

81

The M. S. University Oriental Series, No. 4

GĪRVĀṄAPADAMAÑJARĪ
AND
GĪRVĀṄAVĀNMAÑJARĪ

Edited with an Introduction
by
Umakant Premanand Shah
M.A., Ph.D., Dipl. in Museology.



934
Sh 13

934
Sh 13 G

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE
BARODA

934
Sh 13 G



Library

IIAS, Shimla



00007244



**INDIAN INSTITUTE OF
ADVANCED STUDY
SIMLA**

The M. S. University Oriental Series

General Editor

B. J. Sandesara

Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda

No. 4

GĪRVĀṆAPADAMAÑJARĪ
AND
GĪRVĀṆAVĀNMAÑJARĪ

Edited with an Introduction

by

Umakant Premanand Shah

M.A., Ph.D., Dipl. in Museology.

Deputy Director, Oriental Institute,
M. S. University of Baroda



**ORIENTAL INSTITUTE
BARODA
1960**

DATA ENTERED

**MOTILAL BANARSIDASS
DELHI 7**

CATALOGUED

First Edition

Reprinted from the Journal of the Oriental Institute.



Price Rs. 6/-

934
SHIRLA



Printed by Ramanlal J. Patel, Manager, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda Press
(Sadhana Press), Near Palace Gate, Palace Road, Baroda and published by
Professor B. J. Sandesara, Director, Oriental Institute,
Station Road, Baroda, September, 1960.

FOREWORD

The Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī and Gīrvāṇavāñmañjarī were published in Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. VII, no. 4 (June, 1958) and the Introduction to them appeared in instalments in subsequent issues of the JOI, Vol. VIII, nos. 1 to 4, Vol. IX. nos. 1-3 (from September, 1958 to March, 1960). The work is being published here as M. S. University Oriental Series No. 4.

These two small texts, though originally composed for teaching Sanskrit by direct method, have, like the Ukti-Vyakti-Prakarana (published in Singhi Series), supplied to us good deal of cultural data for c. 17th century A. D. and as such they are valuable documents for students of Indian culture.

Dr. Umakant Shah has, in his exhaustive Introduction, laid due stress on this aspect of the two texts and has discussed the cultural data at considerable length. The Introduction has thus served the purpose of a cultural study of the two texts. Readers will, therefore, excuse us for putting the Introduction after the printed text in this volume.

While the Introduction was being published in instalments in the JOI it was widely appreciated and I hope students of Indian Culture will be glad to receive this in a bound volume.

Baroda,
30th November, '60

B. J. SANDESARA
Director



॥ गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी ॥

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।

केवलवैदिकानां व्यवहारार्थं कतिपयसंस्कृतपदानि मया विलिख्यन्ते २ ॥

“ अरे मया स्नानार्थं गम्यते ३ ।

“ शीघ्रं गन्तव्यम् ४ । पाकस्तु जातः । ”

“ कति ब्राह्मणाः भोजनार्थमानेयाः ५ । ”

“ एक एव ब्राह्मणः आनेयः ।

“ स्नानसामग्रीं तर्हि दातव्या । जलपात्रं ग्राह्यम् । कुशाः ग्राह्याः । तिलाः ग्राह्याः ६ । खड्गपात्रं ग्राह्यम् । तिलकसाधनं ग्राह्यम् । शुद्धवस्त्रं ग्राह्यम् । उत्तरीयं ग्राह्यम् । ”

एतत्सर्वं गृहीत्वा मणिकर्णिकायां गत्वा यथाविधि स्नात्वा ७ संन्यासिनां समुदाये गत्वा दण्डप्रणामं कृत्वा “ स्वामिनः भिक्षार्थं आगन्तव्यम् ” इति प्रार्थितवान् ८ । स्वामिनः उचुः—

“ कति संन्यासिन अपेक्षिताः ९ । द्राविडाः वा अपेक्षिताः । आन्ध्राः १० वा अपेक्षिताः । कार्णाटकाः वा अपेक्षिताः । महाराष्ट्राः वा आभीराः ११ वा अपेक्षिताः । गौर्जराः १२ वा अपेक्षिताः । गौडाः वा अपेक्षिताः । मैथिलाः वा अपेक्षिताः । औत्कलाः १३ वा अपेक्षिताः । कान्यकुब्जाः वा अपेक्षिताः । सारस्वताः वा अपेक्षिताः । ”

“ एकः कार्णाटकोऽपेक्षितः । ”

“ कुत्र स्थीयते भवता । ”

“ काश्यां स्थीयते मया । ”

“ काश्यामपि क स्थीयते त्वया । राजघट्टे वा स्थीयते, गोघट्टे वा स्थीयते, १४ त्रिलोचनघट्टे वा स्थीयते । १५ ब्रह्मघट्टे वा विद्यते दुर्गाघट्टे वा विद्यते, बिन्दुमाधवघट्टे वा विद्यते, मङ्गलागौरीघट्टे वा स्थीयते । रामघट्टे वा स्थीयते । अश्वरघट्टे वा स्थीयते । नागेश्वरघट्टे वा स्थीयते । वीरेश्वरघट्टे वा स्थीयते । सिद्धिविनायकघट्टे वा तिष्ठसि त्वम् । स्वर्गद्वारप्रदेशे वा तिष्ठसि त्वम् । मोक्षद्वारप्रदेशे वा तिष्ठसि त्वम् । गङ्गाकेशवपार्श्वे वा तिष्ठसि त्वम् । जरासंधघट्टे वा वर्त्तसे त्वम् । वृद्धादित्यघट्टे वा वर्त्तसे

१ B. on folio 1a has ॥ अथ बृहन्नापामंजिरि प्रारम्भः ॥ The text begins on Folio 1b in B. O has no title on folio 1a and the text begins on folio 1b.
२ O. omits केवल.....विलिख्यते ॥ ३ N.B. गन्तव्यं. ४ B—शीघ्रं गन्तव्यं. O omits
५ O—अरेयाः ६ O—omits तिला ग्राह्याः । ७ O—स्नानं कृत्वा ८ O—प्रार्थयेत् ।
९ N & B add after this, कियन्तः संन्यासिनः अपेक्षिताः । १० O—अंध्रा ११ O & B—अभीरा
-N—आभीरा. १२ O—गुर्जरा १३ O—औत्कला B—औकुला १४ B omits १५ O omits
ब्रह्मघट्टेमङ्गलागौरी घट्टे वा विद्यते ।

त्वम् । सोमेश्वरघ० वा स्वीयते । दशश्वमेधे वा तिष्ठसि त्वम् । चतुःषष्टिगोगिनीव० वा वर्त्तसे त्वम् ।
 १ मयेश्वरघ० वा विद्यसे त्वम् । मानसरोचरे वा तिष्ठसि त्वम् । केदारेश्वरघ० वा स्वीयते । रामेश्वरे वा
 स्वीयते । लोलाके वा स्वीयते । असीसङ्गमे वा स्वीयते । वस्त्रासङ्गमे वा स्वीयते । ”

“ विन्दुमाधवघटे अहं तिष्ठामि स्वामिनः । ”

“ विन्दुमाधवघटेऽपि कुत्र तिष्ठसि त्वम् । लक्ष्मीचुसिंहसमीपे वा तिष्ठसि त्वम् । १ पञ्च-
 गङ्गेश्वरनिकटे वा तिष्ठसि त्वम् । आदिविश्वेश्वरनिकटे वा तिष्ठसि त्वम् । दक्षेश्वरसन्निधौ वा
 तिष्ठसि त्वम् । दुग्धविनायकनिकटे वा तिष्ठसि त्वम् । कालभैरवनिकटे वा तिष्ठसि त्वम् । ”

“ दुग्धविनायकनिकटे तिष्ठाम्यहं स्वामिनः । ”

