī. Most of his knowledge came to him through his own intelligence. At the age of twelve he became a Daśagranthī¹.

From his very childhood he was not only bright but also had devotion in his heart. He used to observe even in his young age all the rules prescribed by the scriptures and avoided shoes and umbrella. He possessed the power of Mantras from the beginning and many incidents are quoted in this connection. People of the village had a high respect of the boy. He was married at the age of 21 with Annapūrṇā and after his marriage his father died in 1877 A. D.

After miraculous arrangement for their departure to Narasobā Wāḍī, he had a short stay there, where he realised his mission and was often directed on its way miraculously. He came in close contact with Govindswāmī as well as Maunīswāmī who were much advanced along the path of self-realisation and lived for the betterment of the people at large. Vāsudeva, who slowly but steadily marched along the path of highest knowledge, received explanation about the miraculous experiences, which he experienced on his way towards realisation. After the Pārāyaṇa (reading according to rules within 7 days) of the GC, he left Wāḍī and observed Cāndrāyaṇa rite at home. He again went to Wāḍī on the Datta-Jayanī day and stayed there for about four months. Here he was initiated with a Mantra in a dream from Dattātreyā and was directed to

¹ वासुदेव आ गम करी पठन ऋग्वेद जाण ।

सप्तद्वयनमसंहिता थया दशग्रंथी मान ॥

बार वरसनी उमरे विशिष्यथी एम ।

दशग्रंथी नामे थया प्रसिद्ध सबळे तेम ॥ ३७ ॥

श्रीगुरुलीलामृत, उपासनाकाण्ड, p. 5

go to Mānagaon to work there. He came to Mānagaon with the idol of Dattātreyā¹ which he got with the grace of God at Kāgal village on his way. Here he directed many persons to the right path and incidents about the removing wordly as well as other sufferings of the people are quoted. This stay of 7 years at Mānagaon with definite and prearranged programme with the solid support of God put him on a high level along the path of Yoga² and of devotional knowledge besides his practical leadership in the town where he was usually addressed as 'Śāstribuvā' by respectful people. The temple of Dattātreyā at Mānagaon stands as a memorial to this saint who even in his short stay could attract and help many needy persons. It was at this place and in the very temple that he was once granted a boon by God that he should give necessary directions in view of the faith of men concerned and God would see to it that the desires of the devotees were fulfilled.³ From this day Vāsudeva did not move an inch without the call (Ādesa) from the Lord.⁴ He left the place in 1889 A.D. and started uplifting people. First he came to Wāḍī and later on moved from place to place. It was at this place that he gave highest type of knowledge to his wife who cried after her dead son. Shri Phadke has taken note of this rare incident in a dialogue between husband and wife, noting the fact that sons like Kapila and Dattātreyā were heard of as spiritual guides to their respective mothers Devahūti and Anasūyā; this is somewhat rare and peculiar. Then Annapūrṇā passed away⁵ and on the fourteenth day of her departure he took Sanyāsa at the age of 36.

Though he took Sanyāsa and got Mantropadeśa in dream from Dattātreyā with instruction to procure food through begging he had to go to Ujjain to

¹ This idol was two-handed with Vara and Abhaya poses, with crossed legs (Siddhāsana), measuring 7 fingers in height and was made of brass. His usual idol before him was of one head and 6 hands, though he has recognised the form with one head and 4 hands or even of three-heads and 6 hands. The idol of the last type was installed at Rājamahendri also.

² Once he was directed to read a book on Yoga written in Hindi in the form of a dialogue between Kabir and Dharmadāsa. Later on this book became his guide in the matter of Yoga. He used to go to a cave on a hill near his village which he left later on and then the temple of Dattātreyā became his favourite place for penance.

³ श्रीगुरुलीलामृत—3.113.79. ff.

⁴ Ibid. P. 3.113. यथा दत्त अदृश्य त्यां ! ते दिनश्री ए जाण ।

वासुदेव डग ना भरे दत्ताज्ञा विण मान ॥ ८८ ॥

⁵ Vaiśākhā Kṛṣṇa 14 of 1813 (Śaka era) at Gaṅgākheḍa on the bank of the Godavari.

receive his staff (Daṇḍa) from Nārāyaṇānandasarasvatī. The spiritual lineage is as under: Acyutānandasarasvatī – Aniruddhānandasarasvatī – Nārāyaṇānandasarasvatī – Vāsudevānandasarasvatī¹.

Before considering the development of his devotion let us study his intimate relation with god. We have already referred to his stress on devotion which is seen in every activity of life. We see a close relation between god and his devotee. The idol with him is not the representative of the Lord but is a living Lord in person. The idol, nay Dattātreyā in that form, talks and behaves as if a friend talks and behaves with his own best friend. No doubt, Vāsudevānanda obeyed his directions yet the directions were not like orders of a master to a servant. We see Vāsudevānanda playing tricks with God² or even sometimes he did not pay any heed to them.³ In such cases he always remained ready to face the result. Time and again, he had to please the Lord with prayer even though god would not be pleased until the very direction is carried out. This close relation between the two becomes clearly manifest when they become angry with each other. Thus Dattātreyā would dive into the river Narmadā, when Vāsudevānanda would not carry out his desire to have bath on a grand scale with scents and other rich things and would only come out of water when promised to do so with a prayer.⁴ In the same way, Vāsudevānanda scolded his Lord when the latter tried to take him to the other world without the fulfilment of his desire to have a Sanyāsa. He did nothing except following the instructions of Dattātreyā quite faithfully. This short of intimacy between the Lord and his devotee is quite rare and seems miraculous. In the same way his relations with Viṭhobā of Paṇḍharpur, the river goddesses Kṛṣṇā and Narmadā, Lord Śaṅkara and even with the mysterious personality of Aśva-thāmā are said to have been very intimate.

He inspired many saints as well as common people of the time. A powerful saint in his time has always to guide the needy along the way of self-realisa-

¹ It is worth nothing that Nārāyaṇānanda belonged to the sect of Shri Sāmarth Rāmdāsa and taking this into consideration Vāsudevānanda celebrated the day sacred to Rāmadāsa, which is known as Dāsa-Navamī.

² cf. the incident at Bhelsā village : Shri Gurudeva Caritra. p. 200.

³ cf. Once he promised to go to Wāḍī and later on he was directed not to go there. He however chose punishment rather than break the promise. Shri Gurudeva Caritra Pp. 276 ff.

⁴ मित्र मित्र जरि भांडती । तरी पुनः एक होती ॥ १
दंपतीचा हो कलह । लव मात्र न तूटे लेह ॥ २
देवभक्ताचें भांडणें । पराभक्तीचें तें ठाणें ॥ ३
वासु म्हणे हा विनोद । देतो दत्ता परमानंद ॥ ४

tion and Vāsudevānanda did this successfully. Among his direct disciples the names of Nṛsinhasarasvatī otherwise known as Dikṣiṭa Mahārāja, Yogānandsarasvatī alias Gāṇḍā Mahārāja and Sītārāma who was his brother are quite well-known. Even the photo of all the four in one is available. His relations with Brahmānandasarasvatī, Līlānandasarasvatī and others are also intimate and inspiring. Among householders the example of Rāmacandra Shastri of Sinor in Baroda State is worth emulation. Rāmacandra was very proud and arrogant as is always the case with youngsters. Later on, he changed his attitude knowing the worth of Vāsudevānanda and was directed along the path of Yoga. His discourse on the importance of Nāma-Smaraṇa (muttering the name of God) with Rāmacandra Kamat, the critical editor of the GC, is well known and it has been published by Shri Kamat¹. Even once he directed such continuous Bhajana-Saptāhas with Mantras of different gods in each Saptāha in order to remove epidemic calamity in the form of cholera at Brahmāvarta.²

His love for the people was remarkable. He never discriminated between man and man on the ground of caste. Nṛsinhasarasvatī has a washerman, an outcaste and even a Mohamadan king as his devotees. Janārdana had great influence over Mohamedans. Māṇikaprabhu and the Swāmī of Akkalakoṭ had shown in the same way favour to persons of all castes and creeds. Vāsudevānanda did not lag behind. Once he showered his grace on a Parsi gentleman who came to Garuḍeśwar³ with pain in his belly. During his life time he got reconstructed many Masjids.⁴ An out-caste woman got a son at the age of 45, through his grace.⁵ Thus the spirit of equality is seen in his life even though he himself rigidly observed the rules laid down by the scriptures.

His greatest contribution to the development of worship is seen in a negative way. Shripādvallabh and Nṛsinhasarasvatī established worship with their penance and other divine qualities at three places. They are Wāḍī, popularly known as Narsobācī Wāḍī, Gāṇagāpur and Kuravpur. These places had and still have definite programme before them. But at the time of Vāsudevānanda there were some forms of irregularity and corruption in abeyance of the rules regarding the worship. Vāsudevānanda in his own way of improving the people, changed the Pūjārīs of the respective places and reorganised the organisations with formations of new rules and gave directions on right lines. This

1 cf. नामजपाचे महत्व; नामचिंतामणि by Kamat.

2 cf. Shri Gurudeva Caritra. p. 167.

3 “उपासनाकाण्ड” p. 133.

4 Cf. श्रीगुरुदेव चरित्र, p. 173 or Cf. उपासनाकाण्ड, p. 123. In the instructions to Mohamedans, he used to quote many times Koran and its sayings.

5 “उपासनाकाण्ड” Ch. 132.27-28 (p. 87)

way of checking the worship, which would have otherwise gone on wrong lines, is also the great service done both for the people in general and for the places in particular.

Among his strict discipline, rules regarding Sanyāsa are strictly observed though others are not neglected. He had a staff (Daṇḍa) not only in the physical form but also in the spiritual sense, which refers to the control of speech, body and mind. He never uttered a harsh word in his life to even persons of low status. His way of giving right advice to persons was always indirect. Mostly he believed in practice rather than in precept.¹ Many times even when he had a Samādhī people especially the worshippers of Wādī, understood what he wanted to say for there was some sign during that time. His control over the body is seen in his indifference to it. He always performed penance and observed fasts from time to time and never took medicine when he fell ill. But inspite of all these, he followed his daily time-table quite regularly and according to his principles. This very fact proves his mental power. He always travelled on foot and never by rail, in a motor or even in a cart. He successfully practised the spirit of renunciation.

The observance of the rule to stay for not more than three days at one place except in monsoon when the longer stay of at least four months is allowed, helped the development of the school in an indirect way for Vāsudevānanda happened to travel almost all over India. His twenty three years² after renunciation were spent in travel inspiring people by his own conduct, by his talks on the Gītā, Bhāṣya and other religious books and by way of keeping a question time when people asked questions about their doubts and difficulties. The perusal of his camp life during the four months of monsoon would give us some idea of his long travel which was carried out on foot. In the same way a perusal of his daily programme³ during these camps which started right from four o'clock early morning till eleven at night with various kinds of activities will show what solid work he did for the uplift of society in general. Pangarkar has rightly said of him that a saint like Vāsudevānanda could create such an environment that no evil thought could enter our mind. Such a great influence could not be created even by joint efforts of hundreds of writers. His renuncia-

¹ Cf. His utterance “ आधीं केले मग सांगितले ”.

² The places of Cāturmāsa selected by him are as under:—Ujjain, Brahmāvarta (four times), Haridwār (twice), Badarinārāyaṇa, Petlād (near Indore City), Tilakvāḍā (on the bank of Narmadā), Dwārka, Cikhaldā (on the bank of Narmadā) (twice), Mahatpur, Narsi, Baḍhavāi, Tañjāvar, Muktyālā, Pavani (on the bank of Vengāṅgā), Hāvanūr (on the bank of Tuṅgabhadra), Kuravpur (on the bank of Krishna) and Garuḍeśvar.

³ cf. श्रीगुहदेवचरित्र : pp. 33, 176, 217.

tion, penance, purity of actions, study and realisation with his worship of Dattātreyā and divine Brahminhood— these are the qualities rarely to be found in this modern age.¹

But this does not mean that he was a strict orthodox Brahmin of his time. Dattātreyā-worship has always allowed independent thinking and has never been bound down by narrow principles. Such leaders always relaxed the rules of caste and Āśrama if it served certain definite purpose. They carried out the principles in the right spirit. They kept an open mind and never followed them blindly. Thus Vāsudevānand even though a Sanyāsī, never discarded the worship of the idol of Dattātreyā. He always took cooked food only from a Deccani Brahmin family. He never returned to Mānagaon after leaving it according to the rules of renunciation but he followed the real spirit of Sanyāsa and maintained association with the mother and the motherland.² These and other instances in his life clearly showed that he was an independent thinker. He is said to have given his opinions on many other topics such as Mantra, Tantra, Evil spirit (Piśāca), the equality of Prakrit with Sanskrit, Atithi, Prārabdha and such other topics which are referred to in his life-sketch published by a specially appointed committee of his followers.

We have already referred to the talks given by him during his stay at different places. His mode of explaining the difficulty with simple examples from daily life, attracted many hearers. His calm and yet direct answers to questions asked by his spiritual followers gave him a high and respectful place in their hearts. His knowledge of the Vedas was profound yet he could sustain interest of the public when he talked on Marathi works like Jñāneśvarī, Dāsabodha and many such other works. Many a time he himself composed certain Ākhyānas to be recited in religious gatherings.

In the same way, his contributions to Marathi and Sanskrit literature is great and valuable. He is the only person who has written much on the Dattātreyā Worship. In fact, he is a pioneer in collecting all the materials about the worship and put them in his works. Ekanātha laid stress on the Bhāgavata and being devoted chiefly to Viṭhobā his pen began to work in that direction. Dāsopant, known for his quantity, has however laid stress more on the Gītā and the Vedānta than on anything else though, we get from him many stotras on Dattātreyā and valuable information regarding Dattātreyā's work in Dattātreyā-Māhātmya written in Sanskrit. Yet this is rather a modest beginning. Vāsudevānanda started as if a big concern and wrote on the worship whenever he got time and contributed a lot towards the enhancement of the

¹ देवभक्तचरित्रमाला-५ : प. 93.

² Cf. श्रीगुरुदेवचरित्र : प. 145.

worship with a permanent record. He did work on this line which was so great and exhaustive that people believed him as the chosen person for this kind of work and Shri Kamat had to face in the beginning severe attack on his work regarding critical edition of GC, the work which was left undone by Shri Vāsudevānanda.¹ The people argued that if the critical edition of GC was needed, Dattātreyā would have directed Vāsudevānanda towards that as he had done in case of his Guru Saṃhitā, Dvīsāhasrī etc. No doubt Shri Kamat faced this attack successfully uniformly showing the same respect for Vāsudevānanda.

Before examining his literary works, it is worth noting that he never wrote a single work (same was the case with his action) without any direction from Dattātreyā. Such sort of humility is always shown by writers on religious topics and we have already seen it in GC. But here the case, it seems, is somewhat different. Most of the works have either an introduction in the beginning² or a letter written to a devotee³ while sending a copy of the manuscript after finishing the work in which the author himself made a reference to certain divine element in the work. Thus while writing about Shri Gurucaritam in Sanskrit he was unaware of the total number of verses written in it but at the end of it the number was shown as two thousand. Hence its another name was Dvīsāhasrī.⁴ Again this book has another miraculous event associated with it. Fifteen years after its writing a commentary was written by the author without having a copy of the original book.⁵ In the same way Guru Saṃhitā, a translation into Sanskrit from Marathi GC, has also a divine history behind it.⁶ We cannot pass over such mystic element which has direct proof of letters from the author himself who has always taken care to see the truth without any desire for fame or worldly things by simply saying that it shows the humility of the author. It is certainly more than that. Moreover, we have just another reference wherein we see that the author is not able to proceed further in writing an article which was demanded by the devotees for preserving their continuity of thought which was often disturbed. This article, the Swāmī writes in one of his letters,⁷ the Lord did not desire to be completed as there was a chance of

¹ cf. गुरुचरित्रान्तर्गत गुरुगीता, p. 27.

² श्रीदत्तेनोदिता टीका वासुदेवसरस्वतीम् ।

निमित्तीकृत्य विभुना चरितस्य गुरोर्वरा ॥ etc. in the beginning of DP. Tīkā.

³ For letter regarding the origin of Shri Guru Saṃhitā, cf. श्रीगुरुदेवचरित्र, P. 165.

⁴ For the detail cf. श्रीगुरुदेवचरित्र, P. 37-8.

⁵ वासुदेवदत्तात्रेयलीलामृत, P.22 refers to the letter of this substance from the author. The letter is still in the collection.

⁶ Cf. श्रीगुरुदेवचरित्र — p. 165.

⁷ Cf. Ibid. pp. 229-30.

its being used for attacking their opponents. In this way, it is something more than the humility, which can be seen and which yet remains unexplained and mysterious.

The committee, which was specially appointed to publish the complete works of Vāsudevānand on his rooth birth-day anniversary has published all his works in nine volumes ¹, the last of which also contains a short biography of the author besides his famous Vedanivedastotra on Nṛsinhasarasvatī, Kṛṣṇālaharī, Ākhyanas, useful for Kīrtana and Pañcapāksika, a treatise on astrology. We have already referred to his Guru Saṃhitā and Dviśāhasrī both of which are based on GC and are now used for Saptāha-Pārāyaṇa purposes by Sanskrit knowing followers. The language of Guru-Saṃhitā is so lucid and simple that even a beginner in the study of Sanskrit language can grasp the meaning of the book and can enhance his knowledge both in language and literature. There is yet another small book based on GC called Shri Gurucarita Kāvya, which is otherwise called Triśatī having 309 verses in different metres. The way in which the author refers to the whole story of GC sometimes even in one stanza is wonderful with its peculiarities of handling the metre, sound and sense and the formation of various Bandhas at the end. The prowess of his pen on this line is more vividly seen in epitomizing the essence of each chapter in his Guru Saṃhitā.²

Besides the works based on GC we have a very useful work from him called Datta-Purāṇam. It deals with the life and the work of Dattātreyā in the Paurāṇic fashion with all the five requirements of a Purāṇa. It has 64 chapters divided into 8 Aṣṭakas, each of the 8 chapters is on the lines of old Vedic division. It is considered as an encyclopedia of Aryan civilisation by Shri Phadke.³ No doubt it is written with a soft pen and now the absence of a Purāṇa narrating the story of Dattātreyā in detail is not felt. This Purāṇa has been given another shape in Marathi under the title Shri Datta Māhātmya. It is written in Ovi metre and those who do not know Sanskrit, can very well understand what he wanted to say in the Purāṇa. Like Shri Datta Purāṇa we have a short treatise, about the life of Dattātreyā a book called Shri Datta-Campūḥ. Besides interesting narration and clarification of thought we have

¹ Really these are twelve in number called Puṣpas, as the committee has taken into account the printing of commentaries written by the author himself. Most of the works have a commentary from the author in which we get an idea of his wide knowledge besides clarity of thought. Moreover, each Puṣpa has an introduction from learned personalities discussing the work critically while there is whole hearted support from many in translating the work into Marathi.

² These are printed even separately in स्तोत्रादि संग्रह P. 167.

³ द. सु. P. 139.

many Alaṅkāras used in a natural way, which throws light on his knowledge of the subject. Over and above these big works, we have some small pieces like श्रीदत्तात्रेयषोडशावतारचरितम्, श्रीदत्तभावसुधारसस्तोत्रम्, श्रीदत्तलीलामृनाधिसार while षट्पञ्चाशिका, मानस-पूजा, आत्मनात्मविचार in two parts and चित्तसद्बोधनक्षत्रमाला are based on the knowledge of Vedānta among which the last two were in Marathi.

Besides these works कुमारशिक्षा, युवशिक्षा and वृद्धशिक्षा deal with the topics which their very names suggest. In the same way स्त्रीशिक्षा in Marathi contains many valuable instructions to ladies.

His stotras both in Marathi and Sanskrit are interesting from the view point of their friendly and devotional touch. His Karuṇātripadī—three Padas—sung for getting mercy (Karuṇā) of god, is still sung at Narsobā-Wāḍi and his Abhaṅga¹ composed after the incident of the idol of Dattātreya having dived into the waters of the Narmadā as quoted previously are instances in point. In the same way his Abhaṅga on Santamahimā² reminds us of his predecessors Ekanātha and others. In all these small compositions we see his deep devotional heart and his deep store of knowledge in dealing with the metre, Alaṅkāras, his mastery over vocabulary. Many a time he adds new words, his fondness for mentioning the name of the metre of the verse, his Antarlāpikās of many Mantras besides his name in a single stotra³ are astonishing, while his Stotras praising almost all gods and goddesses whom he worshipped during his long travel on foot show his broad outlook of devotion to the Almighty, who has manifested Himself in various names and forms. This stress on devotion⁴, as we have already said, was well thought of and was consistent with the need of his time. We shall here quote the words of the then Śaṅkarācārya of Śringerī Maṭha said about him which will show his worth : “ Oh pupils, you have not recognised the worth of this great Sanyāsī who has been here to-day and this makes me speak a few words about him. He is the very Dattātreya in human form mainly due to pious deeds of his parents. He like Śaṅkarācārya, the great, is carrying on the work of uplifting and enhancing Dharma. He observes the rules of Varṇa and Āśrama strictly and has uplifted many people guiding them along the path of

¹ Cf. Note 4 on p. 146.