“ दुग्धविनायकनिकटे कस्य गृहे वर्त्तसे त्वम् । तिस्मामभट्टगृहे वर्त्तसे त्वम् । रामभट्टगृहे वा
 वर्त्तसे त्वम् । शिवभट्टगृहे वा वर्त्तसे त्वम् । १ लक्ष्मणभट्टगृहे वा वर्त्तसे त्वम् । २ कृष्णभट्टगृहे वा
 वर्त्तसे त्वम् । नारायणभट्टगृहे त्वं वर्त्तसे भैरवभट्टगृहे वर्त्तसे [वा] ।

“ शिवभट्टगृहे अहं वर्त्ते । ”

“ शिवभट्टगृहेऽपि पूर्वशालायां त्वं विद्यसे । अथवा दक्षिणशालायां विद्यसे पश्चिमशालायां
 विद्यसे १ उत्तरशालायां वा विद्यसे । प्रासादे वा विद्यसे । ”

“ उत्तरशालायां तिष्ठामो वयं स्वामिनः । ”^८

“ तव नामधेयं कथं व्यवहरन्ति जनाः । ”

“ मम नाम अलर्षियुधमुखजकृत्पुनन्दर-गरुडध्वज-वाजपेयीति व्यवहरन्ति जनाः । ”

“ एतादृशं स्थूलं नाम धृतवानसि । त्वया किं किं पठितमस्ति । ”

“ वेदचतुष्टयं साङ्गं पठितमस्ति । दर्शनषट्कं साङ्गं पठितमस्ति । ”

“ तेषां नामानि कानि । ”

“ ऋग्वेदः । यजुर्वेदः । सामवेदः । आथर्वणवेदः^{१०} । इति चत्वारो वेदाः । ”

शिक्षा कल्पो व्याकरणं निरुक्तं छन्दो ज्योतिष^{११}मिति षडङ्गानि ।

वैशेषिकं तर्कः साङ्ख्यं योगः मीमांसा वेदान्त इति षड् दर्शनानि^{१२} ।

“ तेषां स्थानानि कानि । अङ्गानामुपाङ्गानां च । ”

“ मुखं व्याकरणं वेदस्य^{१३} ज्योतिषं नेत्रमुच्यते ।

निरुक्तं श्रोत्रमुद्दिष्टं^{१४} छन्दसां विचिन्तिः^{१५} पदे ॥

शिक्षा प्राणं तु वेदस्य हस्तौ कल्पान्प्रचक्षते^{१६} ।

गुदद्वारं न्यायशास्त्रं लिङ्गं वैशेषिकं स्मृतम् ॥

१ O omits सर्वेश्वर.....केदारेश्वरघटे वा स्वीयते । २ O omits पञ्चगङ्गेश्वर.....दक्षेश्वरसन्निधौ
 वा तिष्ठसि त्वम् । ३ B & O omit ref. to तिस्मामभट्ट & रामभट्ट. ४ B. and N. omit
 ५ O omits ६ O-वर्तते । ७ B repeats उत्तरशालायां विद्यसे । ८ O-अहं उत्तरशालायां तिष्ठामि
 स्वामिनः । ९ N. omits साङ्गं. O-पठितं १० O-अथर्ववेदः ११ N. B.-ज्योतिषमिति
 O-ज्योतिषः १२ O omits इति षड्दर्शनानि १३ N.B.-मुख्यं व्याकरणं तस्य १४ O-निरुक्तं छन्दो-
 श्रात्रमुद्दिष्टं । १५ O-विचिन्ति १६ O-प्रचक्षते

पृष्ठवंशस्तु मीमांसा साङ्ख्ययोगं तु पार्श्वकौ ।

ब्रह्मरन्ध्रं तु वेदान्तमिति ज्ञात्वा पठेन्नरः ॥”

“अन्यत्किञ्चित्पठितमस्ति ।”

“क्राव्यं पठितं नाटकमपि पठितम् । अलङ्कारमपठिषम् ।

सृष्टिमपठिषम् । सङ्गीतमपठिषम् ।”

“अतिसमीचीनं जातम् । श्रोत्रियोऽसि । अयं त्रिविक्रमाश्रम आयास्यति सिद्धार्थम् । अनेन भवतां गृहं न ज्ञायते सहैव गृहीत्वा गृहे ‘गन्तव्यं त्वया ।’

“ अवश्यं गृहीत्वा गम्यते मया ।”

ततः गृहे आगत्य—“ अरे चरणप्रक्षालनार्थं स्वामिनामुदकं दातव्यम् ।” इति उक्तवान् । ततो उदके दत्ते सति पादौ प्रक्षाल्य पीठे उपवेश्य “ स्वामिनां पूर्वाश्रमे को ग्रामः ” इति पृष्ठवान् ।

“ अस्माकं पूर्वाश्रमे विद्यानगरम् ”

“ तत्र किं किं वर्तते ”

“ तत्र सर्वे पदार्थाः वर्तन्ते ।”

“ तत्र के के पदार्थाः विद्यन्ते ।

“ वज्र-वैडूर्य-गोमेश-गुणपराग-मुक्ताफलदीनि सर्वरत्नानि सन्ति । सुवर्ण-रजत-ताम्रादीनि लोहानि सन्ति । समीचीनानि वस्त्राणि सन्ति । समीचीनं मलयचन्दनमस्ति । भीमसेनीकर्पूरमस्ति । कस्तूर्युस्ति । समीचीनानि क्रमुकफलानि सन्ति । नागवल्लीदलानि श्वेततराणि^१ सन्ति । उत्तमलवङ्गाः सन्ति ।^२ नालिकेरफलानि वर्तन्ते । कदलीफलानि सन्ति । श्वेतपुनर्नवालताः सन्ति । निष्पावलताः सन्ति । ताम्बूलीलताः सन्ति । मरीचलताः सन्ति । द्राक्षालताः विद्यन्ते । गुडूचीलताः विद्यन्ते । सोमलताः विद्यन्ते ।^३ फलीकृतृणानि वर्तन्ते ।^४ मूषकपर्णालताः विद्यन्ते^५ । उत्तरीलताः विद्यन्ते । वज्रवल्लीलताः सन्ति । गुञ्जालताः सन्ति । गोक्षुरकलताः सन्ति ।

अश्वत्थवृक्षाः सन्ति । वटवृक्षाः सन्ति । प्लक्षवृक्षाः सन्ति^६ । जम्बूवृक्षाः^७ सन्ति ।^८ आम्रवृक्षाः सन्ति । सहकारवृक्षाः सन्ति । आमलकीवृक्षाः सन्ति । कुवलीवृक्षाः^९ सन्ति ।^{१०} तिलिनीवृक्षाः सन्ति । निम्बवृक्षाः सन्ति । ऋषित्यवृक्षाः सन्ति । दाडिमवृक्षाः सन्ति । पनसवृक्षाः सन्ति । बिल्ववृक्षाः सन्ति । मधुवृक्षाः सन्ति । नारङ्गीवृक्षाः सन्ति । जम्बीरवृक्षाः सन्ति । तमालवृक्षाः सन्ति । तालवृक्षाः सन्ति । क्रमुकवृक्षाः सन्ति । नारिकेलवृक्षाः सन्ति । शालवृक्षाः सन्ति । हरीतकीवृक्षाः सन्ति । निम्बवृक्षाः सन्ति । महानिम्बवृक्षाः सन्ति । खदिरवृक्षाः सन्ति । धक्कवृक्षाः सन्ति । अशोकवृक्षाः सन्ति । कदलीवनानि

१ N. क्राव्यमपठिषम् । नाटकमपठिषम् । O—नाटकमपठितम् २ O—अलंकारं पठितं ३ O—सृष्टिमपठितं ४ O—सांगीतमपठितं ५ B—सहैव गृहीत्वा गन्तव्यं O—सहैव गृहे गन्तव्यं ६ O—उपवेश्य ७ O. B—विद्यानगरः ८ O—तत्र किं वर्तते । ९ O—श्वेततराणि. १० B—नारीकेल. ११ O—फलीकृतृ B—पूतीक ? फलीक ? १२ O—सुपुर्णा. १३ O adds कषियवृक्षाः सन्ति which is obviously an error here. १४ O omits वटवृ० and प्लक्षवृ० १५ O—जंबुकवृक्षाः १६ O adds अशोक कदलीवनानी सं० १७ O—कदलीवृ० वेणवा सन्ति । १८ O omits तिलिनीवृक्षाः.....धक्कवृक्षाः सन्ति ।

सन्ति । वेणवः सन्ति । बदरीवृक्षाः सन्ति । खर्जूरीवृक्षाः सन्ति । ^१पारिजातवृक्षाः सन्ति । अर्कवृक्षाः सन्ति । स्तु(स्तु)हीवृक्षाः सन्ति । निर्गुण्डवृक्षाः सन्ति । भूर्जवृक्षाः सन्ति । चम्पकवृक्षाः सन्ति । पाटलवृक्षाः सन्ति । कलिद्रुमाः^२ सन्ति । बकुलद्रुमाः सन्ति । पलाशतरवः सन्ति । शिशुतरवः सन्ति । ^३उदुम्बरतरवः सन्ति । अर्जुनतरवः सन्ति ।

इक्षुगुल्माः सन्ति । ^४एलागुल्माः वर्तन्ते । ^५धतूरगुल्माः वर्तन्ते । ^६केतकीगुल्माः वर्तन्ते । वृहतीगुल्माः वर्तन्ते । ^७कण्टकाटी(री)गुल्माः वर्तन्ते । ^८चित्रकगुल्माः वर्तन्ते । ^९महाटी (?) गुल्माः वर्तन्ते । करवीरगुल्माः वर्तन्ते । जातीगुल्माः वर्तन्ते । मल्लीकागुल्माः वर्तन्ते । मालतीगुल्माः वर्तन्ते । ^{१०}शृङ्गवेरगुल्माः सन्ति । हरिद्रागुल्माः सन्ति । अपामार्गगुल्माः सन्ति । तुलसीगुल्माः सन्ति ।

वन्धूकपुष्पाणि सन्ति । पाटलपुष्पाणि सन्ति । पुन्नागपुष्पाणि सन्ति । केतकीपुष्पाणि सन्ति । ^{११}कादम्बपुष्पाणि सन्ति । ^{१२}जपाकुसुमानि सन्ति । विल्वपत्राणि विद्यन्ते । तुलसीपत्राणि विद्यन्ते । तुलसीदलानि सन्ति । जातीकुसुमानि सन्ति । मल्लिकाकुसुमानि सन्ति । चम्पककुसुमानि सन्ति । करवीर-कुसुमानि सन्ति । बकुलकुसुमानि विद्यन्ते । अरविन्दपुष्पाणि सन्ति । कुमुदपुष्पाणि सन्ति । कुवलय-पुष्पाणि सन्ति । ^{१३}उत्पलपुष्पाणि सन्ति ।

महान्ति सरांसि विद्यन्ते । ^{१४}सरसी विद्यते । स्वामिनः तडागानि विद्यन्ते^{१५} ।”

इत्युक्ते, —

“ किं नद्यः न सन्ति । दक्षिणदेशे बह्व्यः नद्यः वर्तन्ते । काकानदी वर्तते । ताम्रपर्णी वर्तते । घृतम(मा)ली^{१६} वर्तते । कावेरी वर्तते । पयस्विनी वर्तते । तुङ्गभद्रा वर्तते । कृष्णवेणी^{१७} वर्तते । गोदावरी वर्तते । एताः महानद्यः अन्या बहवः नद्यः असङ्ख्याताः सन्ति ।”

“ स्वामिनः भवतां देशे कानि कानि तीर्थानि सन्ति ।”

“ सेतुबन्धरामेश्वरो वर्तते । कन्याकुमारी वर्तते । अनन्तसेनक्षेत्रं वर्तते । ^{१८}जनार्दनक्षेत्रं वर्तते । गोकर्णक्षेत्रं वर्तते । महाबलेश्वरतीर्थं वर्तते । पुण्डरीकपुरक्षेत्रं वर्तते । त्र्यम्बकक्षेत्रं वर्तते । नासिकाक्षेत्रं^{१९} वर्तते । धर्मपुरीक्षेत्रं वर्तते । गोदावरीसङ्गमोऽस्ति । कृष्णासङ्गमोऽस्ति । कावेरीसङ्गमोऽस्ति । ताम्रपर्णी-सङ्गमोऽस्ति । श्रीशैलक्षेत्रमस्ति^{२०} । काञ्चीक्षेत्रमस्ति । सुव्रह्मण्यतीर्थमस्ति । शङ्करनारायणक्षेत्रमस्ति । वेङ्कटाचलक्षेत्रमस्ति । कालहस्तिक्षेत्रमस्ति । अन्यान्यपि तीर्थान्यनेकानि वर्तन्ते ।”

“ स्वामिनः अतः परं मित्रा भवतु ।”

१ O omits पारिजात... अर्कवृक्षाः सन्ति । २ O—कलिद्रुमाः ३ B—उदुम्बर० ४ O—एलागुल्माः ५ O—धतूर० B—धलूर ६ The order of गुल्माः adopted in the text is from B. O mentions करवीर गुल्माः after धतूर०, वृहतीगु० जातकी०, मल्लीका and मालती० after केतकीगुल्मा, but before कण्टकारीगु० ७ B—कंटकाटी० O—कंटिकारा ८ O—चित्रगुल्माः ९ B—महाटी० O—महांठि० १० O—शृंगवेश ११ O—कदंब १२ O—जवा० १३ O omits कुवलय० १४ O omits सरसी विद्यन्ते । १५ B repeats. १६ B—घृतमली० O—घृतमाली० १७ O—कृष्णवेण. १८ C begins here on Folio 6a. Other Folios are missing. १९ O—नासिके० २० O—कांचि०

“ मया किं कर्तव्यम् । भवद्भिरेव परिवेषणं न कार्यते । प्रायः पाको न जातः । पाको जात-
श्चेत्परिवेषणं कार्यताम् । ”

“ अतः परं कार्यते मया । ”

“ शीघ्रं कार्यताम् । ”

[इत्युक्ते सः स्वामिने] स्थूलरम्भाग्रपत्रं दत्त्वा दशपत्रपुटानि [च] दत्त्वा सर्वसामग्रीसहितव्यञ्जनानि
दापयित्वा^१ शाल्योदनं दापयित्वा यथासुखं भोजितवान् । भोजनानन्तरम्—

“ अरे स्वामिनां हस्तप्रक्षालनार्थमुदकं देयम्^२ । मृत्तिका दातव्या । दन्तशोधनार्थं शलाका
दातव्या । ”

हस्तप्रक्षालनानन्तरं स्थूलपीठे उपवेश्य शुद्धाऽऽचमनार्थमुदकं दत्त्वा शुद्धाचमनानन्तरं श्रीचन्दनं
कस्तूरीकपूरसहितं सर्वशरीरे लापयित्वा मुष्टिपरिमितलवङ्गान्दत्त्वा नानाविधपुष्पमालाः कण्ठे दत्त्वा
समीचीनममूल्यवस्त्रद्वयं दत्त्वा साष्टाङ्गदण्डवत्प्रणामं कृत्वा—

“ भो स्वामिनः अतिकालो जातः । शाकपाकादिकं किमपि न जातम् । ”

इति प्रार्थितवान् । बहुधा^३ प्रार्थनाऽनन्तरं श्रीपादाः वदन्ति—

“ नारायण अतीव सम्भ्रमो जातः । ”

“ भवद्भिः कम्बलोपरि उपविश्यताम् स्वामिनः । ”

“ उपविश्यते । ”

कम्बलोपर्युपवेशनानन्तरं गृहमध्ये यावन्तः स्थिताः ते सर्वे नमस्कारार्थमागताः । स्वामिनः ऊचुः—