² सदा संतां पाशीं जावे ॥ त्यांचे जवळी बैसावें ॥ १
उपदेश ते न देती ॥ तरी ऐकाव्या त्या गोष्टी ॥ २
तेचि उपदेश होती ॥ त्याही कष्ट नष्ट होती ॥ ३
वासुदेव म्हणे संत ॥ संगे करिती पसंत ॥ ४

³ Cf. विनायकस्तोत्रम् in स्तोत्रादि संग्रहः P. 1.

⁴ Cf. His words to Sundara Shastri at Cidambarkṣetra :

“ शास्त्रज्ञत्वाचा अभिमान असेल तर भक्ति कधीच उत्पन्न होणार नाही, आणि भक्ति नाही तर देवाची कृपा नाही आणि मुक्ती ही नाही. ” श्रीगुरुदेवचरित्र—p. 249.

action, devotion and knowledge".¹ Even Shri Pangarkar while paying a tribute to his literary penance (Vāṅmaya Tapa) in the sense described in the Gītā, speaks of him as a saint rarely found in the present age.²

Such a personality finished his mission on earth on Jyēṣṭha Kṛṣṇa 30 at half an hour before midnight in 1836 (Śaka era) i.e. 1914 A. D.³ His Samādhi is at Garuḍeśwar on the bank of the river Narmadā where he stayed in the later years of his life. He has a large number of followers and his 100th birth-day anniversary was celebrated in a grand way at Garuḍeśwar which has now become a place of pilgrimage for Dattātreyā-worshippers. The occasion became all the more inspiring by the presence of Shri Raṅga Avadhūta of Nāreśvar in Gujarat whose life and work are discussed in one of the following chapters. We shall now close this chapter by quoting a verse from the Stotra⁴ written in dedication to the Swāmī which describes his work and pays him a glowing tribute.

जीवान्मीमभवाणवे निपतितानुद्धर्तुकामः सदा
ग्रन्थानैकविधान्यधात्सुविमलज्ञानैकपाथोनिधीन् ।
नानातीर्थनिषेवणे विहितधीर्योगाब्धिमन्थाचलो
भ्राजद्भारतभूमिभालतिलकः श्रीवासुदेवो यतिः ॥

(ii) Yogānandasarasvatī (Gāṇḍā Mahārājā)

1869 A. D.—1938 A. D.

The life of Shri Yogānandasarasvatī is a worthy example of a true disciple. It shows how a man, however, ignorant, achieves his final emancipation from the clutches of his spiritual enemies if he gets the grace of a Guru through his faithful devotion and service. He was born at Telaṅgpur near Surat in 1869 A. D.⁵ His original name was Kalyāṇa but from his very childhood he had a

¹ Cf. श्रीगुरुदेवचरित्र, P. 254.

² Cf. देवभक्तचरित्रमाला-५, P. 92.

³ His Samvatsara of birth and death was the same about which the following stanza is quoted which refers also to his name and stage : "

आनंदीं येऊनीं आनंदीं हो जाई ।

आनंदीं राहुनी आनंद नामें ॥ १

ऐसा चतुर्गुण आनंद सांठला ।

म्हणौनी तो झाला त्रिगुणातीत ॥ २

जरी तूं इच्छिंसी भोगाया आनंदा ।

तरी या आनंदा सेवीं सदा ॥ ३

वासुदेवदत्तात्रेयलीलामृत, p. 36.

⁴ Printed in dedication in R̥gveda Saṃhitā Part 2, published by Vaidic Saṃśodhana Maṇḍāla, Poona.

⁵ Mārgaśīrṣa 15, 1925 (Vikrama era).

strange behaviour which earned for him the name ' Gāṇḍā' (literally it means mad).

He belonged to a Brahmin caste of the Anāvil community and first served in a School-board and then in a private firm. He went out in search of a Guru having been dissatisfied with his life, when he had a quarrel with his boss leaving his wife, whom he married at the age of eight. At last in 1897 he met Vāsudevānandasarasvatī and acquired a place by his side. Under the guidance of his worthy Guru he achieved peace and became immortal¹ as one of the best disciples of Vāsudevānand.

Gāṇḍā Mahārāja worked mostly with Swāmī Mahārāja and moved with him. He was given instructions by his Guru at intervals and thus he practised Yoga first at Nikorā and finally at Broach in Gujarat and guided people through his devoted actions and selfless devotion. In the later years of Vāsudevānand, name of Gāṇḍā Mahārāja was mentioned with respect paid to a Guru. If we look into the strict disciplined life of Vāsudevānand we can judge how Gāṇḍā Mahārāja must have impressed his Guru and the people by his behaviour and sincere devotion.

He had only a smattering knowledge of any language, yet he had written a big book in Marathi language, dealing with the life of his Guru, viz, Shri Gurūmūrticaritra. Moreover, he has written another short sketch of his Guru in श्रीचरित्र. Both are in prose. His स्त्रीधर्मनिरूपण is also a worthy attempt, which deals with the duties of women as the name signifies.

After the Samādhi of Vasudevānand, he stayed for some time at Broach and then went on tour where he guided the needy and finally settled at Guñjgrām on the banks of the Godavari river. Here he passed away in 1938.² He has a good number of followers near Guñjgrām where they have built a Samādhi while curiously enough he is comparatively less heard of in his native place in Gujarat.

1 Cf. गांडा सम गुरुभक्त ना दीटो बीजो क्याय ।

जाउं वारी तन्नामदर, वंदन करूं सदाय ॥ श्रीगुरुलीलामृत III. 147. 57

2 Phālguna Kṛṣṇa 12, 1994 (Vikrama era.)

CHAPTER XI
ŚRĪPANTA MAHĀRĀJA BĀLEKUNDRIKAR
(1855 A.D.—1905 A.D.)

Generally it so happens that worship and penance practised in a family bear fruit in due course long after the seed is sown in the soil. The case of Śrīpanta Mahārāja is an instance in point. His ancestors were the devotees of Dattātreyā and GC was their prayer-book. It is said that in a dream given to one of his ancestors Nṛsinhasarasvatī had given a call that he would be born in his family after seven generations. The result was the birth of Śrīpanta.

The family name of Śrīpanta Mahārāja was Dattātreyā.¹ His father Rāmappā was a devotee of Dattātreyā. His mother Godākkā alias Sītābāi was also an ardent devotee of Dattātreyā quite in keeping with the tradition of her family. One of her ancestors had read the Guru-Caritra-Saptāha standing on one foot. Thus the atmosphere in which Śrīpanta was born at Bālekundri eight miles from Belgaon in the Sangali district was very pious and inspiring. His birth date falls on Śrāvaṇa Kṛṣṇa 8 of 1777 (Śaka era) *i.e.* 3-9-1855 A.D.

His education was over in 1880 A.D. when he passed the Matriculation Examination. Before that he passed even the Public Service Examination which existed at the time of Śrīpanta Mahārāja. He then accepted the job of a teacher and carried on his worldly duties as well as advance in spiritual progress. He was a successful teacher, an ideal householder and an able spiritual leader. His life is a very fine example like that of Ekanātha of performing one's own duty besides going ahead towards the path of liberation.

When he was at Belgaon for his English education he happened to meet Bālāvadhūta, an Avadhūta of a high order. Bālāvadhūta alias Bālamukunda always moved in ecstasy playing on Ekatārī (lute with a single wire, used for devotional purposes). He became his spiritual preceptor. Bālāvadhūta was also pleased to see the inborn spiritual quality of the disciple and chose him as his successor to carry on the work of Avadhūta-Mārga. His spiritual lineage was as under: Dattātreyā-Rāma Caitanya-Bālappā (-Bālekundrikar). Bālappā went away after preparing the disciple saying that he had the intention of going to Śrīśaila but never returned while leaving Śrīpanta alone to carry on his work. He assured him that he was always with him, giving strength² and that he would be directed, if difficulties arose, by saints. This actually happened.

1. His name according to his horoscope was Śrīkṛṣṇa but was called Dattātreyā owing to worship of Dattātreyā in the family.

2. “मी केन्दा ही तुझ्या पाठीवर आहे”.

ed when Śrīpanta met Siddhārūḍhaswāmī at Hubli and Kālappā at Belgaon. The latter, though in the service of the forest department had high spiritual advancement and his discourses in Kanāḍa language, translated into Marathi by Śrīpanta, are seen in the private collection of Śrīpanta. Siddhārūḍhaswāmī guided him twice in his life and Śrīpanta stayed with him even for a longer period. In the same way a saint known as Maunī Bengālī swāmī gave him much help in solving Śrīpant's difficulties in the spiritual field.

This spiritual progress which is steadily advanced towards perfection is seen in his works written from time to time either to guide his disciples or on certain occasions to give out his experiences. His poetical Padas are collected under the name of Śrīdatta-Prema-Laharī; while all his works are collected as Śrīdatta-Prema-Laharī-Puṣpamālā, having 8 volumes. His life, in fact, is divided into two parts, according to his spiritual experiences seen in his works. The first part which he himself has called Jñāna-yuga or Vicāra-yuga reveals his progress towards his perfection which he acquired by reading the works like Yathārthā-dīpikā of Vāman, Bhāvārthadīpikā and Amṛtānubhava of Jñāneśvar, Avadhūta Gītā, Śrīmadbhagavadgītā and others; the other part of his life called Anubhava-yuga or Avadhūta-yuga by himself which narrates his experiences after his attainment of perfect bliss. Thus his earlier works are based on devotion towards Bālāvadhūta, his preceptor in one way or the other, while later on he is seen talking with the Lord on equal terms. Thus, Śrībālamukunda-Bodhānanda-Guṭikā (Kalyāṇa Caritra,) Bālābhodhāmṛtasāra, Prema-Taraṅga, Ātmajyoti and such other works sing the praise of the Guru and the experiences in the state of a Sādhaka, while Bhaktālāp shows the devoted heart of a son with regard to his father who was looked upon as God. His later works Paramātmānubhava-prakāśa, Anubhāvavallī in two parts, Gītāsāra and other discourses to his disciples are the fruits of the perfect stage attained by him.

During all these activities about spiritual uplift his worldly duties were never neglected by him for he believed that the worldly affairs were means towards attaining certain qualities required for advancement on that path. Even his Guru directed him so¹ in the same vein and thus he never gave way to any kind of weakness arising out of worldly events like death of a father or a son or other relatives, financial trouble, and opposition from his spiritual brethrens.

During his life time he carried on his mission by celebrating Datta-Jayantī and by holding other religious festivals giving discourses on various topics in a fluent and powerful speech and by following a regular programme of prayer-songs (Bhajan) either in a pandal specially prepared for the purpose or at

¹ Cf. "अनुभव पूर्ण होण्या करिता तुला प्रपंच केला पाहिजे."

various places previously arranged. His sphere though limited was very important and inspired many with higher values of life. He even gave Dīkṣā to many among whom Rāmānanda was prominent.

After his disappearance in 1905 A.D.¹ his followers built his Samādhi at Bāḷekundrī and great care is taken to see that the followers who go to visit the place out of respect get facilities. All his works are published again. His life was very simple yet inspiring to many. His biography consisting of 52 chapters in the Oṽī metre (about 7000 Oṽīs in all) written by Vāman, one of his disciples, is still awaiting publication along with his other works based mainly on the unpublished collection of Śrīpanta Mahārāja's talks and anecdotes.

¹ Āśvin Kṛṣṇa 3, 1827 (Śaka era).

CHAPTER XII

SĀIBĀBĀ

(?—1916 A. D.)

When we think of the life and work of Sāibābā number of questions arise in our mind right from his origin, birth, caste and even the line on which he worked to many other things that are attached to his name not only in the popular mind but also in the minds of the educated. He is a mysterious personality whom everybody interpretes in his own way and no interpretation could give a complete picture of the saint. This is perhaps the reason why he is Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Hanu-mān, Śaṅkara, Gaṇapati, Guru, Dattātreya, Swāmī of Akkalakoṭ—all rolled in one according to viewpoints of different devotees.¹ Sāibābā on the whole stressed not one particular worship but encouraged the form of worship that appealed to his devotees. He tried to reconcile hostile elements in his life and to-day we see that he has the followers of all caste and creed who closely co-operate in worshiping the saint. Though he has been considered as incarnation of various deities by different devotees his name is now more closely connected with the name of Dattātreya rather than with that of any other deity.

His chief disciple Upāsanī Mahārāja believed him as Rāma² and it seems his view is based on the fact of Sāibābā's desire of celebrating the Rāma-Navamī-day every year³—and this is practised even to-day. It is however surprising that we find a beautiful temple of Dattātreya at Sākorī the place where Upāsanī Mahārāja stayed while nothing is found at Shirdi. Even the Pādukās at Shirdi are those of Sāibābā's Guru and not of Dattātreya. Yet many believe him as incarnation of Dattātreya carrying on the work of the Swāmī of Akkalakoṭ and hence of Māṇikaprabhu who started the school of Sakalamata. Equality between all sects and confidence in the achievement of the highest goal by those who hanker after the fundamental principles of that school. If we have to judge his spiritual lineage from the work which Sāibābā carried on it seems to be as under: Māṇikaprabhu, Akkalakoṭ-Swāmī and Sāibābā.⁴ These put him in this line of thought. Moreover, his relations with Dāsagaṇu who gets the credit of introducing Sāibābā in his proper form to the world at large, are worth noting. Dāsagaṇu has always

¹ Cf. साईबाबा, p. 14.

² Cf. His words in one of his verses:

अजन्माद्यमेकं परब्रह्म साक्षात् । स्वयं संभवं राममेवावतीर्णम् ॥

³ Cf. साईबाबा p. 81.

⁴ Even his connection with Māṇikaprabhu is inferred and it is said that once he went to Māṇikanagar before he established at Shirdi Cf. साईबाबा, अवतार आणि कार्य, p. 21.

introduced him as the trinity in a combined form¹ interweaving all his various contradictory activities. Lastly many incidents are quoted to prove his oneness with the Swami of Akkalkoṭ and Dattātreya.²

These ideas attracted people towards Dattātreya worship and we see people worshipping Dattātreya along with Sāibābā. His birth date is unknown, yet he was at Shirdi many years before his serious illness in 1885 A.D.³ When he was once asked about his parenthood he said, "the world is our village, Brahma, the father and Māyā the mother."⁴ Here the Swami of Akkalkoṭ's reply to the same question of parenthood is worth comparing. The one gave out divine parenthood created in certain behaviour as an illusion of being a Mohamadan while the other spoke of himself as the lowest type of parenthood and was recognised as a Brahmin. Yet both unknown to the people in their true colour recognised the equality of all castes creeds, and sexes and attracted all types of devotees for their uplift.

He has practically written nothing though his thoughts are collected in different books published by his devotees.⁵ He laid stress on constant faith (Niṣṭhā) and patience (Sabūrī) as he always demanded these two 'coins' from his devotees. Performance of one's duty and the worship of one's own family-deity with pure heart seem to be his essential preaching. He spoke without any reserve and gave rude shocks to orthodoxy. His programme of dining together is an instance in point. Yet he never encouraged anybody to change his old mode of worship. This way of handling the two hostile and antagonistic groups is rather a special feature of these saints. He finished his work in 1918 A.D. on the day of Āśvin Śukla 10. His followers are found all over India and they flock together at Shirdi where his Samādhi is seen even to-day with the Masjid called Dwārakāmāi where he used to stay. The sacred ashes called Udi⁶ are even now applied to the forehead with full faith. There are many institutions standing on his name in all big cities and the followers have their Head Quarters at Madras.

¹ Cf. साईबाबा p. 13, 92-93 cf. also श्रीसाईसचरित्र ch. 4.

² Cf. साईबाबा, अवतार व कार्य p. 59 ff. Also cf. साईबाबा pp. 67-68, 70-72, 108.

³ Cf. साईबाबा P. 26.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 10.

⁵ Cf. साईबाबा p. 344.

⁶ Udi is described thus :

उत्कार उच्यते चोर्ध्व ईकारो गमनं स्मृतः ।

ईकारोऽपि तथा ख्यातः गगनं चोद्गमो बुधैः ॥

उदयं करोति भाग्यस्य भक्तानां साईसद्गुरोः ।

इह च परमे लोके सोऽदिवोदीति कीर्तिताः ॥

Even a line is ascribed on Sāibābā's name which runs as under :

रमते राम आयोजी, उदियांकी गोनियां लायोजी, साईबाबा, p. 285.

CHAPTER XIII
NOORĪ MAHĀRĀJA
(1869 A. D.—1923 A. D.)

We have already referred to two great names of Ālama and Bakaprabhu when we alluded to the life of Māṇikaprabhu. Both were Mohamedans and they even influenced the Hindus, but reliable sketches of both of them are not available. However the life of Noorī Mahārāja a Mohamedan saint who was considered an incarnation of Dattātreya by his followers and who had wide experiences¹ has come into light and the following information is based on it.

He was born at Ahmedabad in the year 1869 A. D. He was a descendent of the two illustrious saints Ropan Bābā (Mohamed Raoof) and Tahch Bābā (Mohamed Taher) who hailed from Asia Minor. According to some they came from Bagdad. They lived in the time of the Shah of Lucknow and Oudh and graced his court. They received lands in Raibareilly District as a mark of appreciation of their service (Uttar Pradesh). His father moved to Ahmedabad owing to some unfavourable incidents and joined the British Regiment as a sepoy. Here Noorī was born through the grace of Nizam Uddin Awalia, in the old age of his father, who had all nine daughters but no male issue. The boy was named after the Awalia as Nizam-Uddin Abdul Karim Noorī. Unfortunately he lost his father after two years.

Having spent his childhood in difficulties he somehow finished his primary education. One day while returning from the school, he accidentally met a pious Fakir² who was impressed with his personality and chose him as a fit person to receive spiritual instructions and showed him the way to perfect bliss. He saw a strong " Effulgent light " and from that time the young man was very happy even while facing miseries of the world. He then studied many books on religion and philosophy and came in contact with another great Fakir³ who initiated him in the Noorī-Panth which lays emphasis on the ' Light ' that is hidden in one's heart.

¹ Once at Shahapur in the Thana district on 4th February 1913, Nooribābā was asked to pose for his photograph. The photo was taken and when it was enlarged it showed Nooribābā not with his usual one face but three faces. It is this incident which connects him with Dattātreya along with his mission of life for synthesising differences in the world.

² His name was Peer Ibrahim Abdul Oolai and belonged to Cawnpoor.

³ He was called Abdul Hoosein Noorī of Marehra. Marehra is in the Etawah District of Uttar Pradesh. It was because of this Guru that he became famous as Shrinooorenoori.

He has written a few poems in Hindi. But more interesting and appealing are his lectures on various topics. His eloquence was highly impressive. He expressed the essence of all religions, especially of Hinduism and Mahomedanism. Thus he attracted devotees from both the religions. He tried to establish a world religion and has framed certain principles for that taking into consideration all the common points of the two religious systems. He tried to destroy the narrow ideas of caste and class and attempted to establish common brotherhood both by precept and practice.

He has many followers besides his three sons and two daughters, one of whom is dead now. He travelled widely in the Western and Southern parts of India and finally settled at Thana near Bombay. At present his Daragāh is seen there and his devotees still visit the place to fulfil their vows. He passed away on the 10th of December 1923 A. D.

CHAPTER XIV

ŚRĪDATTA MAHĀRĀJA OF AṢṬE (1894-A.D.—1925 A.D.)

In the galaxy of stars that shine to-day through the grace of Vāsudevā-nandasarasvatī¹ the name of Śrīdatta Mahārāja of Āṣṭe is notable both for his young age as well as for his achievement. The severe penance and the strict discipline of Vāsudevānanda are clearly reflected in him. In fact his life is much more influenced by Vāsudevānanda than by anybody else and we see many points of similarity between them for example the habit of travelling on foot with minimum requirements, that of giving sermons through one's own actions and his disciplined life and the usual reading of Paurāṇic books in the evening.

His original name was Naraharī² and he was the third son of Vāsudevarāv, a Ṛgvedi Daśastha Brahmin of Śākal branch that belonged to Gautama family (Gotra). He was born in 1816 (Śaka era) on Āśvin Śukla 1 at Vaṭhār village in Kolhapur district. He was eighth from Ekanātha in his lineage. His mother Muktābāi had a daughter named Kāśī and three sons Sakhārāma (eldest), Vāman and Naraharī. Kāśī was married at Shiral where later on the whole family shifted owing to the death of Vāsudevarāv in 1827 (Śaka era).

He could not study further, left home at the age of thirteen and first went to Wāḍī and then proceeded to Gāṇagāpur. Here he suffered from Cholera and during illness, he got a vision of Dattātreyā who gave him Tīrtha (purified water) and directed him to return home. After returning home he never stayed there but put up at the Datta Mandir situated in the outskirts of the village and then proceeded on a pilgrimage on foot. During his journey he used to read GC besides muttering God's name and reciting prayer-songs.

Here he met Harihara Mahārāja so famous in Varad and who was the spiritual brother (Guru-Bandhu) of Vāsudevānanda. Harihara Mahārāja was also called Vāsudevānandasarasvatī later on after he turned a Sanyāsi. He

¹ His connection with Ṭembeswāmī of Garuḍeśvar is due to a direction from his Guru, whose name was also Vāsudevānandasarasvatī. His spiritual lineage is as under : Śrīpādaswāmī—Saccidānandasarasvatī—Viśvamūrtisarasvatī—Anantasarasvatī—Trivikramasarasvatī—Vāsudevānandasarasvatī (not Ṭembe Swāmī)—Śrīdatta Mahārāja.

² His name Datta was due to his short sign written in letters and in other usage, after his arrival from Gāṇagāpur. He was known as Dattātreyabuvā Brahamacārī from the very early time, when he stayed in the temple of Dattātreyā at Vaṭhār.

gave him a Mantra and took him along with him on a pilgrimage where, besides all India travel, Datta Mahārāja happened to visit Girnar and got the vision of Dattātreyā in visible form. After this his Guru directed him to go to Vāsudevānanda (Ṭembe) to learn practice of Yoga. Ṭembeswāmī gave him necessary directions and asked him to stay at Paiṭhaṇ for practice (Abhyāsa) and to approach him whenever he found any difficulty. Thus at the age of 18 he experienced the rapture of Samādhi and got guidance when necessary from Vāsudevānanda.

Before he finally settled at Aṣṭe in the Satara District he travelled on foot to many places during which Kṛṣṇā Pradakṣiṇā (to go round the river Kṛṣṇā)¹, pilgrimage to Rāmeśvar and his long stay at Tañjāvar were notable incidents of his life. At Tañjāvar he studied many unpublished books in the library there and the reading of the book Rāmasohaḷā of Meruswāmī² gave him pleasure through its descriptions of Ātmasākṣātkār. Here he started celebrating the day of the departure (Puṇyatithi) of Vāsudevānanda (Ṭembe) besides giving daily discourses in the evening on Śrīdatta Purāṇa and Śrīdatta Māhātmya written by the latter. Here he performed Gāyatri-puraścaraṇa and many other ceremonies on the spiritual line in which the installation of Datta-Yantra specially prepared for him under his supervision is worth noting.

At Aṣṭe the place of his final settlement and Samādhi he had a continuous and crowded programme from four in the morning till twelve at night. It included his routine rites including Samādhi for three hours, discourses about Datta Māhātmya, readings of Guru Gītā, Avadhūta Gītā and question hours both in the afternoon as well as at night. He took his Bhikṣā once through begging and did not take in his personal use anything that was offered to him as a mark of respect. He did not allow anyone to touch his body³ nor did he touch money. In short, he lived a life which gave lessons in strict discipline regarding plain living⁴ and high thinking and of hard penance without dependence on external things.

¹ Here he experienced many things, which added to his faith and knowledge and after their completion, it is said, he got a vision of Dattātreyā, with three heads and six hands having the usual emblems attached to them.

² About this book Pangarkar says that it is rather an encyclopedia than a book on the topic. Meruswāmī has written much in addition to this book. For detail please cf. म. वा. ६. ३, P. 762 ff.

³ People had to bow down from a distance and were never allowed to touch his body.

⁴ He used only two clothes during all seasons and slept on the skin of a black antelope (Kṛṣṇājina).

His meetings with Dīkṣitaswāmī,¹ Śaṅkarācārya² of Karavīr Piṭha and many such others who desired the company of saints like himself are important events in his life at Aṣṭe in addition to his great performance, attended by thousands namely, the installation of Dattātreyā's idol, that he kept with him.³ He even attracted the king of Phalaṭaṇa named Nānāsāheb and stressed with him the point that Karma Mārga was the foundation of Upāsanā. Thus it seems his emphasis is on Karma though it implies that Karma should be such as would lead to Upāsanā. Moreover, the whole of life was spent in carrying out Upāsanā in various ways and in trying to follow the same strictly according to rules laid down by his predecessors, especially by Vāsudevānand (Ṭembe).

It is said that he had written a book containing impressions what he formed while reading books in the library at Tañjāvar. But that is not available at present. His thoughts on studentship (Śiṣyatva) are such as would depend on the man and his capacity to follow his Guru. He once told that the stream of knowledge was open to all. Nothing was kept secret from anybody. Whoever wanted to quench his thirst for knowledge might do so according to his capacity. He took Samādhi on Phālgun Śukla 6 of 1847 (Śaka Era) i.e. in 1925 A.D. at the age of 31. His Samādhi is seen at Aṣṭe where his 'Day' is still observed. His birth-day is still celebrated at Isalampur, by his followers who are found there in large numbers.

¹ He showed many things used by Ṭembeswāmī. The most important of all the things was his short notes on the Upaniṣads.

² He was known as Piśavīkarswāmī. Datta Mahārāja has mentioned some books in his library at Kolhapur.

³ The idol is 3 headed and 6 handed. The peculiarity is that it has the god Śiva in the middle. For photo cf. दत्तमहाराज यांचे चरित्र, opp. page 153.

CHAPTER XV
NĀRĀYAṆA MAHĀRĀJA KEḌGAOKAR
(1885 A.D.—1945 A.D.)

Māṇikprabhu was known for his divine power from his very childhood. So was Vāsudevānanda. We have the third case in Nārāyaṇa Mahārāja of Keḍgaon who renounced the world at the age of seven and at the age of about fifteen was directed to go to Gāṇagāpur through a divine call. He was born in 1885 A.D.¹ His father Bhīmarāv was a god-fearing man who served in Nizam State. His forefathers migrated to Bagalkot from Shindagi—a small village in the Bagalkot Taluka in the Bijapur District. At Shindagi one of his forefathers Bhīmāśaṅkar ² by name, was both a poet and a saint, whose Padas ³ are even sung now, at Gāṇagāpur at the time when the Palanquin of the deity on every Thursday is being taken round the temple singing prayer-songs by devotees. His mother Lakṣmībāi passed away when he was only five years old while his father died a little earlier when he was only two years old. After the death of the parents he wandered for about 4 years from one relative to another and at the age of 9 he left them for ever. Very little is known about the period of 7 years though a few stray references of his wanderings are traced out. All the anecdotes pointedly refer to one single fact that is that he suffered and thereby learnt a lot and that gave a new turn to his life. Among all his experiences his vow never to beg of anyone anything stands in bold relief. Even money put, later on, before his feet along with other things like cocoanut, bananas etc., was returned as a token of his grace (Prasāda). His bitter experiences of the world were, however, mixed with good ones also. Tryambak-rav of Ārvīsa village who originally belonged to Bopagaon village near Poona recognised his worth and thought that if the boy was properly trained he might

¹ Adhika Jyēṣṭha 6, 1807 (Śāka era). Tāmbe Shastri fixes the date at about 1891 A.D. but the former is reliable as it is based on his horoscope found afterwards. Cf. श्रीनारायणचरित्र, p. 23.

² His original name was Śaṅkarappā but it was given at the time of initiation by his Guru Appaya Swāmī in remembrance of his (Śaṅkar's) friend Bhīmappā who could not come at that time as usual together with Śaṅkara for Darśana of the Guru. The Guru had called Śaṅkarappā for initiation before he took of his ultimate Samādhi but Śaṅkarappā went late because of his friend and in the meanwhile the Guru took Samādhi. Having seen his faith, it is said, he was initiated by the Guru who descended from the Samādhi which was complete and gave him Mantra and the above-mentioned name.

³ सयुद्ध विगे ना एनु माडि० is the beginning of it.

shine out. Having learnt about the willingness of Nārāyaṇa he came to Ārvīsa from Bopagaon where he had gone for some work. Here, in Ārvīsa, the wife of Tryambakrav whose name happened to be coincidentally the same as that of his mother had a dream that she should receive the boy well and consequently Nārāyaṇa, as soon as he entered the house and saw Lakṣmībāi called her 'Āi' (mother). This relation of mother and son remained for ever even till his final settlement near Keḍgaon, though at Ārvīsa, he had been only for six months with them. After that he was directed to go to Gāṇagāpur.

After going to Gāṇagāpur he stayed at Saṅgama three miles away from it. This was the place where Nṛsinhasarasvatī stayed and developed the present worship. Here Nārāyaṇa, with simplicity, hard penance, passed his time constantly muttering the name of god under a nimb tree which was just opposite the Pādukās of Dattātreya. He did not leave the place even during monsoon. Once a certain Sanyāsī gave him a Mantra with instructions to mutter it five times while standing before the house and begging Bhikṣā (dinner). If the owner of the house gave him Bhikṣā during that period he should accept it otherwise he should leave the house and go further till the Mantra is chanted five times. He carried out the instruction scrupulously and when the people gradually came to know this after sometime, he experienced no difficulty afterwards. One day he was tested by God and even from that test, he emerged successfully. After this test he was directed to return to Ārvīsa.

As is the case with all saints, miracles¹ are also ascribed to him. One of them has the backing of a person like Prof. Woodhouse, who was in the Deccan College. He published² his own experience even in the 'Times of India'. He had been out hunting and being thirsty came to Nārāyaṇa who sat on a hill. There was no possibility of getting water on that small hill and yet Prof. Woodhouse saw one small stream there which soon disappeared after his thirst was quenched. The incident was given wide publicity under his own signature and people were attracted to visit the place where they saw that the grace of God descended on any man who remembered Him with purity of mind and strong faith. His life is an example of simplicity both in his outlook as well as in his way of worship. His faith in God and fulfilment of his own duty were the two factors on which his daily programme and his activities at the

¹ Tāmbe Shastri has noted from a different point of view the facts of his wonderful deeds which are shown in changing the most unknown and lovely place into a famous grand and attractive land with its cleanliness without any municipality. Cf. नारायण महाराज केडगांव यांचे चरित्र, p. 20.

² श्रीनारायणचरित्र, Pp. 53-54.

institution¹ largely depended.² He influenced the lives of many drunkards who finally gave up the evil and the example of Añjanībāi who gave up all her previous activities connected with her beautiful voice is well-known as the story of great influence exercised by the saint.

During his life-time two or three functions were celebrated on a large scale, among which the installation of Dattātreyā's idol³ in a temple in his institution was very important. In the same way the performance of Atirudra Sacrifice by 1331 learned Brahmins was equally impressive. At present the institution is well developed with facilities of many buildings and a temple where functions of different types that elevate the life of a people are celebrated during the year while daily programme with its variations is still going on for development of devotion to Dattātreyā.

He has been connected with Śrī Vidyānandaswāmī of Belapur in Ahmednagar District who was well-known for his penance and knowledge. The devotees of Vidyānanda got much relief from Nārāyaṇa after the death of the former.

He has produced no literature, yet his astute devotion and action and his attitude remain attractive even these days.

His worth was recognised even by the learned among whom Śrīkṛṣṇa Shastri Uppanabettigiri and Śaṅkarācārya of Śivagaṅgā Maṭha are prominent. Śaṅkarācārya acknowledged his worth in his lecture when he came to Nārāyaṇa-beṭa.⁴ In his lecture he told that, whosoever, might be he—a Sanātani or

¹ Tāmbe Shastri in his biographical sketch describes the institution vividly and impressively. Cf. Chs. 1-2.

² Another miraculous incident which gave him prominence was the incident of Pādukās of Dattātreyā coming with fresh flowers on them out of a place under the Udumber tree where he used to sit for penance. It is said that he had a dream to that effect on the previous day. Cf. अर्वाचीन चरित्रकोष, P. 142.

³ The idol is described thus:

कमण्डलुं शूलमयोदरं च । सरस्वतीं चक्रमथाक्षमालाम् ॥
करैर्दधानं वरदं वरेण्यं । नमामि शुभ्राहिगलं शरण्यम् ॥

There is another golden idol of Dattātreyā which is 200 Tolas in weight and which was presented to him by one of his devotees. This idol is used at the time of procession in a Palanquin on every Thursday. The former idol has three heads while emblems in the hands are somewhat different from the usual ones seen in the pictures of Dattātreyā.

⁴ Though the word 'Beṭa' (meaning island) is used, it is not actually so. It is only the name of a place near the boundaries of Baḍhāṇa village about

Theosophist—wanted to understand the theory of incarnation must visit the land where Nārāyaṇaswāmī lived. The Swāmī finished his worldly mission on the twelfth day of the month of Śrāvaṇa (Kṛṣṇa) in the year 1867 (Śaka era). He once went to Bangalore to attend a sacrifice performed by one of his disciples and there he breathed his last.

seven miles away from Keḍgaon. This small place has a little stream nearby and in monsoon the place looks like an island though the stream does not actually encircle the same. Tāmbe Shastri, figuratively compares the place with an island on the waters of unfathomable river of life where the people rest awhile and get peace from its miseries.

CHAPTER XVI

RAṄGA-AVADHŪTA

(1898 A.D.—).

Raṅgāvadhūta's contribution towards the development of Dattātreyā worship is certainly quite substantial and well-considered even if judged from latest trends in this direction. He pursues the work assigned to him in this line and he possesses many magnificent marks of saints of very high order who were worthy to lead the society along the right path. As he is dead against the idea of personal publicity he has never allowed his disciples to publish anything about his personal life. Information about him, has however, been collected in the following manner :

(i) A questionnaire was sent to his disciples who gave a fairly good response. (ii) There is a good deal of literature written by his disciples some of whom were even in possession of very valuable information about Raṅgāvadhūta. (iii) Some had taken notes according to their capacity of his random talks which they happened to hear accidentally during their contact with him.

Apart from such biographical materials his literature published upto this date has been critically studied with a view to get a complete idea of Shri Avadhūta.

He was born at Godhra in the Panchamahāl District (Gujarat State) on 21st November, 1898 A.D. (*i.e.* Kārtika Śukla 8-9 in 1955 of Vikram era). His father Viṭṭhal was the third among the four sons of Bāḷam Bhaṭṭ alias Jayarāma who was a Daśāgranthi (well-versed in the scriptures) and was the inhabitant of Devāl in the Ratnāgiri District. Viṭṭhal was sent away to Godhra by his father with Sakhārāma Ananta of Sir Potdar family when he was 18. He was well-versed in Vedic knowledge and had an impressive personality. He had a high sense of self-respect and a desire to do good to others without any desire of reward. But he died early at the age of 40 leaving behind Pāṇḍuraṅga who was five years old and Nārāyaṇa who was only two years old.

A few stray incidents of his early life are often quoted with a view to illustrate his intrepidity, intelligence and inborn ability to achieve Truth. Like Gautama Buddha when he once saw a dead body he asked his father about its nature and put him a series of strange questions. The usual answer to the question as to where the dead person went was that he went to the house of God. The young child further asked his father whether a man could go to God without being dead and his father without fathoming the mind of the boy said that it was possible to do so by muttering ' Rāmanāma '. Thus it was started and Pāṇḍuraṅga was often seen sitting in a corner whenever he got time silently

pondering over the universal truth and muttering Rāmanāma. This habit of sitting in solitude after the daily routine work was observed even by his college companions. Thus, like Nārāyaṇa Mahārāja of Jālavaṇa, he endeavoured to seek God even from his very young age.

In his school-career he was always a bright, bold and topmost student in the school. The same was the case when he was a college student at Baroda. His incisive ready-wit and his impressive fluency of speech, his cogent arguments and his prodigious memory, his highly cultured and susceptible heart, his fondness for poetry and fine arts, his love for the motherland and last but not the least his unflinching faith in God and his Guru that gave him self-confidence are the different and varied traits of his character that gave him a prominent place in the student world. In spite of all this he led a simple life and he never tried to push himself in the lime-light. He always remained unassuming, observed things happening round him and did his duties. It was this spirit and sense of duty that created in him a desire to serve his motherland and in response to a call from Mahatma Gandhiji who started the national struggle for freedom, he left the Baroda College, joined the Swarāja Āśram at Ahmedabad and there he became a graduate (Snātaka).

After graduation he worked in Ahmedabad. He took active part in all social and political activities and even wrote articles¹ to uplift the society. He translated Tolstoy's works² and wrote stories based on the Upaniṣads³. He even wrote a Sanskrit commentary on the collection of Bhartṛhari's ślokaś, published under the name of Sadbodhaśataka.⁴ He wrote also 'Girvāṇa Bhāṣā Praveśa' where he tried to introduce Sanskrit grammar for the beginners in a lucid manner. This grammar book was recognised as a text-book for all the institutions affiliated to the Swarāja Āśram. But this was his transitional state for he left off all these activities as soon as Nārāyaṇa his younger brother got a job after finishing his studies.

The worship of Datfātreyā did not prevail in his paternal family. His grandfather worshipped mother goddess while his father believed Śiva. Even he himself muttered Rāmanāma a sacred name and a royal road to reach god

¹ He used to write under the heading " भांगनो लोटो " under the pseudonyme " गंजेरी ". In these articles he criticised wrong actions, even of topmost personality.

² " त्यारे करीशुं शुं ? " and " टोल्स्टोय अने शिक्षण " published by नवजीवन प्रकाशन मंदिर, अमदावाद.

³ उपनिषदोनी वातो.

⁴ Cf. An Introduction to Sadbodhaśataka. This commentary named बालबोधिनी is now published by Shri A. N. Modi, the secretary of Avadhūta-Nivās, Nāreśvar.

a road incidentally shown by his father. But he was, it seems, chosen and picked up by God and was assigned a work which we shall examine in the following pages:—

Before we examine the salient features of his spiritual development and his contribution to the Dattātreya worship it is necessary to stress a point, which it seems, is the backbone of all the events of his life. We have already referred to the fact that Dattātreya worship did not come from his paternal side. His maternal uncle was fortunate enough to receive a copy of Shri-Guru-Charitra with the grace of Shri Sāibābā of Shirdi, who gave him the copy with his own hands and thus he even got a male child while worshipping him. Pāṇḍuraṅga who ardently longed for the vision of God continued muttering constantly Rāmanāma and once he became so eager to visualise the Divine that his heart became full and tears flowed down his cheeks. He received inspiration from Vāsudevānandasarasvatī (Ṭembe) to go through the Pothī. At this time he was about nine years old. So he could not understand what the word Pothī meant. But he saw his maternal uncle worshipping the Pothī of GC and knowing it to be the Pothī requested his uncle to give it to him promising due respect for and use of the sacred book. His request was granted with great hesitation but we can see today that the present Avadhūta has been evolved out of repeated readings and ponderings of the same book.

Just before this incident he was taken to Narsobāchī Wādī after his thread ceremony by his maternal uncle and others. Vāsudevānandasarasvatī (Ṭembe) was there when Pāṇḍuraṅga was taken to him for his divine blessings. As soon as he saw Vāsudevānanda he at once felt like running and sitting in the lap of the Swāmī but was not allowed to do so by his relatives as he had put on only ordinary clothes. While such were Pāṇḍuraṅga's feelings the Swāmī told his relatives that Pāṇḍuraṅga was his own child¹ and asked Pāṇḍuraṅga whether he would stay on with him.

These two incidents clearly show that he was chosen for the Dattātreya school and the following statements made by him in his works 'Shri Gurulīlāmṛta' support this view. The perusal of the first chapter of Shri Gurulīlāmṛta clearly confirms his view that he is only carrying out the orders of all-merciful god merely as His instrument. One statement particularly is very significant where he quotes the divine words: "Take this pitcher that contains nectar of my life and quench your own thirst and that of others who are in need of something to quench their thirst."² The same work in its third part, at the end

¹ "हा आमचा मुलगा आहे। काय रे मुला तू कोणाचा?" "तुमचा".