“ एते के के वर्तन्ते । ”

“ अयमस्माकं पिता भवति । इयमस्माकं माता भवति । अयमस्माकं पितामहो भवति ।
इयमस्माकं पितामही भवति । अयमस्माकं प्रपितामहो भवति । इयमस्माकं प्रपितामही भवति^४ ।
अयं मम ज्येष्ठभ्राता भवति । इयं मम ज्येष्ठा भगिनी भवति । अयं मम कनिष्ठभ्राता भवति । इयं
मम कनिष्ठा भगिनी भवति । एते मम ज्येष्ठपितृव्या भवन्ति । एते मम कनिष्ठपितृव्या भवन्ति । इयं
पितृभगिनी भवति । इयं मातृभगिनी भवति^५ । अयं मातुलो भवति । इयं मातुलानी भवति । इयं

१ O—स्थूलरंभाग्रपत्रं दत्त्वा । पत्रपुटानिदत्त्वा सर्वसामग्री गृहीत्वा व्यञ्जनानि दापयित्वा ।

B—स्थूलरंभाग्रपत्रं दशपत्रपुटानिदा सर्वसामग्रीसहितव्यञ्जनानि etc.

२ C & B—दातव्यं

३ O—बहुप्रार्थना०

४ C—नारायण नारायण नारायण अतीवसम्भ्रमो०

५ C—adds अयमस्माकं प [प्र] पितामहो भवति । इयमस्माकं प्रपितामही भवति ।

६ B, O and C add here इयं पितृवसा भवति । इयं मम मातृवसा भवति । But this would
be redundant in view of पितृभगिनी and मातृभगिनी noted above. The use of the word
स्वसृ can be shown by emending the text as इयं पितृवसा भवति । इयं मातृभगिनी भवति ।
However since all mss. give the above text, we have to take इयं पितृवसा....इयं मम
मातृवसा..... । as a probable later addition.

१ B omits म २ C—शब्दो ३ B adds अर्थ मम प्रपञ्चो भवति । C—अर्थ मम म [म] भवति । ४ O—एवं संख्याति । B—अर्थ मम संख्याति । ५ B & C—पाठितं ६ O—omits संख्याति ७ B & O—पृष्ठे ८ O—वक्तव्यमिति चेत् ९ O—वक्तव्यमिति चेत् १० B—कानि दर्शयानि ११ O—उक्तव्यो B—तथापि C—नापिप्यो । १२ O—नाममपि

कथयन्तानामपि एवं' शास्त्रेण विमोहनम् ॥ इति ॥
 कथितं तत्रापि तदर्थं नास्ति कश्चिन्नम एव च ।

अतएव हेतुवैयर्थ्यात्—

लामाहात्म्योत्तरात्सु पुत्रास्ते गो (गौ) तमादयः । इति ।

स पुत्राजनयामास गो (गौ) तमादौ तमादयसाः ।

स वै वीरवमा "नामोत्तरात्सु पुत्राः ।

निष्पन्नं वदन्ते । तथा हि—अतिवृत्तौ भीमोत्तरात्सु पुत्राः कृत्ये आह—

करणेन न बोध्यते । तस्मात्प्रकारेण अतीव कठिनं भवति । किं च तत्रैवैविकारोक्तिं कानिचैवैविकारोक्तिं ।
 "पदच्छेदः पदार्थोक्तिः विमोहो वाक्ययोजना । इत्येतत्सर्वं व्याकरणे विना केनापि अवैयर्थ्या-

"शान्त एवैव । कथमिति चेत्, शृणु ।

"स्वात्मिनः व्याकरणे विद्वेष्य अन्वयानि दर्शयानि कथं पठन्ति लोकाः ।"

सुखमङ्गं भवति वेदस्य । दर्शयानि तु नाप्यन्वयानि भवन्ति वेदस्यैवैविकारोक्तिः ।"

याददव्यवहारी सुखः । व्याकरणे गोपाः दर्शयन्ति तु अतीव गौपाः । तत्रैवैविकारोक्तिं चेत्, शृणु । व्याकरणे-

"मया समीचीनमुच्यते । तत्रैवैविकारोक्तिं चेत्, शृणु शास्त्रोक्तं वेदः उच्यते । वेदस्यैव शास्त्र-

"वेदं किं कस्मिन् शास्त्रे इति पृष्टं" व्याकरणे इति उच्यते ।"

"व्याकरणे अतीव कठिनं भवति ।"

स्वात्मिनः कथं—

"मया बोध्यते यथापि तदापि भवन्ती वदन्ति ।"

"भवति न बोध्यते वा ।"

"कस्मिन्शास्त्रे आत्मिकोक्तिरिति ।"

"सर्वं मया पठितं भवति ।"

"हे स्वात्मिनः भवति किं किं पठितम् ।"

"अति समीचीनं ज्ञानम् । इदं सर्वं दृष्ट्वा अतिवैयर्थ्यात् ज्ञानः मम ।"

इयं मम वाची भवति । अर्थ मम स्वस्वार्थः भवति ।"

आचार्योक्त्यः भवन्ति । एतानि निश्चयानि भवन्ति । अर्थ मम स्वस्वार्थः । अर्थ मम स्वस्वार्थः । एतानि भवन्ति । अर्थ श्रुत्यै भवति । इयं श्रुत्यै भवति । अर्थ भाविको भवति । एतं आचार्यः भवति । एतानि भवन्ति । अर्थ मम वाची भवति । अर्थ मम वाचा (वाक्) भवति । अर्थ मम प्रपञ्चो भवति । अर्थ मम ज्ञानो भवति । अर्थ मम कथा भवति । अर्थ मम ज्ञानो भवति । अर्थ मम ज्ञानो भवति ।

मोक्षधर्मे—

आन्वीक्षिकीं तर्कविद्यामनुरक्तो निरर्थकां ।^१
हेतुवादान्द्रुवन्सत्सु विजेता ब्राह्मणादिषु^२ ॥
यस्येयं फलनिष्पत्तिः शृगादत्वं मम द्विज ।^३
न तर्कशास्त्रविदग्धाय न वाच्यं पिशुनाय वा^४ ॥ इति ॥

दानधर्मे—

आन्वीक्षिक्यां सदासक्तं नरश्चानं च तं विदुः ।

आदित्यपुराणे—

बौद्धा वैशेषिका जैना भविष्यन्ति कलौ युगे ।

पद्मपुराणे—

क्राणादं गांतमं शक्तिमुपमन्युं च जैमिनिम् ।^५
(कणादः गौतमः शक्तिरुपमन्युश्च जैमिनिः ।)
ऋषयस्तामसा एते^६ तेषां शास्त्रं विमोहनम् ॥
मच्छक्त्याऽवैशितैरेतैरभेदो^७ मम गोपितः ॥

रामायणे अयोध्याकाण्डे—

शास्त्रेष्वन्येषु मुख्येषु विद्यमानेषु दुर्बुधाः ।
बुद्धिमान्वीक्षिकीं प्राप्य निरयं प्रपयन्ति^८ ते ।
भवेत्पण्डितमानी यो ब्राह्मणो वेदनिन्दकः ।
आन्वीक्षिकीं तर्कविद्यामनुरक्तो निरर्थिकाम् ।
हेतुवादान्द्रुवन्सत्सु विजेता हेतुवादिकः^९ ।
आक्रोष्टा चाभिवक्ता च ब्राह्मणानां सदैव हि ।
सर्वाभिशङ्की^{१०} मूढश्च बालः कटुकवागपि ॥
बोद्धव्यस्तादृशस्तात नरश्चानं हि तं विदुः ।
यथा श्वा भक्षितं चैव हन्तुं चैवावसृज्यते ।
एवं सम्भाषणार्थाय सर्वशास्त्रवधाय च^{११} ॥

मिताक्षरायाम्—

हेतुकान्बकवृत्तींश्च वाङ्मात्रेणाऽपि नार्चयेत् ।

१ O—निरर्थिको. B & C—निरर्थिकां २ C—ब्राह्मणादिषु ३ O—द्विजः । B—द्विजा ।
४ B—च ५ C—जैमिनि । ६ C—शास्त्रमेषां ७ O & B—रेतै भेदो ८ B—निरय प्रपयति ०
O—निरयं प्रपयतेति । C—निरयं प्रपयति ते । ९ C—विजेतां हेत्वादिकः । O—विजेता हेतुवादिकः ।
B—विजेता हेतुवादिकः । १० C—सर्वाभिःशङ्की ० B—सर्वभिः शङ्की O—सर्वश्रिभिः शक्ति ११ C—एवं
संभारणार्थं य ० O—एवं संभाषणार्थां य B—एव संभाषणार्थाय (Passage not traceable in printed
edition of Rāmāyana, Southern Recension.)