² I. I. 92-94. गुर्वाज्ञा शिर पर धरी, गावा थयो प्रवृत्त,
गुरुलीला प्रेमे करी, सुणो संत सुवृत्त.
"चरितामृत घट ले मुखे, करी पान पीवाड,
होय तृषातुर तेहने, मोत पाडशे राड.

refers to an incident in Vāsudevānanda's life.¹ The Swāmī was to send the idol of Dattātreyā which was with him to Wādī when he was to depart from the world at Garuḍeśwar. God directed him not to do so as He desired to remain sportive there only. Thus we see now that the Ganges of Dattātreyā-worship that was fostered and reared up by many a Maharastrian Saint on the soil of Maharashtra and which quenched the religious thirst of people all round by its sacred waters was brought over to the regions of Gujarat by Raṅgāvadhūta who played the veritable part of Bhagīrath of reputed memory.

The incident of his renunciation also strengthens the support about the mission which god asked him to fulfil. He was severely ill and his relatives despaired of his life. Once again his heart became more ardent and he loudly wished that the invisible should give him a chance to visualise Him. He soon recovered composed his first devotional song and firmly determined to leave the unreal world for realisation of God. But he was again directed to perform 108 Pārāyaṇas of Shri Datta Purāṇa of Vāsudevānanda and, he accordingly chose Nāreśvar² the place where he now usually stays and dropped the idea of going to the Himalaya—a peaceful abode for liberation. It is this inexplicable yet undeniable divine wish which directs him to do every work merely for betterment of society. This attitude of remaining an instrument of God rather than be the actual doer of action is displayed from his very young age. He always did his work with great zeal and sincerity even though in its usual course but never tried to create any activity for its own sake considering himself the only fit

दैन्य रहेशे ना कदि, जा, मोज कर मस्त,”
एम कही मूक्यो शिरे, वरद स्वप्नमां हस्त.

- ¹ III. 147. 4-6: त्यां तो राते देवनो, थयो दृष्टांत त्यांय.
लीला मारे छे हजी करवी आंग्र सदाय.
माटे श्रद्धावन्तने कहे तमे मंदिर
बांधवाने आ स्थळे, भक्तराज हे धीर !
वाडी गाणगापुर थकी विशेष महिमा तेम,
स्थान तणो आ जामशे धीमे धीमे एम.

² Nāreśvar is on the northern bank of the Narmadā river and is in a straight line with Amarakaṇṭaka, the source (yonisthāna) of the river. Here Gaṇeśa, the blessed son of Lord Śaṅkara practised severe penance. Before his settlement here an Aghori Saint Kamaldāsa stayed at the place as it was simply a cremation ground for the villages. Now this has become one of the most developed sacred place (Tirtha) on the bank of the Narmadā with facilities for meditation about Reality. It is two miles away from Nāreśvar Road station on Miyagam-Moti Koral line on the Western Railway.

person to execute the same. The same spirit of detachment and distaste for unnecessary push and propaganda and for popularity is seen even today more frequently than before. His devotional songs preach the same thing in a variety of ways.¹ He says very often that if we take part in dancing our feet might experience pain but if we purchase an orchestra ticket and witness the dance we shall have nothing but lasting pleasure. In the same way if a man becomes a detached observer and removes the ego-feeling (Aham) from action that he performs, there will be no pain. This mode of performing actions without attachment reminds us of Janārdana, Ekanātha and others who lived in this line.

In the same way according to him explicit faith in the Guru is absolutely necessary. The need of a Guru is highly spoken of in scriptures and he has displayed the worthy ideal of a disciple. Although he had no personal meeting with Vāsudevānanda, except the one in his child-hood described above, he considers him as his Guru and carries on the work of Vāsudevānanda. He experiences his grace in all his actions and at times gets directions from visions in dreams. Often during his random talks he refers to the Swāmī and says that it is that old man, his Guru that preserves his place in the society.² He further says that the cow is strong enough to jump only on account of the strength of her binding-post.³

This unflinching faith in God and Guru is the root-cause of his self-confidence often displayed in his life. Many incidents of his student life as well as those of his life after renunciation clearly show that the self-confidence has rather increased his firmness with the result that now it has become a part and parcel of his life. We often see at present that fickle people who are found on the brink of spiritual and moral lapses are, time and again, saved by him by restoring to them their failing self-confidence and hope and by often affording them shelter and peace under his benign roof.⁴

But his self-confidence has never made him a man of stubborn nature. He is ever vigilant to see to it that any kind of lethargy, rigidity or some such

1 Cf. शुं थयुं गय ने पय रचना थकी ?

शुं थयुं भावणो व्यर्थ दीधे ? अवधूती आनंद, p. 8.

or वणमाणये रंग मळे प्रभुता, एना सुखने क्यांय विराम नथी. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

or भावणं भवणं विद्धि चित्तस्वास्थ्यप्रहारकम् ।

सभा भासो वृथा लोके तस्माज्जागृहि जागृहि ॥—रङ्ग-हृदयम्, p. 155.

2 मारो डोसो छे ने ते मारी लाज राखे छे.

3 गाय कूदे ते खीलाना जोर पर.

4 Cf. His words: शांति जोईती होय तो अशांति मारी पासे मूकी दो.

drawback which might mar his aim does not appear even in thought. He has always stressed unvanquished power of mind which remains unconquered even by the great. This is the reason why we do not find in him any attachment to body and hypocrisy. Moreover, his own achievement in controlling the mind and thereby keeping his head cool even under most provoking circumstances created either by senseless arguments on the part of the debator or in unexpected adverse circumstances or events reveal a true saint in him. Such a peaceful way of dealing with problems is due to his spirit of toleration and merciful nature. The ever unhappy nature of human life gets consolation from him by having not only a hearer but a friend, philosopher and guide in Shri Raṅgāvadhūta.¹

The method of guiding people is, therefore, somewhat different. He seldom speaks, yet creates an atmosphere, which itself would speak to the man who is really in need of spiritual guidance and thus he encourages the man towards doing something to achieve his goal. He says that one must go near the saints, sit beside them and their vibrations would compel you to ask for the way towards liberation one day or the other. This stress on silence and the power of invisible yet forceful energy of thoughts is akin to what theosophists name as the powers of mind. We see its successful effect in a concrete form.² Consequently Dattātreya in the names of Śrīpādavallabh, Nṛsinhasarasvatī, Vāsudevānanda and others is heard and remembered in Gujarat everyday. Formerly the name of Dattātreya was heard only by Bhāgavata-hearers and was remembered by Girnar visitors only.

But Shri Avadhūta's Dattātreya is not circumscribed by any kind of rigid walls. His deep insight into the matter has kept open the doors for necessary and new changes in life. In all his religious activities he always takes care to see that the aim behind them is fulfilled. He remains in touch with modern developments and has always carried out his work in the same spirit. His open mind has evolved many new as well as old thoughts. That is why he is the real representative of Avadhūta even in the strict sense of the term. Avadhūta is 'naked' (Digambar) in the sense that he is not bound by any kind of fetters and keeps himself always free to receive anything in any form. The greatest service done by him in this line of thought is that Dattātreya-school has been saved

¹ There are, thus, many published and unpublished miraculous incidents connected with his name and we see how the work of saving the society from the wrong is carried on regularly.

² This is, perhaps, the reason why people often experience and say that Bāpji (as he is called by many) knows their thoughts before they could express the same to him.

from becoming static.¹ He always stressed the aim behind the means and that is why Dattātreyā of his conception is equivalent to Parabrahma and is a symbol of the synthetic unity working behind the world.² This is amply and aptly revealed in his literature and elsewhere and also in his talks at all times. Absence of rigidity and the use of his own pure talents have attracted to him many literate and illiterate persons and he leads them on with the high capacity of a leader synthesising the apparent contradictions. Even to the wicked and degraded, he gives a chance to go ahead by giving them a push knowing that the person concerned was fit for it.³ Thus he has attained complete and full control over human nature and that trait is the very core and essence of his life-teachings. This is revealed in an aphorism 'परस्परदेवो भव' (Invoke the Divine unto one another) given by him to his disciples on his 59th birth anniversary. Men are not wicked nor good by birth. It is the worth of a man that is counted and not the birth. Such modern developments in his thoughts and inexplicable change in his behaviour have engendered, at times, queer misgivings in the public mind. The fact is that his open mind under the name of Avadhūta, his carelessness towards external signs and his communion with the greater cause are invariably working behind his actions and directions.⁴

One of his many Avadhūtite ways is seen in his thoughts on propaganda.⁵ He says that propaganda and that too about eternal truth is a contradictory statement. Truth spreads itself like the rays of the sun. The sun does not know the number of lotuses that bloom with his rising and close with his so-called setting. In the same way a saint with his very presence and action creates an atmosphere that attracts the people like a magnet. This reminds us of words of his own Guru Vāsudevānanda that 'example is better than precept.'⁶

¹ Cf. Among one of his tributes :

ना शिष्य शिष्या एने, माने गुरु सहुने,
बंदन हजार तेने, अवधूत ए अवोली. नारेश्वरनो संत, p. 48.

² Cf. His lecture at Navāpur and also his Vandanā (p. 185).

³ Cf. one of the tributes :—

‘गंगाए शुं कहुं कदिय के “स्नान पापी करे ना” ?
पाका आम्हे कहुं कदिय के “मूढ को फावशो ना” ?
जेवां ए छे जगतभरमां साधनो उपकारी,
तेथी ए आ द्रवितदिलना संत तो तापहारी !’ अवधूतदर्शन, pp. 14-15.

⁴ Cf. दृगियं परमात्मनि ते निरता, विहता विषयाः स्वयमेव गताः ।

विदिता तव शान्तिमुधानिधिता करुणा च जने कृतपैशाचे ॥

भगवद्रङ्गावधूतमानसपूजा, p. 7.

⁵ For detail Cf. दत्त उपासना, Pp. 1-2.

⁶ आधीं केले मग सांगितले.

This Avadhūte behaviour is clearly marked in his personal life. In spite of all his activities for the development of Datta-worship in his own way he is found quite non-attached to any of them. The celebration of Datta-Jayanti festival every year has a unique and wonderful history that gives a good account of his social leadership, workmanship and his tact in putting Sarvodaya thoughts into action. Yet the same was discontinued without any attachment when time came and now the festivals of both the Datta-Jayanti and Rāṅga-Jayanti are celebrated every year at different places instead of at Nāreśvar.¹ This has, in a way, placed the development of the Datta-worship into a wider region than before. In the same way each devotee entertains the feeling that the Avadhūta is solely his own and that he has the best kind of feelings for him. Yet the Avadhūta is never heard of transgressing his own way as a result of excessive feeling for his devotees. While expressing his sympathy with the afflictions of his devotees and also while pouring out his ever-merciful heart to his unhappy followers he is seen as soft, as even softer than, butter but he is ever as unmoved as a mountain and refuses to budge an inch when he guides them or himself acts along the path of Reality.

This highest achievement is seen in the strict observance of the strict rule wherever he goes. No one should offer him any kind of coin even rice.² If respect is to be shown one may offer cocoanut, fruits or flowers and garlands but he never touches and are distributed among the people. In the same way no one is even asked to give anything in the form of present. On the contrary such offers are repeatedly refused by the trustees of the place. None of such things is utilised for the personal use of the Avadhūta who has few requirements of his

¹ It was after some years that his 60th birth anniversary was celebrated at Nāreśvar when about a lakh of people gathered and the festival was celebrated on a grand scale with various religious and social activities. For its details cf: ६०वीं रंजयंती-दर्शन published by Dr. K. G. Vani, Ahmedabad.

² पूज्य श्री पासे पाई पैसो के चोखा चढ़ाववा नहीं ।

Cf. One of his tributes :

न्यस्ते भ्रमादपि पुरस्तव धातुद्रव्ये

केनाप्यरिक्तकरतापरिरक्षणाय ।

अङ्घ्रिः पुरस्थितधरामचिराद्विशोध्य

सन्दिह्य पापमपि चोपवसस्यथो वा ॥ अवधूतप्रशस्तिः, p. 42.

or नो पाणिना स्पृशसि काञ्चनराजतादीन्

कार्षापणस्य तु कथा पुनरत्र का स्यात् ।

साङ्गत्वसद्गुणतयोस्तु सदैव सिद्ध्यै

वाचं मनश्च निदधे तव दक्षिणायाम् ॥ भगवद्रङ्गावधूतमानसपूजा, p. 5.

own.¹ Unlike most of us his non-attachment to Mammon is observed in all his dealings. Even when he served in his early life before his renunciation he was equally indifferent about his monthly salary. This encouraged him to go round the Narmadā river covering the distance in 108 days after he finished his 108 Pārāyaṇas of Shri Datta Purāṇa. It is customary to perform a ceremony including a dinner party inviting Brahmins and others at the end of the Pārāyaṇa. The Avadhūta being reluctant to ask anybody decided to go round the river Narmadā on foot within 108 days carrying his 108 Pārāyaṇas in mind and he finished the sacred tour acquiring a vast store of spiritual and other kind of experiences.

After this he became known as a saint moving on the banks of the Narmadā (Narmadā-Taṭa-Vihārī). But the Avadhūta was perhaps chosen for some greater mission and he was forced to settle down at Nāreśvar—a place of his penance—after the death of his younger brother. He renounced the world for the sake of Reality with his mother's blessings and once again he came to serve his mother after he attained Reality. Now Nāreśvar became the centre of all his activities. This is a place attached to the names of Lord Śaṅkara and his son Gaṇeśa and we see there the vast development of the Dattātreyaschool.

He has visited almost all the sacred places attached to this worship. Once he went to south mostly on foot when he had the divine direction (Ādeśa) to do so. This served two purposes. He came in contact with his spiritual brother Gāṇḍā Mahārāja, foremost disciple of Vāsudevānanda, in connection with his Gurumūrticaritra in Marathi and knew many things about his own Guru. Moreover, that prepared a background for his Shri Gurulīlāmṛta that was written some time after the tour and which contains spiritual vigour and divine depth with many literary beauties and which also describes the life and mission of Dattātreyas and his Vibhavas.

Once again he went to these places with his disciples, the detailed description of which is given in the book “सप्तहमांशी सप्ततीर्थी”.

Before we go through his works we should specially note that he has a strong desire to see saints either personally or through their works. He always pays respect to Sādhus, ascetics and to those who try to uplift society in one way or the other, with his personal penance and sacrifice. In the same way learned Brahmins, scholars and even artists are encouraged by him and he gives them due respect. His humility is seen when he greets some such saint. But he has equally strong aversion for those who pretend to be Sādhus doing nothing or

¹ He wears only a scrap of cloth (Laṅgoṭī). Caddhar is used only when he goes outside the place when absolutely necessary. His food is void of sugar, oil, chillies and such other things.

rather doing harm to society. In a way he has a great aversion for any kind of pretence and this is revealed in his poetry.¹

He has written his works mainly in Gujarati and that too in verse though the number of Hindi and Marathi Bhajans are not less. Sanskrit is his second best vehicle for expressing his sentiments. His Raṅga-Hṛdayam containing beautiful Stotras in Sanskrit has been divided into two parts-Bhakti-Hṛdayam and Jñāna-Hṛdayam. The very names point out the types of Stotras that are contained in the two parts. His Mantra-Garbha Stotras have been addressed to different gods and goddesses like Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Gaṇeśa, Datta, Śiva, Devī, Narmadā in one uniformly definite tone that they are but different names and forms of one Absolute Being.² Many of his Hindi and Gujarati Bhajans contain such synthetic idea³ which is the essence of Dattātreyā-worship, for the deity himself has a combination of three gods and has taught us to mark beauty of the supreme Lord even in the smallest thing in the world. Apart from the spiritual value of these Stotras it has developed a line of thought with repeated trails which represent the worship of Dattātreyā in its best form. Nṛsiṃha-sarasvatī with his powerful spiritual strength laid its foundation; Vāsudevānanda with his knowledge of scriptures and his literary works tried to build a structure on it which got the final touch from the activities and works of Shri Raṅga-āvadhūta. The essential unity is pointed out in modern garbs appealing to man's reason and touching his heart's feelings.⁴ Thus the Avadhūta has captured both the heart and the head of the people, having removed their doubts and misunderstandings. Ārtaprārthanā and Dattaprārthanādwādaśakam⁵ give an expression of indescribable pain of separation from God, with a tone of friend-

¹ Cf. 'अवधूती आनंद', P. 43, No. 64-65.

मुखथीज सदा साकर घोळी, कागळ पर शाही बधी ढोळी,
खाधा विधासु जनो फोली, एवा म्हो-शरामां राम नथी !

OR जगवी धूणी धूपादि कर्या, दिवडा अंतरना ना प्रजळया,
क्रोधद्वेषादिक जो न गळया, गवडया अधवच तूटी तंगडी !

² Cf. दत्तस्कन्धे सर्वशाखा मिलन्ति, रङ्गहृदयम् P. 36.

OR यद्यद् दृश्यमिहास्ति तत्तदधिकं रूपं त्वरूपस्य शम् । *Ibid*, p. 102.

³ Cf. अवधूती आनंद No. 26 ; 100 ; 58 ; 10 ; 11 ; 71 ; 54 ; 239 ; 235 ; 124 ; 185.

⁴ Cf. one of his tributes :

प्राचीननूतनमत्तद्वयतर्कयुद्धव्यस्तान् समस्तमनुजानुभयानुकूल्यान् ।
युक्त्या विचारबलतः सममाशु तुष्यन् हृष्यन् मिथो मतसमन्वयमातनोषि ॥

अवधूतप्रशस्तिः—P. 46.

⁵ Raṅga-Hṛdayam, No. 8-9. Incidentally these two have references about his Sākṣātkāra of Dattātreyā.

ship, rebuke and reason ; while Dattanāsmaraṇam¹ has a good deal to contribute towards the development of faith and understanding of the doings of God. Dattapraṇatīḥ² is a very steady and serene yet powerful exposition of the Avadhūta's thoughts with a charming effect of sound and sense. His Dattaśaraṇāṣṭakam³ reminds of the Bhaja Govindam Stotra of Śaṅkarācārya. Among the pieces of Jñāna-Hṛdayam, Bodhamālikā⁴ and Akṣara-Gītā⁵ are the most attractive and contain knowledge in the most aphoristic way. His Antyaprārthanā⁶ has a very effective tone for the phrase ' simple living and high thinking ' displaying a very bold fearless state of an Avadhūta.⁷

While Raṅga-Hṛdayam represents the Avadhūta in the Sanskrit form, Shri Gurulilāmṛta divided into three parts represents him in the Gujarati garb. All the three deal with the history and anecdotes connected with Dattātreya (first part) and his incarnations in the forms of Śrīpādavallabha and Nṛsinhasarasvatī (second part) and Vāsudevānanda (third part) containing many Ākhyānas on the Paurāṇic pattern. The publication of the first part was very favourably received by the public and the press. The Gujarati,⁸ a weekly from Bombay while reviewing its various sidelights states that the reading of the book gives the reader an experience of getting something fresh and new though the facts are the same. In the same way the Buddhīprakāśa⁹ and the Pustakālaya¹⁰ greeted it comparing it with Śrīmadbhāgavat, Jñāneśvarī and such other works

¹ रत्नहृदयम्, No. 12. This is translated into Gujarati in Bhujaṅgī metre by the author.

² Ibid. No. 15.

³ Raṅga-Hṛdayam No. 5.

⁴ Jñāna-Hṛdayam No. 4.

⁵ Ibid. No. 3. This has the honour of having a Bhāṣya in Gujarati language. In the same way there is a book explaining the inner meaning of some of his Bhajans. Both these books are published under the name Akṣara-Gītā and Avadhūti Mastī (3 volumes).

⁶ Jñāna-Hṛdayam No. 6.

⁷ Cf. ज्वलतु ज्वलतु देहो बाधतां शीतमुग्रं

वमतु रुधिरमेतत्खान्तमुष्णं यथेष्टम् ।

भ्रमतु शिर इदानीं त्र्युद्यतां प्राणग्रन्थि—

रचल इव नु द्वारि ह्यद्य मृत्योः स्थितोऽस्मि ॥

⁸ Gujarati, 7-9-1935.

⁹ જ્ઞાનેશ્વરી અને એકનાથના ભાગવતની, પેટે શ્રીગુરૂલીલામૃત ગ્રંથ પણ સારો લોકાદર પામશે એવી અમને પ્રતીતિ છે ।

¹⁰ આ ગ્રંથ શ્રીમદ્ભાગવત જેટલોજ આદરપાત્ર થઈ પડશે એમ અમે માનીએ છીએ ।

and predicted that it would receive recognition from the people like its predecessors. It is a fact that, now-a-days, Shri Gurulilāmṛta has been getting the same kind of respect and spiritual value which is given to GC of Sarasvatī Gaṅgādhara. The devotees certainly attain their desired objects and even spiritual progress and peace through its repeated readings (Pārāyaṇa).