तर्काप्रतिष्ठानादिति व्याससूत्रम् । (ब्र. सू. २-१-११)
नैषा तर्केण मतिरापनेया इति श्रुतिः । (का. १-२-९)

पादौ पार्वतीं प्रति ईश्वर आह—

मच्छकृत्यावेशितैर्विप्रैस्सम्प्रोक्तानि ततः परम् ।
काणादेन तु सम्प्रोक्तं शास्त्रं वैशेषिकं महत् ॥
गोतमेन^१ तथा न्यार्यं साहस्यं तु कपिलेन वै ।
द्विजन्मना जैमिनिना पूर्वैदमयथार्थतः^२ ॥
निरीश्वरेण वादेन कृतं शास्त्रं महत्तरम् ॥ इति ।

पाराशरोपपुराणो—

अक्षपादप्रणीते च काणादे साहस्ययोग्योः ।
त्याज्यः श्रुतिविद्वद्भांशो श्रुत्यैकशरणैर्नृभिः ॥
जैमिनीये च वैयासे विद्वद्भांशो न कश्चन ॥ इति ।

ब्रह्मवैवर्ते काशीमाहात्म्ये—

तर्कशास्त्रं पठित्वाऽत्यन्तं परिभाष्य महातात्किंको जातः । तदनन्तरमगम्यागमनादिकं कृत्वाऽपेय-
पानादिकं च कृत्वा मातुलानीभक्षणं च कृत्वा स्थितवान् बहुकालपर्यन्तं पापी विरायुरिति न्यायात् । ततः
मृतः नष्टदेशे गत्वा पश्चात्कद्र्यदेशे कलिश्रुशोपरि महापिशाचो भूत्वा बहुकालपर्यन्तं स्थितः द्विजजिता^३
नाम कश्चन ब्राह्मणः—इत्यादि सर्वत्र श्रूयते ।

अत एव बृहदारण्यकभाष्ये आचार्यचरणैरुक्तम्—

पुच्छविषाणहीनास्तात्किंकवलीवर्दाः प्रत्यवतिष्ठन्त इति । तस्माद्वैशेषिके तर्कं च अत्यन्तं न पठनीय-
मित्येव प्रतीयते । ”

वाजपेयी आह—

“ सत्यम् । तर्कं पठित्वा वक्तारो भवन्ति तदर्थं तर्कं पठनीयम् । ”

“ ध्रान्तोऽसि । तर्कं पठित्वाऽपि मूकबद्धं दृश्यन्ते सभायाम् । व्याकरणमायाति चेत्सर्वेशोत्रेषु
सिंहसदृशा भवन्ति वैयाकरणाः । तत्कथमिति चेत्, श्रुणु—भाष्योच्छिष्टं जगत्त्रयमिति प्रसिद्धेः ।

“ व्यासोच्छिष्टं जगत्त्रयमित्यपि श्रूयते स्वामिनः । ”

“ सत्यम् । श्लोकांशो तत् ।

“ स्वामिनः कस्मिन्कस्मिन्शास्त्रं श्रीमद्भिः पठितम् । ”

“ मया सर्वत्र पठितम् ।

“ क्व सर्वत्र । ”

१ O & C—गौतमेन० २ O—पूर्वैदमयथार्थतः । B—पूर्वं वेदमपार्थतः । C—पूर्वं वेदमपार्थतः ।
३ C—पाराशरोपुराणे O & B—पाराशरोय (प) पुराणे ४ O & C—द्विजसेना नाम० ५ C—तर्कं.
O & B—तर्क० ६ B—मूक्ता.

“^१महाभाग्यमपाठिषमहम् । ^२कैश्यटमहं अपाठिषम् । ^३काशिकापुस्तकमहमपाठिषम् । ^४पद-
मञ्जरीमपाठिषमहम् । अनुन्यासरक्षितसहितं ^५न्यासमपाठिषमहम् । ^६धातुवृत्तिपुस्तकानि अपाठिषमहम् ।
^७परिभाषापुस्तकान्यपाठिषमहम् । ^८उणादिवृत्तिपुस्तकान्यपाठिषमहम् । ^९फिट्सूत्रवृत्तिपुस्तकान्यपाठिष-
महम् । ^{१०}लिङ्गानुशासनवृत्तिपुस्तकान्यपाठिषमहम् । उपसर्गवृत्तिमपाठिषमहम् । निपातवृत्तिपुस्तकान्य-
पाठिषमहम् । ^{११}मनोरमासहितं ^{१२}सिद्धान्तकौमुदीमपाठिषम् । ^{१३}मध्यसिद्धान्तकौमुदीमपाठिषम् ।

^{१४}लघुसिद्धान्तकौमुदीमपाठिषम् । ^{१५}शब्दकौस्तुभमपाठिषमहम् । अन्यान्यपि व्याकरणे बहूनि
पुस्तकानि सन्ति । तानि सर्वाण्यपाठिषमहम् ।

१ Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, c. 150 B. C. well-known.

२ Kaiyyaṭa wrote a comm. on Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali.

३ Kāśikāvṛtti is the joint production of Jayāditya and Vāmana and, acc. to It-sing, Jayāditya died in c. 661 A. D. In a well-known verse—अनुत्पन्नपदन्यासा सद्वृत्तिः सन्निबन्धना । शब्दविधेय नो भाति राजनीतिरपस्पशा । Māgha refers to Kāśikāvṛtti and its comm. the Nyāsa.

४ Composed by Haradatta who quotes Māgha by name. Jinendrabuddhi in his Nyāsa freely copied from Padamañjarī.

५ Nyāsa of Jinendrabuddhi on the Kāśikāvṛtti is later than Haradatta's Padamañjarī and Māgha's Śiśupālavadhā, as shown by Kielhorn, JRAS (1908), p. 499. A ms. of Śiśyahitānyāsa, composed by Ugrabhūti on Kātantra-Śiśyahitāvṛtti, is recently discovered and is being edited for the G. O. Series by Dr. V. S. Agrawala. The Nyāsakāra mentioned by Bhāmaha may not be Jinendra-
buddhi.

६ E.g. Mādhaviyā Dhātuvṛtti by Sāyaṇa.

७ E.g. Paribhāṣenduśekhara of Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa.

८ C omits. Commentaries on Uṇādisūtras, e.g. works of Śvetavanavāsī, Sarvajñānārāyaṇa, Ujvaladatta, Bhaṭṭojī Dikṣita.

९ O omits.

१० There are several works of the name. One work Liṅgānuśāsana of Vāmana with Vṛtti is published in G. O. Series No. 6. Liṅgānuśāsana of Durgasimha is published by the Deccan College Post-Graduate Research Institute, Poona.

११ Manoramā is the famous comm. of Bhaṭṭojī Dikṣita on Siddāntakaumudī.

१२ Siddhāntakaumudī composed by Bhaṭṭojī Dikṣita.

१३ O omits. Madhyasiddhāntakaumudī is by Varadarāja (c. 17th cent., A. D.) the author of our text.

१४ Also by Varadarāja.

१५ By Bhaṭṭojī Dikṣita.

वेदान्ते, विवरणे^१ पाठ्यते । कल्पतरुसहितवाचस्पत्ये^२ पाठ्यते । शारीरकीयं भाष्यं^३ पाठ्यते । सुरेश्वरवार्त्तिकं^४ पाठ्यते ।

मीमांसायां, ^५शास्त्रदीपिकामपाठिषम् । ^६तन्त्रवार्त्तिकं सराणकमपाठिषम् । ^७तन्त्ररत्न-
मपाठिषम् । ^८शाबरभाष्यमपाठिषम् ।

तर्के, ^९चिन्तामणिमपाठिषम् । ^{१०}शिरोमणिमपाठिषम् । ^{११}मिश्रमपाठिषम् ।

वैशेषिके, ^{१२}प्रशस्तपादभाष्यमपाठिषम् । ^{१३}कर्द्धमानसहितकिरणावलीमपाठिषम् ।

१ Vivaraṇa is Pañcapādikāvivaraṇa of Prakāśātman (c. 1200 A. D.).

२ Vācaspatya is the Bhāmātī comm. by Vācaspati Miśra (c. 840 A.D.) on Brahmasūtra-Śāṅkara-bhāṣya, while *Kalpa-taru* is a comm. on Bhāmātī by Amalānanda in the middle of the thirteenth century.

३ Śārīrakīyam is the Bhāṣya of Śāṅkara on Bādarāyaṇa's Brahmasūtras.

४ Sureśvaravārtika is a comm. on Śāṅkara's Bhāṣya on the Bṛhad-
āraṇyaka upaniṣad, by the latter's direct disciple Sureśvarācārya.

५ Śāstradīpikā composed by Pārthasārathimiśra (c. 900 A. D.).

६ Tantravārtika of Kumārīlabhaṭṭa (c. 700 A. D.). Rāṇaka is the Nyāya-
sudhā comm. by Someśvara (c. 1500 A. D.) on Tantravārtika.

७ Tantraratna composed by Pārthasārathimiśra.

८ Śābarabhāṣya on Jaimini's Pūrvamīmāṃsā-Sūtras, composed by Śa-
barasvāmin.

९ Cintāmaṇi is the Tattva-Cintāmaṇi of Gaṅgeśopādhyāya (c. 1175
A. D.).

१० Śiromaṇi is a comm. on Tattva-Cintāmaṇi (of Gaṅgeśopādhyāya), by
Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa (c. 1300 A. D.). It is also called Dīdhiti.

११ May be Tarkabhāṣā of Keśavamīśra or works of Vācaspatimiśra—such
as Nyāyavārtika-tātparyāṭikā, Nyāyasūcinibandha etc. ; or Jayadevamīśra's (c.
1278 A. D.) Tattva-Cintāmaṇi-ṭikā (Tattvāloka) and Haridāsamiśra's Tattvā-
lokaṭikā, or Śāṅkaramīśra's (c. 1625 A. D.) Jāgadiśi-ṭikā.

१२ Praśastapāda-bhāṣya on Kaṇāda's sūtras.

१३ Kiraṇāvali is a ṭikā, on Praśasta-pāda-bhāṣya, by Udayanācārya (c.
984 A. D.). Varddhamāna (c. 1150 A. D.) wrote his Kiraṇāvali-prakāśa, a
comm. on the Kiraṇāvali of Udayanācārya.

^३साङ्ख्येऽपि, ^४साङ्ख्यभाष्यं सटिप्पणमपाठिषम् । योगेऽपि ^५व्यासभाष्यसहित ^६पातञ्जल-सूत्राण्यपाठिषम् । ^७योगवाचस्पतिमपाठिषम् ।

^८नैषधकाव्यमपाठिषम् । ^९रघुवंशकाव्यमपाठिषम् । कुमारसम्भवमपाठिषम् । मेघदूतम-पाठिषम् । ^{१०}माघमपाठिषम् । ^{११}किरातमपाठिषम् । अन्यत्तुस्तकमात्रमपाठिषम् ।”

“ स्वामिनः अतिसमीचीनं क्रियते श्रीमद्भिः । कालक्षेपः समीचीनं जायते भवताम् । स्वामिनः भवतां देशे पलाण्डुभक्षणं कुर्वन्तीति ध्रुतं वर्त्तते मया । लशुनभक्षणं कुर्वन्तीति ध्रुतं वर्त्तते मया । तत्सत्यं वा [न] ।

“ एवं मूढा वदन्ति । ये अशिष्टाः पतिताः ^{१२}अब्राह्मणाश्च [ते] भक्षयन्ति समीचीना न भक्षयन्त्येव । ”

“ स्वामिनः अपराधाः क्षन्तव्याः । मया अज्ञात्वा पृष्टम् । ”

“ हे वाजपेयिनः भवतां देशः कः । ”

“ मम ^{१३}कान्यकुब्जदेशः । ”

“ तत्र किं किमस्ति । ”

“ स ^{१४}मध्यदेशो भवति । तत्र सर्वमस्ति । तथा हि—

1 C—omits अपि O—सटिप्पणपाठि.

Kapila is said to be the propagator of the Sāmkhya system. Sāmkhya-sūtras, Kapila-Samhitā, Kapila-Pañcarātra etc. are ascribed to him. Śaṣṭitantra of Vārṣaganya (c. 100 A. D.) and Sāmkhya-kārikā of Īśvarakṛṣṇa (c. 2nd cent. A. D.) are amongst chief early texts of the system.

2 Sāmkhya-bhāṣya is the bhāṣya by Gauḍapādācārya (c. 600-700 A. D.) on the Sāmkhyakārikās of Īśvarakṛṣṇa.

3.4 Vyāsa-bhāṣya is the Yogasūtrabhāṣya by Vyāsa (c. 100 A. D. ?) on the Yoga-Sūtras of Patañjali.

4 C omits योगेऽपि . . . योगवाचस्पतिमपाठिषम् ।

5 Yoga-vācaspati is the Tattva-vaīśārādī, the Yoga-Sūtra-bhāṣya-ṭīkā by Vācaspatimiśra (c. 9th cent. A. D.).

6.9 The well-known Mahākāvya of Śrīharṣa (Naiṣadha) Kālidāsa, (Raghuo, Kumāra and Meghadūta), Māgha (Śiśupālavadha) and Bhāravi (Kirātārjunīyam).

10 O—ब्राह्मणाश्च.

11 Kanauj.

12 For the definition of Madhyadeśa, vide, Manu, II. 21, which defines Madhyadeśa as the country between the Himalaya and Vindhya mountains, which is to the east of Vinaśana (i.e. the dry bed of Sarasvatī where it disappears) and west of Prayāga. For Madhyadeśa, also see, Law, B. C., Historical Geography of Ancient India.