Apart from its spiritual value the book has a high literary merit. It is written throughout in the Doharā metre with run-on lines¹ and rhymes². The handling is so natural that it seems as if no effort is taken by the author to adjust the words according to the sense. Bhavabhūti's line 'वाचमर्थोऽनुधावति' is here illustrated in the best form. Moreover, his Rūpakas,³ sometimes full and sometimes partial, are scattered here and there with the desired effect. The same is the case with other Alaṅkāras like Dṛṣṭānta⁴ used to clarify the ideas. Shri Sundaram,⁵ the well-known poet and critical student of poetry has said that some of the Doharās are quite akin to the style of Dalapatarām.⁶ His Svabhāvoktis are also attractive and effective.⁷ It, thus, proves itself one of the best attempts at creating an epic (Mahā-Kāvya) in Gujarati literature.

The Avadhūti Ānand is a collection of his Gujarati and Hindi devotional songs. Here the Avadhūta is seen wearing a garb of many varied pieces of cloth as is customary for an Avadhūta like him and thus represents the Avadhūta with many traits of his character over and above his Avadhūtite one. His Garabīs⁸ reveal the ways and means of achieving the Reality and at times even the difficulties in its course. Moreover, each one of them has been interwoven with alphabets of different languages or the different names of months and such items. This is to my mind the very first successful attempt at writing beginning with

¹ I. 6. 55 ff.

² II. 68. 44-46.

³ III. 129. 94 ff.

⁴ उत्पत्ति कारण कह्यो, ब्रह्मदेव जे जाण,
पालक विष्णु तेज छे, शिव संहारक मान.
सिंहासनपर भूप जे, रणमां योद्धो तेह;
प्रियतम ए रणवासमां, एकज निःसंदेह.
अतिथी नाना दिसे, ज्ञानदृष्टिथी एक;
देहादेहातीत ए, नाम रूप अलेख.

Or I. 9.26 ff: I. 41.69-70; I. 57.81 ff; III. 121.114 ff.

⁵ Cf. अर्वाचीन कविता, P. 515-16.

⁶ e.g. सर्व एक सम ना कदि, दिवस कोईना जाय;
रेंटमाल सम मानवी दशायंत्र पलटाय.

⁷ I.54.104ff; II.70.97ff; III.130.25ff.

⁸ Cf. Avadhūti Ānand., Nos. 101ff.

alphabets. Hindi poets tried this way yet they have not composed on all the letters of which Shri Parashurama Chaturvedi in his *संत काव्य* (p. 39. ff) refers under the attempts at writing *बावनी*s. His morning prayers (*Prabhātiyaṃ*)¹ remind us of Narasinha, the well-known Gujarati poet of the past and are full of the joy arising out of self-experience, reason and faith in reality achieved so far. His Bhajans express his synthetic outlook behind the thing and many of them contain the same tone. In spite of all these carefree atmosphere of full bliss, pleasure is maintained² that prescribes a way to eternal peace that one requires. These Bhajans are also printed in small-sized collections.³ His *Patra-Gītā* and *Ātmacin-tana* are very useful guides to his followers on the path of liberation. *Patra-Gītā* is a novel attempt at versifying the well-known Marathi *Ovī* metre in Gujarati language.

His most popular work is his *Datta-Bāvanī* composed in Gujarati for it has attained the high spiritual importance like that of *Hanumān-cālīsā* among *Hanumāna-devotees*, with its fifty-two lines. Moreover, we have a free translation of the *Gītā* under the name *Saṅgīta-Gītā* and it can be easily sung as its name suggests.

The 'Shri Vāsudeva-Saptaśatī' is a fine biography of his Guru Vāsudev-ānanda in Marathi and that too in a popular *Ovī* metre while *Raṅga-Taraṅga* contains some of his Marathi *Abhaṅgas* and such other compositions.

The 'Datta-Upāsanā' is the only work written in prose for it was a lecture delivered at Navāpur and is a very intelligent exposition at giving a historical account of the worship of Dattātreya. In a way we can consider this as the head of the *Avadhūta* while *Vandanā*⁴ as his heart.

All these characteristics and his literary services attracted towards him many learned and talented people. This is seen when we read *अवधूतप्रशस्तिः* and *रत्नप्रशस्तिः*—two collections on glories of the *Avadhūta*.⁵ Both are in Sanskrit and from well-known authors. In the same way *Avadhūtadarśan* is composed by a

¹ Cf. *Avadhūti Ānand* No. 8 ff. The following four lines are worth quoting :

काष्ठ थई पावडी पांवनी तुज बनुं, मृद बनी केश काळा पखाळुं,
देह बाळी बनुं भस्म भीतिहरा, अंग पर जो धरे तुं कृपाळु.
मृग थई व्याधथी देह दींघाळुं आ, अजिन थई बेसवा काम लागुं,
श्वान थई मंदिरे नित्य चोकी करुं, दरस विण आन कांई न मागुं.

² Cf. *Avadhūti Ānand*, Nos. 50, 59, 68, 69, 92, 175 ; 180.

³ Cf. *ऊमो अवधूत* etc.

⁴ *Avadhūti Ānand*, P. 177 ; cf. p. 185.

⁵ The third such collection under the name *श्रीरत्नगुणगरिमा* is published recently.

single poet in Gujarati in variety of meters. Besides these, his devotees have written many dissertations expressing their varied and mysterious or miraculous experiences mostly in verse akin to current cinema songs.⁶ भगवद्भक्तवधूतमानसपूजा reveals a laudable attempt to glorify the Avadhūta in Paurāṇic pattern touching at times the chief characteristics of the Avadhūta with a powerful appeal to both the head and the heart. As yet, no living saint has ever been praised in such glowing terms nor such high tribute showered on him.

At present the Avadhūta confines his activities to enabling people to make spiritual progress. His Ādeśa a message on his 59th birth-day anniversary—has many references that would guide mankind about Atomic age and towards real happiness and peace.¹ Through him the Datta-worship has gone beyond the limits of Maharashtra and has its grass-roots firmly fixed on the soil of Gujarat. We may fervently hope that the powerful lamp may get necessary feeding from his self-lighted light and he might carry on the work of giving light to the needy.

In this way we find that this school has been strengthened by many saints. We can add many more names to the list given above. Each saint has his own peculiar way and thus he has contributed to the development of the worship of Dattātreyā. Thus, Viṣṇu Kavī alias Purusottamāṇandasarasvatī, Śrī Nṛsinhasarasvatī alias Dikṣita Mahārāja, Śrī Nṛsinhasarasvatī of Aḷandī are the worthy names of this school. Moreover, Kenārāma Aghori,² a saint of higher order who had settled in Banaras, and Ananta Yogideva of Tihari Gadhaval in the Himalayas have contributed a lot in those parts of India. Over and above these saints Śrī Digambardāsa, Śrī Saccidānanda Mahārāja, Rāmānanda Bīḍakar, Brahmānandasarasvatī alias Lilādatta, Swāmī Haṁsa, Purohitsuāmī, Vāsudeva Vināyak Saṭhe, Pūrṇadāsa alias Bābā Upaskar, Cidambar Mahārāj, Brahmendrasarasvatī, Śrī Gulvaṇī Mahārāja and many such other saints are considered worthy of honour and respect.

⁶ The total number of books written on him comes to fifteen or so.

¹ Cf. The Sūtra on the top, gives as if the theme of the message viz., 'परस्परदेवो भव' (Invoke the Divine unto one another). After this he gave messages occasionally, usually one each on his birth-day every year.

² He was born at Ramagadh (Candauli Taluka of Banaras district) in about 1628 A.D. He has written a book—'Vivekasāra'. He died at the age of 142 at Banaras in 1770 A.D. For details cf. Uttarī Bhāratakī Santa-Paramparā : Pp. 628-635.

CHAPTER XVII

SEVERAL SUB-SECTS, SYMBOLS AND IDOLS—PĀDUKĀS

In course of time many sub-sects came into existence and some of them are seen even to-day in one way or another. The most developed and refined sect is that of the Avadhūta. The nature of Avadhūta and the concept behind the term is quite well-known and we have already referred to it. The Avadhūta sect of this Sampradāya has again three facets: (i) Guru (ii) Avadhūta (iii) Ānanda. Dattātreyā is considered as Guru Avatāra and his mission was to give real knowledge to the needy. So naturally, the importance of a Guru is clearly stressed. The Gurucaritra of Sarasvatī Gaṅgādhara shows the importance of a Guru (spiritual preceptor) and we have seen how this, later on, resulted in Guru-Worship. Hence, the term ' Guru-Deva-Datta ', has become widely famous. The other two, viz Avadhūta and Ānanda have no special distinction of their own except some outward mode of behaviour and thus we find that the Avadhūta Sect expresses its joy, uttering Avadhūtacintana-Srī Guru-Deva-Datta while that of Ānanda repeats-Ānandem Dattātreyā Deva-Deva '. Their common goal is Guru Dattātreyā, though their way of worship is slightly different.

But it is not so when we look to a Sect based on Vāma-Mārga. Sensual pleasures of any type are to be avoided in the way of God. The Avadhūta Gītā clearly and emphatically condemns attachment towards wine and woman. Dattātreyā, in Vāma-Mārga having red-eyes, preaching sensual tricks about sexual irritation and such other matters that are anti-social and immoral, is a late development that displays abuse of the sacred name. No doubt, some features are seen even from the earlier stage that might establish some connection with the Aghorī Sect or even with Bhairava ; but it is now clearly distinguished by the people of the modern age. We have already referred also to the philosophical meanings given to it and have clearly shown how Dattātreyā is connected with these things. This Vāmācāra Sect has lost its influence over society and has only remained disappeared behind some anecdotes and outward features.

The association of Dattātreyā with ascetics is rather peculiar and great. His special interest in the Sādhus, his dress and behaviour etc., show him as a Sādhu. It is note-worthy that according to Wilson, the different orders of Sanyāsins hold Dattātreyā in high veneration next to Śaṅkara,¹ the organiser of the Sects. Though Dr. Chapekar's investigation did not reveal this fact as such, the common view of ascetics that ' renunciation began with Datta ' (Datta se

¹ कृते ज्ञानप्रदो ब्रह्मा नेतायं दत्त एव च ।

— Śiva Purāṇa—as quoted in Bhagawān Dattātreyā.

Samnyāsa Calā) corroborates the general import. This view about Dattātreyā's connection with asceticism is also endorsed in a sanskrit text called Śiva Śata-rudra Samhitā.¹ But at the same time, he is not a mendicant, who strictly follows the rules laid down by the scriptures. He is above caste and creed, which are quite narrow in their outlook. Yadu is rather astonished when he sees Avadhūta and when he gets a reply that he follows the fifth Āśrama. This tendency is clearly seen among all the saints of this school. They highly respect the scriptures and follow their rules in general but are not so keen about the details. They always march on with the society, often moulding the society with their peculiar ways of behaviour. Thus, adoption of necessary changes required by time is seen in this type of Atyāśramī (transcending the Āśrama rules) behaviour. Thus this sort of behaviour on their part is rather peculiar and is not strong enough to constitute a separate group or a Sect. It is this feature that established some connection between the Nāth Pantha and the Dattātreyā School.

Attempts have been made to show that Dattātreyā worship in the present form with three heads and six hands is non-Vedic. Many connect this worship with the worship of Toth by Egyptians² while others, mostly the followers of Mahānubhāva Panth, basing their arguments on Dhyāna given in Śāṇḍilya Upaniṣad, considers the three headed Dattātreyā as non-Vedic. The arguments in connection with the Egyptian deity are not convincing and the question still further requires investigation; while the claims of Mahānubhāva Panth, it seems, are based on Sectarian grounds. In the foregoing chapters we have already noted many types of icons under different names proving the unity of the three gods and the underlying principle of synthetic outlook on the part of the devotees concerned. We cannot cling to one form or the other as there is gradual development in the mode of worship right from the Vedic times to the modern age. Moreover, the very idea of stereotype is opposed to the very nature of the worship. It is worth noting in this connection that a book Sahyādri-Vaṇana by Ravaḷo Vyas, which is considered as one of the early books on Mahānubhāva Pantha, describes the icon of Dattātreyā as having two hands instead of four given in Śāṇḍilya Upaniṣad. In the same way some of the followers of the Dualistic idea which considers the three-headed Dattātreyā showing unity among diversity, claims that the worship of only one-headed Dattātreyā is the bestower of boons as it has no unitary worship.³ All such attempts are one-sided and are based on sectarian principles.

But later on stress was laid on the idea lying behind the worship and not

¹ cf. note 1 on p. 183.

² वैदिक सम्पत्ति, P. 500 ff.

³ Cf. 'धर्म' weekly. 7-12-1905, p. 220 ff. cf. also सार्धगुरुपरम्परासूत्रम्, p. 96.

on the external form. The worship though it had many facets, was made more liberal than before and its synthetic outlook was greatly emphasised by the followers in general and the saints in particular. This is exactly true in case of different symbols in the hands of Dattātreyā. We see sometimes the icons having only two hands,¹ or four hands or six hands or even eight hands.² Many icons are found either with one or three heads.³ We shall give a free translation of one of the Gujarati Bhajans, composed by Shri Raṅgādhūta, who gives a rational explanation for all such symbols. Before quoting it, it is necessary to add that the symbols to which he refers are only those that are commonly accepted. But we do come across symbols even different from them, like lotus, mace, khaṭvāṅga and such others and that too with a change in the hand holding them. General significance of all these symbols is that some signs and emblems of each of the three principal gods i.e. of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva should be demonstrated so that the unity of all the three may be understood. Here is the above mentioned Bhajan by Shri Raṅgādhūta:—

“My hearty solicitations to thee! Oh merciful Lord! Gurudeva Datta! May all our distractions be removed and our mind be firmly fixed on Thee! (1)

Unborn art thou yet thou hast manifested thyself for the sake of thy devotees and hast incarnated thyself as the true essence of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa, rolled in one. (2)

Thou art one-faced in one place and three-faced in another; (thus) thou art endowed with forms though really attributeless! Verily, the sacred penance of the sage Atri is seen incarnate in thee! (3)

Thou art seen having two, four or even six hands and thy form, Oh Avadhūta! pours out essence of intelligence with various emblems in those hands. (4)

Who can grasp thy sport when even the Vedas are dumb-founded staggering in bewilderment at thee, standing perpetually by thy side in the form of dogs? (5)

¹ The temple at Bhāṭagām in Nepal, 8 miles from that of Pāśupatināth temple, has a two-handed icon and is said to have been the object of concentration and worship by Dalādana Muni, who has written the famous Datta-Laharī of 102 stanzas in the Śikhariṇī metre. Pilgrimage to all the sacred places in Nepal is not considered complete unless a pilgrim pays homage to this idol. The present temple in the Techapā tol of Bhāṭagām was built in 1453 A.D. (I. A. Vol. 13, p. 414).

² The temple at Pāṭaṇ near Siddhapur in Gujarat.

³ The temple of Dattātreyā near Gokarṇa contains an image with three heads and six hands and a visit to this shrine, it is believed is to secure an answer to one's prayer (cf. Bombay Gazetteer: District Konkan: Kanara Ch. XIV, p. 296).

To outer appearance thou standeth on wooden sandals (Pādukās), signifying spiritual indifference for in reality they are nothing but activity and renunciation, bestowing enjoyment and emancipation on the devotees. (6)

Thou hast seated thyself, all naked in the penance-grove, which is nothing but the heart of thy devotees—the cremation ground where dead bodies in the form of passion and anger are ever burning ! (7)

The scriptures in the form of birds sing thy Essence and the Purāṇas hum in the form of bees thy attributeless form. (8)

Free from even an iota of longing, thou standeth under the Audumber, the wish fulfilling tree of contentment on the banks of the sacred Ganges—the spiritual discipline (Sādhana). (9)

The asuspicious matted hair (Jaṭā) on thy head shines forth as flames of Jñāna-Agni and thus the whole face consisting of Existence, Consciousness and Bliss (Saccidānanda)—all joy, and joy and joy incarnate ! (10)

Thou hast clad thyself in Garua cloth drenched in self-control and the well known six supernatural powers grace thy hands, oh formless one ! in the form of thy six hands ! (11)

Do not the beads of Rudrākṣa rosary in thy neck signify the series of universe ? Indeed, though hast remained all aloof though pervading everywhere. No space is devoid of thee ! (12)

Thou hast burnt thy ego and besmearing thyself with these sacred ashes, thou art wandering round the whole world somewhere in a covert form, elsewhere all open, with unmanifest signs thou playeth everywhere. (13)

All homeless and self-sportive art thou. Only a few rare Jñānīs know thee, and once eyeing thee remain firm in their goal meditating and pondering over thy blessed self. (14)

The world-nourishing wallet on thy shoulder is verily the goddess Annapūrṇā, the goddess Padmā dwells in the Padma (lotus) resting in thy hand, and the Gāyatrī is standing by thy side in the form of a cow. (15)

Oh Dātār of Girnar, the annihilator of the ego of Gorakhanātha, thou thyself art Nṛsinhasarasvatī the Saviour in the iron age, the joy in the minds of thy devotees. (16)

Oh Śrīpādavallabha incarnate, shall I find thee in Kuravapur ? Or shall I go to Wāḍī, Audumber or Gāṇagāpur to find thee in Nṛsinhasarasvatī-form ? (17)

Shall I visit Akkalakoṭ ? Will Swamīrāja be there ? Or shall I hasten my feet to Māṇikanagar to see thee in Māṇikaprabhu incarnate ? Or should I go to Māhūrghaḍh ? Say, Say, where can I behold thee ? (18)

Or should I speed to Garuḍeśvar to see thy ascetic form as the incarnation of Vāsudevānandasarasvatī ? Or instruct me, oh silence incarnate ! if though art moving in some new garb ? (19)

What non-sense am I speaking? Where not art thou? Thou art shining in every nook and corner. What can I do if the faithless blind do not see that formless form? (20)

Oh Datta thine be the eternal victory, thine be the eternal victory, thine be the eternal victory, for my outward speech is waning in silence! Seeing thee pervading everywhere I remain all exultant!!" (21)

There is another interpretation¹ based on a philosophical aspect. Dattātreya is the incarnation of Guru. The three heads in one form represent the three Guṇas, viz., Sattva, Rajas and Tamas and the power which combines the three is God in the form of Dattātreya. His six hands are Yama-Niyama, Śama-Dama and Dayā and Śānti. The Goddess Earth that represents nature consisting of five subtle elements (Pañca-Bhūta) is standing behind the god in the form of a cow. He who is above all the three Guṇas, does not see the world but realises its existence only. In the same way the four dogs represent Icchā, Vāsanā, Āśā and Tṛṣṇā. Although the dogs are constantly looking at the god, he does not even look at them.

In the same way an astronomical interpretation of the story of Dattātreya and his symbols is also attempted.² Here it is said that the myth of Dattātreya is possibly based on the peculiar position of the three constellations viz. Mṛga, Ārdrā and Punarvasu. The Mṛga star represents a cradle with three babes, Ārdrā, literally means a gem, Anasūyā, while Punarvasu, means a house a hermitage while Sirius, the brightest star in front of Orion or Mṛga is Atri. Just near Orion we have Canis the Major consisting of four stars, which represent the four dogs in the forms of four Vedas; and the cow is possibly evolved out of Lupus. It is also possible that these dogs represent the four largest planets with the moons because instances have been known of these planets having been discerned with the naked eye.³ Śrī Phadke connects the god with the Moon.⁴ In this way various interpretations are offered which ultimately show 'unity among diversity'.

The modern form of Dattātreya is attended by four dogs, that are said to represent the four Vedas, showing thereby great knowledge of the Vedic lore possessed by the deity. However, it is difficult to ascertain as to how and when the actual interrelation between the dogs and the deity started. We have already noted the attempts to connect the dogs with constellations. We do not get the name of a dog among the list of his twenty-four Gurus. Nor have

¹ अध्यात्म दत्तजन्म, P. 3 ff.

² Hindu Holidays and Ceremonials, p. 221 ff.

³ J. Offered: JRAS of Great Britain and Ireland, 1915, p. 202.

⁴ द. गृ., Ch. 2. P. 50-52.

we come across any reference which connects him with a dog except one undated Ms. of Kālikā Purāṇa where he is said to have been attended by dogs.¹ Many connect the idea with the cult of the Vāma Mārga and the Tantras. Connection of a dog with the Bahirava is very close and is popular in Maharashtra and it is worth noting that the famous Datta Akhādā of Ujjain had a close connection with the god Bhairava² as it was named after him viz. Bhairava Akhādā in old days.

The dog in India was a domestic animal even in the time of Mohenjodaro civilization.³ The story of Yudhiṣṭhira's refusal to enter heaven of Indra without his favourite dog who was really Yama in disguise is too well-known. But whether its worship in those days was in vogue, is not known.

We have a very interesting episode narrated in Śaṅkara Digvijaya of Vidyāraṇya (6. 24 ff.) where it is stated that when once Śaṅkarācārya was going for a bath, a Cāṇḍāla, attended by four ferocious dogs (6. 25) was seen on his way and he was asked to be out of his path. Cāṇḍāla argued on the lines of Vedānta teachings and when, finally, Śaṅkarācārya agreeing with Cāṇḍāla left the Dvaita-Bhāva that rested in the notion that a particular person is a Cāṇḍāla, the form of Cāṇḍāla, who was Lord Śaṅkara in disguise, was changed and the four dogs assumed the form of the four Vedas (6. 39)⁴. Thus the dogs' connection with Vedas is not uncommon, though they are considered impure and even untouchable. Here it is worth noting that the same source viz. Śaṅkara Digvijaya, later on considers Dattātreyā as one who bestows knowledge (Jñānam-Vitarati) in Treta age.⁵ Thus the dogs who are represented as faithful to their master and as have vision in darkness, are found connected with the Vedas, which also sing the praise of the eternal Lord and impart right knowledge to those who are in darkness.

¹ कुकर्माऽयं (ऽहं ?) कथं साक्षी कर्मणां स्याद्वदस्व तत् ।

शुनोधर्ता जगत्स्वासी (मी ?) कम्बली भोगवान् कथम् ॥ KLP. Ch. 21.26.

² For Rudra's connection with dogs cf. AV. 10. 1. 30, VS 16.28 as quoted in Vedic Myth. P. 76.

³ The religions of India Vol. I, P. 187. We may also recall here the four animals round the three headed god found at Mohenjodaro. They are the elephant, the tiger, the rhinoceros and the buffalo.

⁴ भाषमाण इति तेन कलावा-

नेष नैक्षत तमन्यजमग्रे ।

धूर्जटो तु समुदैक्षत भौलि-

स्फूर्जदैन्दवक्रलं सह वेदैः ॥

⁵ आद्ये सत्त्वमुनिः सतां वितरति ज्ञानं द्वितीये युगे ।

दत्तो द्वापरनामके तु सुमतिर्व्यासः कलौ शङ्करः ॥

In recent times, in Bombay, many Hindus worship the dog of the Kālabhairava Khaṇḍerāo. There is a festival known as Khicha Pūjā in Nepal in which people worship dogs and garlands of flowers are placed round the necks of all dogs in the country.

There is a story of a Brahmin, named Viṣṇudatta famous in the school of Dattātreyā who saw Dattātreyā in the form of a mad man, distributing flesh of a dead ass, to dogs. There is a version of the story of Dattātreyā giving Darśana to Ekanātha where it is said that Dattātreyā had a dog with him. The famous Abhaṅga by Tukārāma describes him as attended by dogs.¹ Ekanātha has written a beautiful poem on the dog² and thus the connection of a dog with the god is said to be very close. It seems the idea behind this is to show the Avadhūṭite nature of Dattātreyā besides the sign of looking upon all creatures, even a dog, as equal.³

The most important question that now remains to be discussed is that of the worship of the foot-prints of Dattātreyā in this school. We generally admit that worship of the Guru is only through his feet and hence the general term for dedication is 'भगवच्चरणभुजे' or something like that. Even a great saint or a great personality is always addressed as 'पूज्यपादाः' (lit. the revered feet). This worship based on Guru-worship reveals great importance of foot prints (पादुकाः). Girnar, the mount in Saurashtra in Bombay State, is one of the few places where are found the foot-prints of Dattātreyā on a lonely splendid peak. They are considered as his original foot-prints. The chief promulgator of this worship, Nṛsinhasarasvatī deposited his 'निर्गुणपादुकाः' at Gāṇagāpur and that are at present an object of worship. So is the case with 'नरसोबाची वाडी' where Dattātreyā is worshipped through his foot prints instead of the idol. Even at Daulatabad, where the 'समाधि' of Janārdanaswāmī is seen, we see the foot-prints at the top. At present Śrī Raṅgāvadhūta of Nāreśvara, on the Bank of the Narmadā attaches great importance to 'पादुकाः'. Even during the daily worship⁴ Bhajans praising the पादुकाः are sung with great devotion.

The practice of worshipping the पादुकाः, according to some is due to the fear of attacks from the Mohamadans, who often broke the idols of the gods of the Hindu. However, the foot-prints of Buddha⁵ on Gurpa hill in Gaya district,

¹ कांखे झोळी पुढें श्वान । cf. also एकनाथ's अभङ्ग, दत्त वसे औदुम्बरी । त्रिशूल बमरु जटाधारी । कामधेनु आणि श्वान । उभे शोभती समान ।

² एकनाथी भागवत, edited by Tipnis, Bombay.

³ Cf. शुनि चैव श्वपाके च पण्डिताः समदर्शिनः, BG : 5.18.

⁴ Cf. The Pada त्रैमूर्ति गुरुपादुका । नौका सुरजनमुनितारका, which is sung at नरसोबाची वाडी, श्रीदत्तपदामृत, P. 38 cf. also श्रीदत्तस्तवपदामृत, P. 47.

⁵ A. S. I. (New Imperial Series.) Vol. XLVII, P. 163.

those of Viṣṇu¹ and even those of Jain Tirthaṅkars are worshipped long before these attacks started.² So the plausible view seems to be that just as शालिग्राम of विष्णु is considered rather a higher mode of worshipping the god than that of his idol, in the same way the पादुकाs of Dattātreyā are worshipped by his devotees who consider that worship as higher. Moreover, the term पादुका is from the root पद् to go, to move onwards. Its worship is thus a symbol of the onward march on the part of a devotee. There is another subtle reason why only पादुकाs are worshipped and not any other part of the body of the Guru, and that is the subtle vibrations of a man are always stored up in abundance in the feet rather than in any other limb. So the touch of the feet is always considered sacred from this point of view. It is perhaps due to this reason alone that saints do not allow the people (except only a few devotees) to touch their feet.

¹ Memoirs of ASB, Vol. V, Pp. 60-61.

² Cf. also श्रीनृसिंहसरस्वती by अप्रबुद्ध p. 26.

CHAPTER XVIII

DATTĀTREYA: RELATION WITH OTHER SECTS

In Maharashtra Śrī Jñāneśvarī, Śrī Guru Caritra and Śrī Dāsabhodha have unique influence on the people in general and the devotees usually keep them with them for daily recitation. The teachings of these three holy texts have attracted people to such an extent that people forget the difference of Sects. Jñāneśvara having a spiritual lineage from the Nāth Cult, is highly respected both by the followers of Śrī Samarthā and by those of Śrī Dattātreya. In the same way, Dattātreya is highly honoured by others. Thus we get references and even anecdotes connecting Dattātreya with many cults such as Nāth cult, Mahānubhāva Cult, Vārakarī, Śrī Samarthā, Atītas, Bhairava and such others. The famous Akhāḍā in Ujjain is known as the Junā Akhāḍā and its tutelary deity is Dattātreya. Formerly, that Akhāḍā was called the Bhairava Akhāḍā. The term Akhāḍā implies either monastery or regiment and this Akhāḍā was established in 1146 A. D., though looking to its connections with Bhairava, it seems, it represents the old Sect of Śaivite ascetics.¹ In the same way, Atītas degraded Daśanāmīs, and Lāl Pādrīs, general terms for Yogis having 'yellow robes' are worshippers of Dattātreya and are scattered all over India.

But the connection of Dattātreya with the Nāth Cult is rather abiding. In the Dabistan² he is described in a contest of yogic power with Gorakhanāth. This is corroborated by Kāvaḍī Bovā³ who gives detailed account of the episode. These Nāthas and their cult have so many sub-cults and branches and are so interwoven with one another that it is very difficult to distinguish between them. In Berar the Nāthas comprise 18 divisions, of which the recognised or regular sub-sects are Avadhūta, Kānphateya and Gorakhanāth. But in general this Panth follows the line of Avadhūta.⁴ Kaulācāra, which is the fourth in Śāktācāra is akin to the Avadhūta Mārga. Moreover, the worship about enkindling Kuṇḍalinī is common to both. Dattātreya is said to have nine Nāthas around him listening to his lectures.⁵ But it is difficult to say who these nine Nāthas were. Arthur Avalon, construes these nine as means of experience. They are ears (2), mouth, eyes (2) nostrils (2) penis and anus.⁶ In the Mahārṇava

¹ For details cf. Indian Sadhus P. 116.

² Vol. II, P. 140.

³ Śrī-Datta-Prabodh Ch. 44-49.

⁴ Cf. गोरक्षसिद्धान्तसङ्ग्रहः, p. 18, अस्माकं मतमवधूतमेव ।

⁵ Cf. ध्यायेत्परीतं नवनाथसिद्धैः ।

⁶ Introduction to Tantrarāja Tantra.

Tantra there is a description, in which 9 Nāthās are invoked in one of their Nyāsa Vidhi. From it we can make out the nine names as follows :—Gorakha-nāth, Jālandharanāth, Nāgārjuna, Sahasrārjuna, Dattātreyā, Devadatta, Jaḍa-bharata, Ādinātha and Matsyendranāth. But this list includes Dattātreyā as one of them so we cannot rely on this list. The Nava-Nātha-Bhakti-Sāra gives the following nine : Gorakṣa, Jālandhara, Carpaṭa, Aḍabakṣa, Kānthipa, Matsyendra, Ādi, Caurāṅgī, Bhakti ; (or Bhartṛharī) ; while the other list gives Eka-nātha, Ādināth, Matsyendra, Udayanāth, Daṇḍanāth, Satyanāth, Santoṣanāth, Karpūrnāth and Jālandharnāth.² Navanātha Kathamṛta (P. 5) contains a different list.³ But of all these Gorakhnāth is the most famous. Later on there was a bifurcation of this cult from Jñāneśvar onwards. The Vārakarī cult is working with great enthusiasm and is attracting many people, while the original Nātha Cult is working in secret. Thus, the Vārakarī Pantha which inspires people for progress has in no way opposed or criticised Dattātreyā. On the contrary, we find that high tributes are paid by Jñāneśvar⁴, Ekanātha and Tukārāma and others.

In the same way other Panthas also respect Dattātreyā. As an instance in point we come across a story in Shri Samartha cult in which Shri Samartha and Dattātreyā had a common meeting. Moreover, the title 'Samartha' was given by Dattātreyā.⁵ In the same way Śrī Caitanya and Ānanda cults have their connections in one way or the other.⁶

It is also interesting to find that Śrī Vallabhācārya in his Subodhinī on Ekādaśa Skandha of Śrīmadbhāgavata Purāṇa refers⁷ to Dattātreyā as Jñāna-kalāvatiṛṇa (P. 62) and considers him as Puṣṭisthah (P. 63),⁸ the highest stage

¹ गोरक्षजालंधरचर्पटाश्च अड्बङ्गा कानीफमछिंदराद्याः ।

चौरङ्गीरेवाणकभट्टिसंज्ञा भूम्यां बभूवुर्नवनाथ सिद्धाः ॥

² For detail discussion Cf. Bhāratīya Darśana Saṁgraha p. 65 ff.

³ कविर्हरिरन्तरिक्षः प्रबुद्धः पिप्पलायनः ।

आत्रिहोत्रोऽथ द्रुमिलश्चमसः करभाजनः ।

⁴ ज्ञान गोदावरीच्या तीरीं । स्नान केले पाश्चाळेश्वरीं ।

ज्ञानदेवाच्या अंतरीं । दत्तात्रेय योगिया ॥ ४ ॥ —

श्रीज्ञानेश्वर महाराजांची गाथा, अ. ४०३. पृ. १२३—as quoted by Shri Dhere :

Nṛsinhasarasvatī. P. 64.

⁵ Cf. तीर्थरूपमहाराष्ट्र— I. P.53. For the details cf. also श्रीदत्तपंचामृत, pp. 85. ff.

⁶ For details cf. महाराष्ट्रांतील पांच संप्रदाय, P. 191 ff

⁷ हंसदत्तात्रेयसनत्कुमारकृष्णभा ज्ञानकलावतीर्णाः ।

⁸ दत्तात्रेयोऽपि पुष्टिस्थः, रामौ तु मर्यादायाः..... ।

in the cult.¹ Spontaneous divine grace which is highly important in this cult is well spoken of in the very beginning of *Avadhūta Gītā*². It is a gift that blows where it listeth and elects as its recipient whomsoever it chooses. As an *Upaniṣad* puts, it is "obtainable by anyone whom it elects"³.

The *Swāmīnārāyaṇa* cult in Gujarat which we might consider as an offshoot of *Vallabha* Cult in Gujarat, speaks about *Dattātreya* with words of respect in its *Vacanāmṛtam*⁴ and *Satsaṅgijīvan* (5 parts).⁵ It is natural that the pious name might be remembered often when a particular Cult stresses the piety in society. The *Swāmīnārāyaṇa* Cult did the same thing in society while referring the name of *Dattātreya* though basing most of its *Ācāra* as that of *Vallabha* Cult. Thus the current cults in Gujarat have a good connection with *Dattātreya* school.

The next Pantha, closely related to this, after the *Nātha* Cult is that of *Mahānubhāva*. The *Mahānubhāva* Sect claims its origin from *Dattātreya*.⁶ In this Sect *Dattātreya* is the propagator according to *Cakradhara*. The same source informs us further that *Dattātreya* exists in all the four ages.⁷ Thus the whole sect though mainly *Vaiṣṇavite*, and having mainly *Kṛṣṇa* worship, has sound connection with *Dattātreya*. Because of this connection the Sect is sometimes named after *Dattātreya* and is called, *Dattātreya* or *Śrī Datta Sampradāya* or the *Muni Mārga* (A reference is here to *Dattātreya*).⁸ Besides these titles the sect has different names. It is sometimes called *Mānabhāv* (short name of *Mahānubhāva*) and sometimes *Mahātmā*.⁹ Moreover, *Marathi Sārasvata* gives *Jayakṛṣṇīya* and *Acyuta* and its later edition adds two more to the list *viz.* *Bhaṭṭa-Mārga* and *Paramārga* and holds that *Paramārga* must be its original name. The word *Mahānubhāva* is explained thus:—महान् अनुभावः तेजो बलं वा यस्य सः महानुभावः । तस्य पन्थाः । Thus it is a Sect of persons who have great lustre, or strength.¹⁰ Sometimes it is understood as a Sect of men who have great experience.¹¹

1 पुष्टिमार्गः अनुग्रहैकसाध्यः प्रमाणमार्गात् विलक्षणः ।—अणुभाष्य, 4.4.9.

2 ईश्वरानुग्रहादेव पुंसामद्वैतवासना । अवधूतगीता, I.1.

3 यमेवैष वृणुते तेन लभ्यः । मुण्डक उपनिषद्—3.2.3.

4 *Vacanāmṛtam*, Pp. 170, 251, 287, 497, 498, 503.

5 *Satsaṅgijīvan*, I. 24 ; 44, II, 11, III 17 ; 24.

6 या मार्गासि श्रीदत्तात्रेयप्रभु आदिकारण । चक्रधरोक्त सूक्त पाठ—२८५.

7 दत्तात्रेय प्रभुचा चतुर्गुणी अवतार । *Ibid.* 282.

8 *Outline of Religious Literature of India*, p. 247.

9 *Indian Theism*, P. 280.

10 *Mahānubhāva Pantha*, p. 299.

11 *Outline of Religious Literature of India*, p. 247.

But while they speak of Dattātreyā as their original founder they hold that they have had a fresh founder in each of the four Yugas. They thus, recognise the five propagators, called 5 Kṛṣṇas and have a Mantra about each. The actual establishment of the sect dates from the 13th century when Cakradhara, one of the five Kṛṣṇas organised it. The sect is found in the Marathi speaking area *i.e.* in the Deccan and in Berar and it is said that it has Maṭhas or realigious places in the Punjab and even in Afghanistan.¹

Dattātreyā is highly honoured in this Sect. Not only is he considered as one of the 5 Kṛṣṇas, full incarnations of the highest god but is also said to be the giver of a boon to the father of Cakradhara, by which Cakradhara, the then Harapāladeva was born. Moreover, Cakrapāṇī, alias Cāṅgadeva Rāūla, one of the five Kṛṣṇas of the Sect had a vision of Dattātreyā at Māhūra. They do not worship Dattātreyā with 3 heads and six hands with 4 dogs in front and a cow behind, but one with one head and 4 hands. They hold claim that the icon with one head and 4 hands is the only Vedic one while the modern one is non-Vedic. They prove their theory on the following grounds:—In JDUP and Śa.UP. Dattātreyā is an incarnation of Mahā-Viṣṇu with four hands. In the same way Bha.P. (4-14) clearly indicates that Dattātreyā was born as an incarnation of Viṣṇu along with Candra and Durvāsā the latter being incarnations of Brahmā and Śiva respectively. This was in the one-headed form. GC (Ch. 4.70) refers to the modern form.² But that is a later development. Even now there are many temples of one-headed Dattātreyā. For example, in Paṇḍharpur in the old temple of Dattātreyā, there is only one-headed icon. Besides this, even Ekanātha seems to endorse this view.³ Thus the theory of one-headed Dattātreyā has support from all sides and that is the reason why in Devadeveśvar in Māhūra (old Nizam State), which is considered as the sleeping place of Dattātreyā, he is worshipped in the one-headed form.

There is a book called 'सद्भाद्रिवर्णन', by Ravaḷo Vyas alias Rāghopādhyāya. This book is considered as one of the 7 Ādya-Ganthas of the sect and is dated 1255 Śaka era. Here stories about Alarka, Kārtavīrya and Paraśurāma are given and Dattātreyā is described as having one head and two hands (not four as previously said). Moreover, the places of Dattātreyā such as Māhūra, Pāñcāleśwar, Merubālā and others are alluded to but there is no mention of Gāṇagāpur or Wāḍī. Thus this school, it is claimed, represents Dattātreyā-worship in its old form.

¹ Indian Theism, p. 280.

² त्रयमूर्ति ऐक्य होऊन । दत्तात्रेय राहिला आपण ।

दुर्वास चन्द्र निरोप घेऊन । गेले स्वस्थला अनुष्ठानासी ॥ ७० ॥

³ त्रिशुणात्मक त्रिमूर्ति वेगळा । पाहे तो सांबळा दत्तरावो ॥ १ ॥

मन माझें वेधलें दत्ताचें चरणीं । नाहीं आन मनी दुजा छंद ॥ २ ॥ गाथा, 947.

‘The Dattātreyā’ in the Śaka era 1192 by Bhāskara, a learned writer on Mahānubhāva Sect, is one of the works on Dattātreyā by Mahānubhāva authors. The Mahānubhāva literature is seen in Līlācaritra and Govindaprabhu Caritra by Mhāim Bhatt, Pūjāvasara by Bāideva Bāsu and Cakradharokta Sūkta Pāṭha and Dr̥ṣṭāntapāṭha compiled by Kesobāsa, based on Notes taken by Mhāim Bhatt, a disciple of Cakradhara. Moreover, in modern times Prof. V. B. Kolte, Prof. Nene, and Bālkr̥ṣṇa Shastri have contributed many writings about the cult and simplified the doctrines in a popular form. Tukārāma and Eknātha, on the contrary, have severely criticised the sect and before the composition of above-mentioned work in Marathi and Devnagari character the literature was kept a guarded secret with the device (Saṃketa) of their own. Nicol Macnicol recalls some of the early Christian sects such as Manichaeans in comparison with practices of the Mahānubhāva Sect. The author of Marathi Sārasvat has tried to trace out the course of the grievances and bias of the people regarding the Sect and has put forward different reasons down from its secrecy and opposition to the system of four Varnas to some ill-behaviour on the part of some great personalities of the sect. Anyhow the sect was criticised by outstanding personalities like Tukārāma and Eknātha and now-a-days it has arrested the attention of many and it being studied with care.

The teaching of the Pantha may be summarised as follows :—

There are two kinds of devotion (Bhakti) found in the world. One of them leads to worldly happiness, while the other leads to perfect bliss. This Sect has accepted Bhakti of the second type and that is why it is called Mokṣa-Pradhāna i. e. liberation is the chief goal of the Sect.

The Sect believes in the incarnation theory. The highest god is not visible to our physical eyes and so the Absolute manifests himself in one form or the other. Moreover, for ordinary men Saṁuṇa form is absolutely necessary. So in each generation, according to this sect, god takes birth when there is decline in the Mokṣa-Dharma. Thus in the Kṛta age, Haṁsa, in Tretā, Dattātreyā in Dwāpar, Kṛṣṇa and in Kali, Cakradhara were incarnations of the absolute. As regards Kṛṣṇa they say that he is not an incarnation of Viṣṇu staying at Vaikuṇṭha. For Vaikuṇṭha-Vāsa is only for a short time, while liberation is for all the time. The Gītā of Kṛṣṇa is recognised in the sect as the book of highest knowledge as the teaching of the first two incarnations is not available.