यवारसन्ति । व्रीह्यरसन्ति । चणकारसन्ति । माषारसन्ति । राजमाषारसन्ति । भुद्रासन्ति । सर्षपासन्ति । अतस्यसन्ति । तिलासन्ति । मसूरासन्ति । यवनालासन्ति । प्रियङ्गवसन्ति । श्यामकाः वर्तन्ते । कोद्रवाः वर्तन्ते । ^१अन्यान्यपि धान्यानि वर्तन्ते ।

शर्करासन्ति । गुडोऽस्ति^१ । खण्डशर्करासन्ति । द्राक्षाफलानि सन्ति । खर्जूरफलानि सन्ति । कदलीफलानि सन्ति^२ । कपित्थफलानि सन्ति । बदरीफलानि सन्ति । आम्रफलानि सन्ति । सहकारफलानि^३ सन्ति । ^४कण्टकिकफलानि सन्ति । निम्बूफलानि सन्ति । जम्बीरफलानि सन्ति । ^५चुकमस्ति । तिन्त्रिणीफलमस्ति । ^६त्रिवाफलमस्ति । नारङ्गीफलानि सन्ति । दाडिमफलानि सन्ति । ^७कर्कटीफलानि सन्ति । जम्बूफलानि सन्ति । भल्लातकफलानि सन्ति । अन्यान्यपि बहूनि फलानि सन्ति ।

सैन्धवलवणमस्ति । सामुद्रिकलवणमस्ति । साम्भरलवणमस्ति ।

दुग्धमस्ति । दधि वर्तते । तक्रमस्ति । ^८उदश्चिन्वर्तते । मथितं वर्तते । आमिक्षा वर्तते । नवनीतं वर्तते । फण्टं वर्तते^९ । घृतमस्ति । सर्षपतैलमस्ति । अतसीतैलमस्ति । ^{१०}कुसुम्भतैलमस्ति । तिलतैलमस्ति^{११} । ^{१२}एरण्डतैलमस्ति । निम्बतैलमस्ति^{१३} । मधु वर्तते ।

शुण्ठी-पिप्पली-मरीचानि सन्ति । कटुकरोहिणी वर्तते । पिप्पलीमूलमस्ति । जीरकमस्ति । रामठं वर्तते । आमलकी वर्तते । विभीतकोऽस्ति । ”

“ वाजपेयिनः, जन्तवः के के वर्तन्ते भवतां देशे । ”

“ मनुष्यासन्ति । शरभ-शार्दूल-गण्डभेरण्डाः वर्तन्ते । सिंहाः सन्ति^{१४} । गजासन्ति^{१५} । करेणवः सन्ति । व्याघ्राः सन्ति । व्याघ्रवृक्षः सन्ति^{१६} । भल्लूकाः सन्ति^{१७} । भल्लूक्यः सन्ति^{१८} । वृकाः सन्ति । वृक्यः सन्ति । वराहाः सन्ति । वराह्यः सन्ति । शृगालाः सन्ति । क्रोधूयः सन्ति । श्वा वर्तते । शुनी वर्तते^{१९} । अथाः वर्तन्ते । वडवाः वर्तन्ते । गर्दभा वर्तन्ते । गर्दभ्यः सन्ति । महिषाः वर्तन्ते । महिष्यः सन्ति । बलीवर्द्दाः सन्ति । गावः सन्ति । ज्वागाः सन्ति । ज्वाग्यः सन्ति । अश्वयससन्ति । पशवससन्ति । मूषकाससन्ति । सर्पासन्ति । नकुलाः सन्ति । मार्जाराः सन्ति^{२०} । सरटाः सन्ति । पल्यः सन्ति । मक्षिकासन्ति । मशकाः सन्ति । मत्कुणाः सन्ति ।

“ वाजपेयिनः भवतां देशे कानि कानि तीर्थानि सन्ति । ”

१ O omits. C..... वबहूनि वर्तन्ते । २ C omits. ३ C omits खर्जूर.....कदली.....सन्ति ।
 ४ Cf. अमरकोश, 715—आम्रश्रूतो रसाद्योऽसौ सहकारोऽतिशैरभः । Sahakāra is a very fragrant variety of mango-fruit (āmra). ५ C—कंटक. O—कंटकी. ६ O—चुकमस्ति । B & C—शुक. ७ O—त्रिवा. C—त्रिवा. ८ O—कर्कडी. B—कर्कटी. ९ O—उद्धतं. B—उदरितद्वर्तते । C—उदस्वि. cf: अमरकोश, 1813—तत्र ह्युदश्चिन्मथितं पादाम्ब्वर्धाम्बुनिमैलम् । १० cf: अमर० १३९८—आमिक्षा सा शृणोष्णे या श्नीरे स्याद्दधियोगतः । फण्टम् is a विकार of milk without दधियोग. cf. अमर०, २२१३, अनायासकृतं फण्टम् etc. ११-१४ C omits. १५ B—सिंह्यः सन्ति O—सिंहाः व सिंह्यः सं. C—सिंह्यः सन्ति । १६ O omits. १७ B—व्याधाः सन्ति O omits. १८ B—वक्रक्रा. १९ O omits. २० B omits. २१ C—मार्जार्थ्यः सन्ति ।

“कुरुक्षेत्रमस्ति । सन्निहत्यातीर्थमस्ति । पृथुदकतीर्थमस्ति । इन्द्रप्रस्थपुरे निगमगोचर-
तीर्थमस्ति । मथुराक्षेत्रमस्ति । गोकुलमस्ति । गोवर्द्धनमस्ति । वृन्दावनमस्ति । पुष्करतीर्थमस्ति ।
नर्मदातीर्थमस्ति । अमरकण्ठक्षेत्रमस्ति । तत्र ॐकारेश्वरो वर्तते । चर्मण्वती वर्तते । तापीनदी वर्तते ।
अवन्तिकाक्षेत्रं वर्तते । महाकालेश्वरो वर्तते । नर्मदासङ्गमोऽस्ति । गुप्तप्रयागो वर्तते । सरस्वतीतीरे
प्रभासक्षेत्रं वर्तते । गोमत्यास्ति । पञ्चद्वारकाः वर्तन्ते । सिन्धुसङ्गमो वर्तते । हिङ्गुलादेवीक्षेत्रं वर्तते ।
सिन्धुनदो वर्तते । चन्द्रभागा वर्तते । काश्मीरसोमेश्वरो वर्तते । सन्ध्यावर्द्धनी वर्तते । व्यासगङ्गा वर्तते ।
वसिष्ठाश्रमो वर्तते । मणिमहेशपर्वतोऽस्ति । त्रिलोकनाथक्षेत्रमस्ति । सरोवरतीर्थमस्ति । तप्तमणि-
कर्णिकाऽस्ति^१ । नगरकोटक्षेत्रमस्ति । ज्वालामुखीक्षेत्रमस्ति । इरावती नदी वर्तते । शरावती नदी
वर्तते । पुष्यभद्रायमुनासङ्गमोऽस्ति । यमुनानदी वर्तते । गङ्गोत्तरा वर्तते । मन्दाकिनीतीरे केदार-
क्षेत्रमस्ति । अलकनन्दातीरे बदरिकाश्रमोऽस्ति । मन्दाकिनी-अलकनन्दासङ्गमे रुद्रप्रयागोऽस्ति ।
धवलगङ्गा-अलकनन्दासङ्गमे स्कन्दप्रयागोऽस्ति । भागीरथी-अलकनन्दा-सङ्गमे देवप्रयागोऽस्ति ।
हरिद्वारक्षेत्रमस्ति । कनकलाक्षेत्रमस्ति । अलकनन्दाक्षेत्रमस्ति । कुशावर्त्तक्षेत्रमस्ति । वटमुक्तेश्वर-
क्षेत्रमस्ति । हस्तिनापुरक्षेत्रमस्ति । सम्भलाग्रामोऽस्ति । सूकरक्षेत्रमस्ति । नैमिषारण्यमस्ति । उत्तर-
गोकर्णमस्ति । सरयूनद्यस्ति । अयोध्याक्षेत्रमस्ति । नन्दिग्रामक्षेत्रमस्ति । गङ्गायमुनासङ्गमे वटप्रयागोऽ-
स्ति । काशीक्षेत्रमस्ति । तत्र^२ विश्वेश्वरोऽस्ति । गयातीर्थमस्ति । तत्र गदाधरोऽस्ति ।^३ फल्गुनद्यस्ति ।
जगन्नाथक्षेत्रमस्ति । पुनः पुना नदी वर्तते । श्रोणाभद्रानदो वर्तते । च्यवनाश्रमो वर्तते ।
राजगृहवनं वर्तते । वैद्यनाथक्षेत्रं^४ वर्तते । गङ्गासागरसङ्गमतीर्थं^५ तिष्ठति । गण्डकी नदी वर्तते ।
चक्रतीर्थमस्ति । मुक्तिक्षेत्रमस्ति । नेपाले नीलकण्ठतीर्थमस्ति । कामरूपे कामाख्यादेवी^६ वर्तते ।
अन्यान्यपि बहूनि तीर्थानि सन्ति ।”