For liberation both knowledge and devotion are quite essential. One of them alone will not do¹. A Jñāni must be a devotee.

In this path of liberation the Sect has recognized the right of all castes and sexes. Thus Śūdras and Ladies get equal rights as regards liberation.

¹ तेषां ज्ञानी नित्यमुक्त एकभक्तिविशिष्यते, Gītā, 7. 17.

Whosoever has full devotion of Kṛṣṇa can attain liberation. So constant remembrance of him will lead to the final goal.

They recognize only the five Kṛṣṇas as incarnations of the Absolute. Other deities are considered different from them. They are never considered as incarnations of the Absolute. They can give non-permanent rewards only and never the liberation. But inspite of this difference they never insult any deity. On the contrary, they claim that they respect them in a much better way than that of their worshippers. For instance there are many legends about the gods like Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva and also about their ill-behaviour. Such stories are never seen nor believed by this Sect. This is the peculiarity of the Sect, says Bālkrṣṇa Shastri.¹ To establish this theory of difference between the incarnations of the Absolute and other gods, Cakradhara, one of their five Kṛṣṇas was specially born in the 12th century of the Śaka eta. The people at that time hankered after material happiness. According to Prof. S. V. Dandekar² people at that time were mad after Mantra Tantra and such other things and had almost forgotten the hidden meaning of the Vedic religion. They only knew its outward form. Prof. V. B. Kolte is also of the opinion that people at the time of Cakradhara ran after the insignificant gods. To direct them to the Absolute Cakradhara incarnated himself. The main line upon which Cakradhara based his teachings was the theory that the Absolute is Nitya-Mukta while the gods are Nitya-Baddha. How can such gods give liberation? The Absolute has two forms one is manifested and the other unmanifested. The latter cannot do anything. So the former which is in form and Saguṇa should be worshipped and that too for the sake of getting liberation. There are many incarnations of the Absolute but five of them are the principal ones. They are Dattātreyā, Kṛṣṇa, Cakravartī Cāṅgadeva Rāṭṭa, Govindaprabhu alias Guṇḍama Rāṭṭa and Cakradhara. These are five Kṛṣṇas of the Sect the conception of which seems to have been based on the Padma Purāṇa.³

The Sect recognized the Gītā as an authority while it was fully vested with detailed rules of initiation by Cakradhara.

Thus we see that generally the worship of Dattātreyā faces no opposition in general from any corner and the name is highly respected all over India. The difference which lies between the different sects and sub-sects with which the name is connected is only about some external form here and there and that is natural. Many a time change becomes inevitable while taking into consideration the time-factor. It is natural when we take into consideration different

¹ Mahānubhāva Pantha, p. 87.

² Śrī Jñānadeva p. 9.

³ स्नात्वा तु गोमतीतीर्थे पञ्चकृष्णान्विलोक्य वै ।

म.यो मुक्तिमवाप्नोति भुक्त्वा भोगान्यथेप्सितान् ॥

types of people. At present, it is important to note that the god, whose worship is based on synthetic out-look is in one way or the other connected with and respected by the promulgators of different sects scattered either in Mahārāṣṭra in particular or in India in general and thus has become as it were a connecting link between the followers of two or more sects lessening their controversies. This is indeed, a great achievement.

A view is held by some that the School of Dattāteryā came under the Muslim influence and contributed to the moulding of its pattern. But there is no evidence which can be marshalled in support of the above contention.

It is true that the School of Dattātreya developed in Maharashtra and Karnatak which were at that time under the influence of the Muslims. It is also true that Nṛsinhasarasvatī played a prominent part in developing the School. It should however be noted that the School of Dattātreya is a traditional School¹ whose origin go back to the earliest days of Hindu Culture. The worship of Dattātreya was in vogue in India long before² the Muslims started to invade the country and influence its culture. Islam was introduced into India by the Arab invaders who entered Sind under Muḥamd ibn Qāsim in A.D. 712. The permanent extension of Muslim rule in India dates from the latter part of the 12th century when conquest of Muhammad Ghori resulted in the establishment of a Muhammadan dynasty in Delhi.³ The beginnings of Dattātreya worship go back to a very distant part while the dates of Prophet Mohammad are 570-632 A.D. The earlier references discussed elsewhere in the thesis go against the contention of the Muslim influence over Dattātreya worship. Moreover, GC the sacred book of the followers of Dattātreya and written after a century or so after the disappearance of Nṛsinhasarasvatī does not contain even a single Yāvanī (foreign) word⁴ and this itself is obviously an incontrovertible evidence of the lack of any Muslim influence over it. It may further be observed that not only the Dattātreya School was not influenced by Muslims but the later Muslim Rulers came under its influence and looked at it with reverence. GC contains a story about the Mohamadan Ruler of Belur who surrendered himself to Nṛsinhasarasvatī as he was afflicted by boils. Later on Janārdanswāmī (1504-1575 A.D.) also influenced Muslim Rulers so that Thursday, a day sacred to Dattātreya was declared as a holiday in the fort of Daulatabad. GC lays stress on the Vedic rites and the great traditions of Hindu Religion in order to wean the people from the Muslim culture to which they were likely to fall prey. The other small points of similarity may not be discussed here in the light of the above discussion as the similarity between any two ideas does not necessarily speak of the influence of one over the other.

¹ cf. also द. गु. p. 363.

² cf. Ch. 20.

³ Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. 8, p. 871 b. cf. also महाराष्ट्रीय ज्ञानकोश—प्रस्तावना खंड 4, p. 351 ff.

⁴ GC, Puraskāra, p. 681.

CHAPTER XIX

THE SACRED PLACES OF DATTĀTREYA

Sacred places of Dattātreya, fall into two categories: There are certain places, which are connected directly either with the name of Dattātreya or with the names Atri and Anasūyā; while there are some that came into existence after the rise of powerful personalities, who developed the School. Thus, the mount Girnar in Saurashtra (Gujarat State), the mount Abu in Rajasthan, Bābā Buḍana¹ in Mysore State, Māhūrgaḍh in the district of Yavatmāl (Madhya Bharat State), Anasūyā on the banks of the Narmadā near Chandod (Gujarat State), Anasūyā on the way to Badrikedāreśvara temple, Atri Āśrama in Sachindram near Trivendrum, Datta-Akhāḍā at Ujjain and Atri-Anasūyā-śrama on Citrakūṭa are connected with the name of Dattātreya. Some of these are very well known to the followers of the School while the places like Narasobācīwādī, Audumber, Gāṇagāpur, Kuravapur on the banks of the Kṛṣṇa river are important on account of their connection with Nṛsinhasarasvatī and Shripādavallabha² who promulgated this worship. In the same way the followers of Dattātreya School also visit with great reverence many places attached to the worthy names, who developed the worship in modern times. Among these the names of Māṇikanagar, Akkalkoṭ, Garuḍeśvar are prominent. These places have their association with Māṇikaprabhu, Swāmī of Akkalakoṭ and Vāsudevānandasarasvatī respectively. We shall discuss here some of these places in detail.

Before we give an account of these places in detail it is worth noting that Dattātreya and his travel all over India for the sake of different purposes of daily routine work are so well known that his sudden arrival has become proverbial in Marathi language.³ Thus his dwelling-place is the Sahyādri hills, the sleeping-place Māhūrgaḍh, morning bath is at the Ganges near Haradwar, sipping sacred water (Ācamana) at Kurukṣetra, meditation either at Girnar or Gāṇagāpur, besmearing ashes at Dhūtapāpeśwara, performing Sandhyā (morning

¹ This is also named Chandradroṇagiri and is in the Kadur District. The inscriptions found here are already noted. This place, known as Pitājī, is a common place of worship both for the Hindus, who worship him under the name Dattātreya and for the Muslims, who invoke the same as Dātār. The official worshipper of this place is a Muslim.

² Kuravapur, modern Kurumgaḍḍā on the banks of the Krishna river is associated with Shripādavallabha.

³ दत्त म्हणून उभें राहणें.

prayer) at Karṇāṭak, soliciting alms at Kolhapur, sacred mark on forehead (Tilak) at Pandharpur, dining at Panchaleshwar, drinking water at the Tuṅgabhadrā river, hearing Kathā at Badarinārāyaṇa, resting at mount Girnar and the evening Sandhyā performance is done on the Western coast. Often due to extraneous circumstances particular rites differ at particular places. Thus, Dattātreyā Varja Kavaca takes Māhūrgaḍh as a place for soliciting alms instead of using as a sleeping place, which is the Sahyādri hills according to it. In the same way Kolhapur is a place meant for muttering sacred Mantras. Kāvaḍi Bovā, the author of Datta-Prabodha, while describing these places, even gives reasons why he chose the particular place at the request of the presiding deity at that place. This reminds us of the famous expression 'चरति चरतो भगः' of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.¹

Girnar :

Mount Girnar is one of the most ancient places where Dattātreyā's Pādukās are greatly honoured. It is near Junagadh in Saurashtra (Gujarat State). One thing that is most strikingly observed is that instances of having personal meeting with Dattātreyā on mount Girnar are not few and the most prominent one among them is the Sākṣātkāra (Vision) to Nirañjan Raghunātha, whose life and works we have already examined. The anecdotes regarding the saint Gorakhanātha, whose place is shown on the top of Girnar, are quoted and every Sādhu pays homage to Girnar as an abode of Dattātreyā. Here it is worth nothing that Girnar is a place where there are many places sacred to Jains, Vaiṣṇavas, Devī-Bhaktas, the Muslims, besides having places of historical importance connected with Asoka's inscriptions. Thus it has become a common meeting place for all the different Sects.

Māhūrgaḍh :

The sleeping-place of Dattātreyā, Māhūra (Madhya Bharat) has become famous. From Arṇī village in Yavatmāl District we have to travel about 16 miles in a cart and then for about two and a half miles on the hill track when the hermitage of Atri is seen. This place has two-fold importance. It is considered as the birth place of Dattātreyā and at the same time is attached to Reṇukā, one of the three prominent Devī-Piṭhas of Maharashtra. The other two are Kolhapur and Tuljapur which are considered sacred to Lakṣmī, and Bhavānī respectively. Reṇukā is worshipped here as Elammā. It is said that Dattātreyā imparted knowledge to Paraśurāma here after he finished the obsequious rites of Reṇukā, his mother, who burnt herself, after the death of her husband. Here also there are Pādukās, instead of idol of Dattātreyā, though there is one Darśana—Mūrti. The place is very charming.² The Mahanta

¹ Cf. also Gods And Men, p. 216.

² Shri Purohitsuāmī has described the place and his experiences in a poetic language. cf. 'An Indian Monk' By Purohitsuāmī.

(Priest) of this place is now given a fixed yearly allowance, though formerly his source of income was from 32 villages given to the place as a donation.

Narasobācī Wāḍī (Nṛsinha—Vāṭikā) :

After Nṛsinhasarasvatī's stay here for over 12 years, the place got fame. Formerly it was considered as Sarva-Tīrtha as it is said that all the gods stayed there i. e. on the banks of the Kṛṣṇa river for one year. Even before the arrival of Nṛsinhasarasvatī a great saint named Rāmacandra Yogī practised penance there. The Gurucaritra further informs us that there is a certain god-Amareśvara who is attended by 64 yoginis. Moreover, there are eight Tīrthas on the banks of the river Kṛṣṇā.

The temple, which is seen just on the bank under an Audumber tree is said to have been built at a later stage by a Muslim king of Bijapur and contains the Pādukās deposited by Nṛsinhasarasvatī. The story runs like this that a Brahmin named Bahirambhaṭṭa, in the neighbouring village of Ālāsa, having no issue daily came for Darśana of the Swāmī, who stayed there for penance for twelve years and lived on from the village Amareśvara. While going to Gāṇagāpur, he called the Brahmin and asked him to worship the Pādukās, named as 'Manohar' under the Audumber tree and gave a blessed prediction that gradually the place would enjoy great importance. Now-a-days, we find there Priests who are the descendants of the same Brahmin.

This place is in the district of Kolhapur. We have to get down at Jayasingapur on the Miraj-Kolhapur line of Central Railway if we wish to go there. Wāḍī is about nine miles away from where a motor service is available.

There is a regular routine for worshipping the god in the form of the Pādukās and the Priests perform it according to the rules laid down. It starts from five early morning till twelve noon and again from three till late at night, the chief being the Mahāpujā and the Palanquin with many other rites. The Palanquin usually starts in the evening with the special idol inside and are taken three rounds with prayers. At this time round-about atmosphere is quite serene and inspiring and the people get experiences of different types.

Besides this temple there are places—about seven—connected with Rāmacandra Yogī, Nārāyaṇa Swāmī, Tembe Swāmī and others. Some special ceremonies are performed there during the year, in connection with either these personalities or with some days of importance. The place, though apparently, uninspiring creates conductive atmosphere on account of quietly performed daily programmes which are perfectly executed.

Vāsudevānandasarasvatī in his life time visited the place many times and even got the vision of Dattātreya and later on framed new rules for the better management of the place.

Audumber :

The place so named because of the many Audumber trees found there is another place of importance where Nṛsinhasarasvatī practised penance in secret for some years. It was only after the incident of a Brahmin who was devoid of learning and who was asked by the goddess Bhuvaneśvarī, just opposite the place, to go and surrender himself to the Swāmī, that Nṛsinhasarasvatī lost the necessary quietness for performing penance in secrecy. The Brahmin obtained knowledge and many boons from the sage. It is at this place, it is said, that Janārdana Swāmī, got the Darśana of Dattātreyā. Moreover, it is here that we see the Samādhī of Bhramānanda, who came here from Girnar about 1825-30 A.D. and stayed on for the rest of his life. He is known for his Ṭikā on Haṭha-yogapradīpikājyotsnā, which is again a Ṭikā on Haṭhayogapradīpikā by More Shastri.

The place is just on the bank of the Kṛṣṇa river in front of a village Bhīlavāḍī which is 4 miles away from Bhīlavāḍī station on Poona-Miraj line.

Like Narsobā-Wāḍī, the daily routine for worshipping the Pādukās starts from early morning and lasts till late at night. It is worth noting that at both the places the day sacred to Dattātreyā is Saturday and not Thursday.

Gāṇagāpur :—

“There shall be my permanent presence henceforward in these Nirguṇa Pādukās”, so said¹ Nṛsinhasarasvatī to his disciples at Gāṇagāpur, while departing. Hence, the importance of Gāṇagāpur is great. Moreover, it is this place, where Nṛsinhasarasvatī stayed for a long time and carried on his mission. People acquainted with Guru Caritra remember many anecdotes in connection with Nṛsinhasarasvatī and his disciples. There are many places connected with Tantuka, Rajaka (washerman), who was promised a kingdom in the next birth and such other things. In the same way, there are eight Tīrthas, whose Māhātmya, is described in the Guru Caritra as equal to those of Benares, Gayā and Prayāga. Besides, the confluence of the two rivers Bhīmā and Amarajā, which is two miles away from the place is equally important as Nṛsinhasarasvatī used to go there for bath. There is a great hill of sacred ashes (Bhasma) and the astonishing fact about it is that the same ashes though taken away by many devotees for the last so many years are never seen decreasing. Shri S. K. Phadke is of the opinion that that must have been a Yajña-Bhūmī in ancient times.² Shri G. H. Phadke notes that that is Bhasma and not ordinary clay of the land for it was analysed scientifically.³ Thus, it proves the opinion of Shri S. K. Phadke.

1 माझे निरंतर वास्तव्य या निर्गुण पादुकांत च राहील,

2 द. मु., Ch. 17 P. 367.

3 माझी तीर्थयात्रा, Part III. P. 126.

The devotees attach great importance to the Prasāda given in the form of Bhasma from this hill and Candana from Nirguṇa Pādukās. The importance of Bhasma in this Sampradāya may indicate connection of the Datta School with Śiva Śaivism. Nṛsinhasarasvatī who encouraged the path of scriptures and Yajña-cycle and who himself remained a Sanyāsī, may be compared favourably with Śaṅkarācārya.

Gāṇagāpur Road is situated on the rail-road between Poona and Raichur on the Central Railway. The place is about fourteen miles from the station which can be reached by a regular bus that runs at the time of every train. As in Narasobā Wāḍī, here also the daily worship starts from early morning and goes on till late at night. The palanquin of the Pādukās can be taken out on any day at the desire of a devotee who has to pay something for it and on all Thursdays. Here importance is attached to Thursday while at Wāḍī Saturday is important. After the worship of the Pādukās in the morning starts the worship of Cintāmaṇi Mūrti. This Mūrti which is made of sand, was laid here by Nṛsinhasarasvatī himself at the request of the then king of Gāṇagāpur. It is after the establishment of this evil-remover (Vighnahara) Mūrti, that Nṛsinhasarasvatī established the Maṭha and began to stay here. This idol of Gaṇapati is worshipped in the same manner as is done in the case of the Pādukās. In the afternoon the devotees get the Darśana of Nirguṇa Pādukās which are covered with three silver busts of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa.

The devotees generally worship the Guru-Pādukās by reading the Guru Caritra in seven days (Saptāha Pārāyaṇa) and many satisfy themselves with Rudrābhiṣeka, Pañcopacāra Pūjā, Mahā Pūjā, Palanquin through Priests on the payment of a fixed amount. Here great importance is also attached to Bhikṣā (soliciting alms) as it is considered holy due to the fact that those who stay here for the Guru-Caritra-Pārāyaṇa carry on their worship eating only the Bhikṣā they get at noon. Moreover, the Guru himself solicits daily alms in disguise and thus unknowingly the Bhikṣā goes to him which is considered very auspicious. In the evening along with the usual worship and prayers of the Pādukās the three mercy-invoking songs known as Karuṇā-Tripadī composed by Vāsudevānandasarasvatī are sung with devotion.

During the year there are many celebrations among which the Datta-Jayantī day, the first four days in the Māgha Kṛṣṇa connected with the departure of Nṛsinhasarasvatī, are very important. Generally the Priests manage the show well giving all facilities to the visitors. They form three groups known as Upādhyāya, Joshi and Hakkadār Sālkari according to their respective functions of lodging and boarding management, ritual arrangement and Mahāpūjā to Pādukās.

Karañjanagar alias Kārañjā the birth place of Nṛsinhasarasvatī is consider-

ed sacred and its sacredness is revived now-a-days. It is on Mūrtijāpur-Yavat-māl narrow guage lines—on Bhusaval-Nagpur Central Railway.

Māṇikanagar:

This place is associated with the holy name of Māṇikaprabhu. It is near Humanābād. Māṇikaprabhu stayed here from 1845 A.D. to the end of his life. Before his stay over there it was a jungle and a place inhabited by outlaws and thieves. We have already noted how he settled here, and we now see that the jungle is turned into a town with beautiful buildings for Sādhakas (aspirants) and is surcharged with spiritual atmosphere.

Even from the time of Māṇikaprabhu certain principles have been accepted according to which the worship has developed. The centre now-a-days is round the Samādhi of Māṇikaprabhu though there are temples dedicated to Dattātreyā, Śiva and to such other deities. Like the Maṭha of Śaṅkarācārya, here also we see the Gādī of Dattātreyā and Māṇikaprabhu looks like a spiritual king. His Birudāvali and many such rites developed a new mode of worship and his name is attached to Sakalamata, which tries to synthetise all the different Sects and Cults. Discipline usually seen in a royal court was scrupulously maintained during his life-time. Even fine arts like music etc., were encouraged along with other branches of knowledge.

During the year are seen many celebrations among which Datta-Jayanti on Mārgaśīrṣa Pūrṇimā is prominent.

Now-a-days the Gādī still continued through the lineage of Māṇikaprabhu.

Garuḍeśvar :

This place developed after the final stay of Vāsudevānandasarasvatī, whose Samādhi is seen here. The place is just on the banks of the Narmadā river and is situated in the Rajpipla Taluka of Broach District (Gujarat State). After the departure of the Swāmī to the other world, the Trust named Shri Garuḍeśvar Datta Samsthān carries on the work of the place according to the rules laid down by the Swāmī himself. It has a Paurāṇic background as the place is associated with Garuḍa and the demon Gajāsura who was slain by the former. Even Nārada is said to have practised penance there and the temple of Śiva Nārdeśvar associated with the name of Nārada is seen there even to-day.

After the arrival of Vāsudevānanda, it became a place of attraction for the followers of Dattātreyā. Here we see a temple of Dattātreyā and the Samādhi of Vāsudevānanda with many facilities for Sādhakas. There are about 7 rest-houses (Dharmaśālās) and houses for Priests who perform worship according to the rules laid down by the Swāmī. There is a big bathing Ghat on the banks of the Narmadā, which was built by the Mahārāṇī of Indore.

Many celebrations in course of the year are performed, among which the Puṇyatithi, the day on which the Swāmī took Samādhi and the Datta-Jayanti are most prominent. People visit this place in thousands on these days and come there either through Rajpipla or Via Chandod.

CHAPTER XX

CONCLUSION

The school of Dattātreyā, no doubt, became very popular after the rise of Śrīpādavallabha and Nṛsinhasarasvatī, whose period starts after 1300 A. D. Before that we have the name of Dattātreyā along with Gauḍapādācārya and others in the inscriptions from Shimoga dated 1235 A. D. and still earlier, Cakradhara (1153 A. D.) got Dattātreyā's vision. Junā Akhādā in Ujjain, which is named after Dattātreyā was reorganised in 1146 A. D. Gorakhanāth (about 1050 A. D.—1150) is closely connected with Dattātreyā a reference to this effect in Dabistan (Vol. II, p. 140) led Briggs to think that Dattātreyā was probably a deified Brahman of the 10th Cent. A. D. Māgha in his Śisupālavadhā (14.79) refers to Dattātreyā as an Avatāra of Viṣṇu that takes us to his time *i. e.* the end of 7th Cent. or the beginning of the 8th Cent. Śāṅkarācārya is said to have written a Stotra on Dattātreyā but we are not sure about its authorship.

Ahīrbudhnya Saṃhitā, a standard work on the Pāñcarātra system refers (5.54) to Dattātreyā. Farquhar put the Pāñcarātra literature between 600-800 A. D.

With regard to Paurāṇic reference about Dattātreyā it is very difficult to assign a definite date. It is now well known that the Purāṇas have been accepted as containing historical information and the modern researches have brought to light many interesting things. Regarding the Mar. P. for instance Dr. R. C. Hazra¹ concludes: "...those chapters of Mar. P., which treat Hindu customs and Yoga, cannot possibly be later than the latter half of the 5th Cent.,"² V Dh. P. (third khaṇḍa, 85.64-65 ab.) shows the method of preparing Dattātreyā's idols. Dr. (Miss) Priyabālā Shah, fixes³ this portion of the Purāṇa to 'somewhere between the first or rather the second half of the 5th Cent., and the first half of the 7th Cent., *i. e.* between circa 450 and 650 A. D.'

About the age of the Upaniṣads which refer to Dattātreyā we are not in a position to say anything with certainty. But with the Mbh. and the HV,

¹ This learned scholar has taken great pains on Paurāṇic studies and has placed the Bhāgavat Purāṇa in the 6th Cent. and Viṣṇu Purāṇa in the first quarter of 4th Cent.

² Studies in the Purāṇic records on Hindu rites and customs, P. 8 ff.

³ Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa (Third Khaṇḍa): Introduction P. XXVI (GOS. No. CXXX).

where Dattātreyā is referred to it is not so. Hopkins remarks: "For the Mbh. the time from 300 B.C. to 100 B.C. appears now to be the most probable date, though excellent authorities extend the limits from 400 B.C. to 400 A.D.¹ As regards the HV he takes 200 A.D. as a highly probable date. As the reference to Dattātreyā appears in an interpollated portion after III.115.8 in Mbh. and in the didactic books, XIIth and XIIIth of the Mbh. it may be said that Dattātreyā must have been worshipped in the earlier centuries of the Christian era.² In the present state of knowledge we cannot definitely say how long before the mention of his name the worship of Dattātreyā started as the non-mention is not necessarily the absence of it.

Equally uncertain is the problem of the exact time when Dattātreyā got the form of Trimūrti. We are not in a position to say anything definitely as we got the three-headed icons of Dattātreyā after the 10th Cent. But before that, as has been observed before, there were idols of Trimūrtis as well as of the three highest gods that were worshipped jointly in the temples, as is inferred from inscriptions. Thus, we get an icon which looks like Dattātreyā in appearance from the Peshawar Museum in the 3rd Cent. The Mar. P. where Dattātreyā's birthstory occurs, refers to the three highest gods born to Atri, and Dattātreyā in turn teaching Yoga to Alarka. This portion cannot be put according to Dr. Hazra after the 5th Cent. Much light is, however, not available as the later period is in the dark. Dalādāna Muni refers³ to Dattātreyā as having three forms in his Datta-Laharī but again we do not know the actual time of Dalādāna, though tradition considers him as one of the most ancient devotees of Dattātreyā. So in the present state of our knowledge it can be said that the significance of Trimūrti as well as Dattātreyā's images was not an accomplished fact till 1000. People either believed in Trimūrtis, in various ways (described in chapter II of I part) or worshipped Traipuruṣadeva erecting temples as is seen in the inscriptions. Later on stories regarding the three highest gods born to Atri and Anasūyā might have been fixed and mixed the form of Dattātreyā with Trimūrti icons. Thus Brahmā and Śiva, both born as Soma and Durvāsā, being less prominent, were thrown in the background and only Dattātreyā got prominence in the combined form of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa. Thus in literature Dattātreyā, though an incarnation of all the three gods in general, is considered as an

¹ Epic Myth. P. 1. cf. Winternitz: "According to this Mbh. cannot have received its present form earlier than 4th Century B.C. and not later than the 4th Century." About the HV, he says: 'not very long before the 4th Century'. A history of Indian Literature, Vol. I, P. 321 and P. 464 respectively.

² Cf. also HDS, Vol. II, Part II, P. 726 ff.

³ नमो दत्तात्रेयाकृतिहरिहराजाय महते । श्रीदत्तलहरी: १००

Avatāra of Viṣṇu in particular; while his icon and other peculiarities show his close relation with Śiva, for from the iconographical point of view, Śiva's trinity¹ has attracted people more than those of the other two gods of trinity. This is the reason why Dattātreyā is represented even to-day either with three heads or even with one head. In the case of the latter, his triple nature is shown by six hands with the characteristic emblems of all the three principal gods. It is therefore, not correct to say, as some do, that only one headed icon is Vedic.² Keeping, probably, this in mind, Vāsudevānandasarasvatī has shown 720 possible forms of Dattātreyā from the view point of six characteristic emblems in the six hands.

In modern times people usually worship Dattātreyā as an incarnation of trinity; as the bestower of both Bhukti and Mukti³. His devotees comprise all the types :—

(i) Ārta (ii) Arthārthi (iii) Jijñāsu (iv) Jñānī.

Thus to a common man Dattātreyā has many outstanding characteristics in comparison with other incarnations of Viṣṇu. The most striking difference is that Dattātreyā is Avināśī Avatāra⁴ as his final disappearance is described nowhere as is the case with other Avatāras. Though he is not counted among 7 Cīrajīvins,⁵ he is considered as one of the 7 Smartrgāmins.⁶ Though these stanzas are known from long tradition, and though we cannot say anything definite about their basis we can infer the reason why the name of Dattātreyā is

¹ Shri Aprabuddha raises a point that there is no proof when we say that these Trimurtis are not of Dattātreyā. On the contrary, it is possible that the icons with Śiva in the middle may be those forms of Dattātreyā which have Śiva in the middle (cf. Nṛsinhasarasvatī, Introduction, p. 12.)

² For further refutation of the point Cf. Shri Nṛsinhasarasvatī, Aprabuddha, P. 25.

³ एकहस्ते धृतस्यागो भोगश्चैककरे स्वयम् ।

अलिप्तस्यागभोगाभ्यां सोऽवधूतः श्रियेऽस्तु नः ।

गोरक्षसिद्धान्तसङ्ग्रहः ।

⁴ सम्प्रदायविगमादुपेयुषीरेष नाशमविनाशिविग्रहः ।

स्मर्तुमप्रतिहतस्मृतिः श्रुतीर्त्त इत्यभवदत्रिगोत्रजः ॥

शिशुपालवधम्—14.79

⁵ अश्वत्थामा बलिव्यासो हनुमौश्च विभीषणः ।

कृपः परशुरामश्च सप्तैते चिरजीविनः ॥

⁶ श्रीदत्तो नारदो व्यासः शुक्रश्च पवनात्मजः ।

कार्तवीर्यश्च गोरक्षो सप्तैते स्मर्तृगामिनः ॥

omitted from the list of 7 immortals. Cirañjīvin means 'long-lived' ; however long might be the existence of Cirañjīvin, it has some limit, but who can fetter the very existence incarnate with time-limit ? And so how can the Lord Dattātreyā be included in the list of these Cirañjīvins howsoever great and long-lived they might be ? Thus Māgha has taken him as Avināśī Avatāra. Moreover, he is not born for annihilating any demon but for making free the needy from the bondage of ignorance. He is a Guru-Avatār, Jñāna Vighraha, and hence ever at the back and call of his devotees.¹ Vāsudevānandasarasvatī in one of his Ākhyānas has shown the difference between Dattātreyā-incarnation and Rāma-Kṛṣṇa-incarnations of the Lord in the following manner : Rāma-Kṛṣṇa had a married life ; while Dattātreyā is a Brahmacārī (celebate). Hence the former two are householders with the three qualities ; while the latter is a Yati without the three qualities (Triguṇarahita). He further says that some have given either the land of gold or many precious things, but no one except Dattātreyā has given his own self.² In this way, Shri Phadke tries to clarify Dattātreyā as regards his Māyāyukta and Māyāmukta nature. He is the Guru of Kṣatriya kings like Sahasrārjuna on one side, while in this line Nṛsinhasarasvatī becomes the Guru even of a Yavan king.³ This, according to Shri Phadke is due to the nature of Yogic life noted for self-control and balance of mind of which His Highness Śrī Cāmarājendra also takes note.⁴ This view on activity and renunciation is very appealing. His Avadhūta Gītā declares that Advaita and Dvaita and such other Dvandas are but inter-relative. The reality lies above the two⁵. It is interesting to find that when in the beginning there was only one reality, it could only be trinity at the time manifestation. When one becomes two, one must think that there should be third element to behold the two and thus one can only manifest oneself in a triple form. A

¹ Datta Prabodha :

कृतयुगीं बोधिला यद् । त्रेतायुगीं सहस्रार्जुन प्रसिद्धु ।
द्वापरीं मातेसीं करी संवाद । व्हावया प्रबोधू जगासी । 27.16

² कश्चित्हेमपुरीं ददौ ध्रुवपदं कश्चित्पयोळिं ददौ ।

कश्चित्प्रेष्ठमुता निजास्थि च तथा सर्वस्वमर्पयत् ॥
खात्मा स्वेन न कुत्रचित्खलु मुदा दत्तोऽथ दत्तो यतो ।
दत्तेनेत्ययमेव दत्त इति हि ख्यातोऽभवच्चात्रिजः ॥

Gurudeva Caritra P. 199.

³ द. सु. P. 364

⁴ Dattātreyā : P. 245.

⁵ अद्वैतं केचिदिच्छन्ति द्वैतमिच्छन्ति चापरे ।
समं तत्त्वं न विन्दन्ति द्वैताद्वैतपरं हि यत् ॥ 1.36.

seed when it sprouts forth and comes above the earth in a manifested form its two offshoots require a third part in the form of a trunk. Thus, Dattātreyā has become a symbol of synthesising the two opposites—an idea which is quite essential to-day in the present state of the world. Here all the Varṇas and the Āśramas are attached to without creating any kind of disturbance in the society. All perform their duties all right, all are guided properly and they eventually get happiness and final emancipation. Lives of the great saints in this school, as we have already shown, confirm this view. It unites not only two main schools of Śiavism and Vaiṣṇavism and Hindus and the Muslims, but also develops insight which keeps mankind in an atmosphere that is pure and peaceful. Dattātreyā is quick in giving both reward as well as punishment for action done. Piety has its reward while impiety instantly punished.

Another appealing feature of the Datta Sampradāya in the modern age is the respect shown for women in general and for a Satī (chaste woman) in particular. The account of his birth, no doubt, refers to the penance of Atri for getting a son; but it is only because of Anasūyā, that the three highest gods descended from heaven on earth. Even the episode of Śāṇḍili speaks about the same thing. Tripurā Rahasya (I part) is in the dialogue form between a husband and his wife, where the latter imparts knowledge to the former.

The 8th chapter of the Avadhūta Gītā looks with contempt upon attachment to women; but there the writing is against attachment and not against woman in general. Moreover, the Vāma-Mārga of the Śākta school was leading astray and the people in general took the literal meaning of the five Ma-Kāras which included attachment to wine and woman. So the pen of this spiritual preceptor, who condemns impiety, is certainly very impressive. The last but not the least feature of the school is the very open mind with which the saints of this school developed the worship. Faith in god, devotion to the Guru, observance of the rules laid down by scriptures and such other strict principles of life did not deter them from acting in a contrary way, when the need of the times called upon them to do a particular action. One who is beyond the three qualities has no rules and regulation to follow yet undue liberty is never tolerated. The Samarasa, equipoise must be maintained. For that the mind must be kept open and we must observe nature and work around our own taking a moral lesson from whatever source we come across. This is what the Nāsadiya Sūkta of the R̥gveda has taught us, this is what the sacred syllable 'OM' and triune unity of 'श्वेताश्वतर उपनिषद्' of Upaniṣadic time stressed and this is what the Puruṣottama Yoga in the 15th chapter of the Gītā declared with due emphasis. Reality supreme lies beyond all—the Sat and the Asat, the Bhoktā and the Bhogya, the Kṣara and the Akṣara and also beyond the three outstanding qualities—the Sattva, the Rajas and the Tamas. Call it by any name and worship it in any form it is invariably the liberation of the Dattātreyā Sampradāya.

APPENDIX

Unpublished Dattātreyā Literature

List of Mss. Collected from various catalogues arranged alphabetically according to place, where they are deposited.

Adyar

1. Avadhūta Gītā.
2. Avadhūta Gītā Ṭikā.
3. Dattātreyā Kavacam.
4. Dattātreyā Campuḥ.
5. Dattātreyā Jayantimāhātyam.
6. Dattātreyā Daśakam.
7. Dattātreyā Pūjā Vidhiḥ.
8. Dattātreyā Sahasranāmastotram.
9. Dattātreyā Mantra.
10. Dattātreyā Stotram.
11. Dattātreyottartāpinyupaniṣad.
12. Dattātreyopaniṣad.
13. Dattātreyopaniṣadbhāṣyam.
14. Dattātreyopaniṣadvivaraṇam.
15. Dattātreyārcana—Vidhi—Candrikā.
16. Dattātreyā-Prabodhaḥ (Dattātreyā Yogaśāstram.)

Baroda

17. Dattātreyā Stotram.
18. Datta-Gītā Sārtha.
19. Dattātreyā Mālāmantra.
20. Dattātreyā Kalpa (22 Paṭalas.)
21. Datta Bhujaṅga Stotram.
22. Dattātreyā Campuḥ (with Dattātreyā Sevā Pañcakam and Dattātreyā Aṣṭakam.)
23. Dattātreyā Yogaśāstram.
24. Avadhūta Gītā.
25. Dattātreyā Dvādaśanāma Stotram.
26. Dattātreyā Sahasranāma.
27. Dattātreyā Stotrādi.
28. Dattātreyā Vajra Kavaca (Yogirāja Vajra Pañjar Kavaca.)
29. Dattātreyā Tantra.
30. Tripurā Rahasya (Māhātmya Khaṇḍa)

Bombay

31. Avadhūta Gītā with Merudatta's Ṭikā.
32. Dattātreyā Kavacaḥ.
33. Dattātreyā Sahasranāma (from Dattātreyā Saṃhitā.)
34. Dattātreyā Tantra (3 Paṭalas.)
35. Tattvopaniṣad by Dattātreyā.

Calcutta

36. Dattātreyā Tantram.

Madras

37. Dattātreyā Kalpa.
38. Dattātreyā Kavacaḥ. (2 Mss)
39. Dattātreyā Gāyatri.
40. Dattātreyā Gītā.
41. Dattātreyā Cakram.
42. Dattātreyā Campuḥ. (2 Mss.)
43. Dattātreyā Tantram. (4 Mss).
44. Dattātreyā Digbandhanam.
45. Dattātreyā Dvādaśanāma Stotram.
46. Dattātreyā Dvādaśākṣara Mantrarāja Mantraḥ and its Nyāsavidhiḥ.
47. Dattātreyā Dvādaśākṣarādīmanantroddhāraḥ.
48. Dattātreyā Navākṣaramantraḥ.
49. Dattātreyā Pañcāśannāmastotram.
50. Dattātreyā Bodhaḥ (3 Mss.).
51. Dattātreyā Bhujāṅga Stotram.
52. Dattātreyā Matam (Āndhra Ṭikā Sahitam.)
53. Dattātreyā Mantraḥ (4 Mss.)
54. Dattātreyā Mālāmantraḥ. (4 Mss.)
55. Dattātreyā Vajra Kavacaḥ. (6 Mss.)
56. Dattātreyā Vāsya Mantraḥ.
57. Dattātreyā Ṣaḍākṣarī Mantrarāja Mantraḥ.
58. Dattātreyā Ṣoḍaśākṣara Mantrarāja Mantraḥ.
59. Dattātreyā Sandhyā Vidhiḥ.
60. Dattātreyā Sahasranāma Stotram (2 Mss.)
61. Dattātreyā Stambhana Mantraḥ.
62. Dattātreyā Stotram (4 Mss.)
63. Dattātreyāṣṭottaraśatanāma Stotram. (2 Mss.)
64. Dattātreyā Ekākṣara Mantraḥ.
65. Dattātreyocchātana Mantraḥ.
66. Dattātreyopaniṣad (3 Mss.)
67. Dattātreyā Kavacam.

68. Dattātreyā Mantrarāja Mahā Mantraḥ.
69. Avadhūta Gītā Savyākhyā.
70. Avadhūta Gītā Saṅkīrṇa.
71. Dattātreyāśaṭakamu (6 Mss.)
72. Dattayogindravaryaśaṭakamu.
73. Yogaśāstram.
74. Avadhūtagītāsāraḥ.
75. Dattātreyā Parvatada.

Mysore

76. Dattātreyopaniṣad.

Oxford

77. Dattātreyopaniṣad (2 Mss.)
78. Dattātreyā Tantra.
79. Dattātreyā Daśaka.
80. Dattātreyā Stotra.

Poona

81. Dattātreyā Kalpa.
82. Dattātreyā Tantra (3 Mss.)
83. Dattātreyā Gorakṣa—Saṃvāda.
84. Dattārcandkaumudī.
85. Dattārcanapaddhati.

Tanjore

86. Dattātreyā Mantraḥ.
87. Dattātreyā Kavacam.
88. Dattātreyā Prātaḥsmaraṇaślokaḥ.
89. Dattātreyā Daśanāma Stotram.
90. Dattātreyā Dvādaśanāma Stotraṃ. (4 Mss.)
91. Dattātreyā Pañcāśatstotram.
92. Dattātreyā Śatanāma.
93. Dattātreyā Satpañcāśannāma. (13 Mss.)
94. Dattātreyā Sahasranāma.
95. Dattātreyāṣṭottarasahasranāma Stotram.
96. Dattātreyāṣṭottaraśatanāma. (3 Mss.)
97. Dattātreyāṣṭāvīṃśatyuttaranāma. (2 Mss.)
98. Dattātreyā Stotram (7 Mss.)
99. Dattātreyā Kalpaḥ.
100. Avadhūta Gītā (13 Mss.)
101. Dattātreyā Vrataḥ.
102. Dattātreyopaniṣad. (2 Mss.)
103. Jivanmukta Lakṣaṇam.

Udaipur.

- 104. Avadhūta Gītā (2 Mss.)
- 105. Dattātreyā Tantram.
- 106. Dattātreyā Pūjā Paddhatiḥ.
- 107. Dattātreyā Sahasranāma Stotram.
- 108. Avadhūta Stotram.

Ujjain

- 109. Datta—Janma Kathā.
- 110. Datta—Stava.
- 111. Dattātreyā Tantram.
- 112. Dattātreyā Tantram.

Ulwār

- 113. Dattātreyā—Gorṣa—Saṃvāda.
- 114. Dattātreyā Tantra.
- 115. Dattātreyā Sahasranāman.
- 116. Dattātreyā Stotram.

Over and above the above-mentioned Mss. the following are noted by Theodor Aufrecht in the *Catalogus Catalogorum* :—

- 117. (i) Dattagītā or Dattātreyagītā.
- 118. (ii) Dattaprakaraṇa.
- 119. (iii) Dattabhujāṅgastotra.
- 120. (iv) Dattamahimākhyastotra.
- 121. (v) Dattahomānukramaṇikā.
- 122. (vi) Dattātreyacandrikā
- 123. (vii) Dattātreyapaddhati.
- 124. (viii) Dattārcanakaumudī.
- 125. (ix) Dattātreyapūjana.
- 126. (x) Dattātreyamahāpūjāvarṇana.

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