“ वाजपेयिनः भवतां देशे रजस्वलापक्कौदनः भुज्यते किल सत्यं वा [न] । ”

“ स्वामिनः, न भुज्यते समीचीनैः । ”

“ तर्हि असमीचीनैर्भुज्यते वा [न] । ”

“ धर्कटैः अप्रमानिकैः^१ हलवाहकैश्च रजस्वलापक्कौदनः भुज्यते । ”

“ तैः सह सम्बन्धो वर्तते वा न । सत्यं वदतु यदि मिथ्या वदथ भवतां परलोको नश्यति । ”

१ O omits सिन्धुसङ्गमो.....सिन्धुनदो वर्तते । २ O मणिमहेशं B and C—मनमहेश. I have emended this to मणिमहेशं ३ O omits. ४ B and C—पुष्प (?) भद्रां ५ O—गंगोत्तरां ६ O—इन्द्रप्रयागो ७ B—देवयागो ८ O omits. १० B omits कुशावर्त्तं....हस्तिनापुरक्षेत्रमस्ति । ११ O—संभलाग्रामो C—संभला B—संभला १२ C—निमिषां १३ O omits तत्र. १४ B omits. O—गयातीर्थमत्रगदाधरोऽस्ति । १५ O—शोणभद्रां B and C—श्रोणभद्रां १६ O—वैजनाथं १७ O—गंगासागरतीर्थं १८ O omits मुक्ति.....नीलकण्ठतीर्थमस्ति । १९ O—कामाख्यादेवी २० B—अप्रमाणिकैः C—अप्रामाणिकैः. Since this does not refer to any caste or tribe, it is possible that the author meant मानिकस or माणिकस. The Maṇis or Māṇis are an ancient tribe, the Māṇiharas of Uttara Pradesh may be descendants of these Māṇis. See Shah, U. P., *Geographical and Ethnic Data In the Kāśyapa Samhitā*, Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. VII, No. 4.

“ स्वामिनः, कस्मिन्देशे एवं चेत्, दुराचाराः न सन्ति । सर्वत्र दुराचाराः सन्त्येव । तथा हि—

दक्षिणदेशे कलौ मातुलकन्यावरणं^१ दुराचारः । दक्षिणात्येषु वर्षचतुष्टयात्प्राक् कन्यायाः विवाहो दुराचारः । आन्ध्रदेशे हलवाहनं दुराचारः ।^२ कर्णाटकदेशे स्नानं विना भोजनं दुराचारः । महाराष्ट्रदेशे उच्छिष्टभक्षणं^३ ज्येष्ठं परिलज्ज्य कनिष्ठस्य विवाहकरणं क्वचित्सौकर्यवशाच्च दुराचारः । द्रविडकेरलदेशयोः सर्वेषां कुचप्रदर्शनं दुराचारः ।^४ केरलदेशे उपरिपुरतं दुराचारः । कोङ्कणे वृक्षारोहणं दुराचारः । गुजरातदेशे^५ चर्मोदकपानं तृतीयदिने रजस्वलास्नानं दुराचारः । उत्तरदेशे कलौ मांसभक्षणं^६ दुराचारः ।^७ पर्वतदेशे क्वचित्कलौ देवरेण सुतोत्पत्तिः दुराचारः । उत्तरदेशे क्वचित्तु शुष्कमांसभक्षणं अत्यन्तदुराचारः ।^८ मैथिल-गौडदेशे सदातैललेपनं दुराचारः । गौडदेशे वेदत्यागो दुराचारः । कान्यकुब्जदेशे^९ पण्यस्थपृथपक्वभक्षणं विवाहादौ भोजनसमये परस्पर्शनं^{१०} च दुराचारः । उत्कले मुखपुरतं दुराचारः । गौड-^{११}द्राविड-केरल-उत्कल-मैथिले तु पक्वकलन्तएडुऔदनभोजनं दुराचारः । सर्वेषां देशेषु^{१२} पथिताम्मूलभक्षणं दुराचारः । ”

“ अतिसमीचीनं जातम् । अतः परं मया मटे गन्तव्यम्^{१३} । अनुष्ठानकालो जातः । ”

“ गम्यतां श्रीमद्भिः ।^{१४} शिक्षार्थं कदा आगन्तव्यं भवद्भिः । ”

“ मया न आगन्तव्यम् । किमिति चेत्, भवतां गृहे बहुसम्मर्दो जायते । अतीव कालो गच्छति । वृथा मम^{१५} । ”

“^{१६} अद्य कथमागतं श्रीमद्भिः । ”

“ अनाध्याय इति कृत्वाऽऽगतोऽस्मि । ”

“ न-कारस्य दीर्घः कथं स्वामिनः । ”

“ अरे वाजपेयिन् तव कर्णौ न स्तः । बधिरोऽसि । ”

“ अपराधो जातः स्वामिनः क्षन्तव्यः^{१७} । भवद्भिः यत्र गन्तव्यं तत्र सम्मर्दो भविष्यत्येव । ”

“ मया कुत्राऽपि न गम्यते । ”

“ तर्हि शिक्षा क्व कर्तव्या । ”

“ मया माधूकरं क्रियते । ”

“ उ-कारस्य दीर्घः केन । ”

“ न ज्ञायते वा । ”

१ O—परिन(ण)यनं २ O—कार्णाटं B—कर्णाटके ३ O—भोजनं दु० ४ In C केरल etc. and कोङ्कणे० after the reference to कान्यकुब्जदेश. ५ B—गुजरातदेशे. ६ C omits. ७ C omits. O—क्वचित्काले ८ C omits मैथिल.वेदत्यागो दुराचारः । ९ B—पण्यपृथ १० B—भोजनसमये परस्पर्शनं O—भा(भो)जनसमये परस्परदर्शनं C—भोजनसमीपे परस्पर्शनं च. ११ C—द्रविडं १२ O—देशानां. १३ गम्यते । १४ B and C—भवद्भिः. १५ C—omits मम. १६ O omits from here upto शास्त्रं परिधिष्य, loc. cit. १७ B and O—क्षन्तव्यम्.

“ न ज्ञायते स्वामिनः । अन्येषामपि दृश्यते इति एवं चेत् भिक्षाऽधुना माधूकरीत्यादि प्रयोग-
विरोधः स्यात् ।

“ भवतु नाम प्रयोगविरोधः । ऋषिप्रयोगो वा कविप्रयोगो वा विरुध्यते तदा दोषः । ”

“ स्वामिभिः काव्यानि न पठितानि । ”

“ काव्यालापांश्च वर्जयेदिति वचनान्न पठ्यन्ते । ”

“ हे संन्यासिनः अस्य श्लोकस्य कोऽर्थः । ”

“ कस्य श्लोकस्याऽर्थः पृच्छयते त्वया ।

“ रामं सीतां लक्ष्मणं जीविकार्थे विक्रीणीते यो नरस्तं च धिग्धिक् ।

अस्मिन्पद्ये योऽपशब्दं (वदान्) न वेत्ति व्यर्थप्रज्ञं पठितं (पण्डितं) तं च धिग्धिक् । ”

“ न ज्ञायते वा अयं श्लोकः प्रौढमनोरमायां वर्तते । ”

“ तर्हि, एतस्य वक्तव्यः —

सुधे सुधे ^१वारिवधात्सुराणां सुकारणे लाघवतश्च रामः^३ ।

विशेषणे द्वे च इहाय कर्तुः ^५वदेदधीतीसह कैयटीये ॥

“ अयं श्लोकः शब्दकौस्तुभे वर्तते, न ज्ञायते वा । ”

“ तर्हि, एतेषां मध्ये अपशब्दः निष्कासनीयः । ”

“ केषाम् । ”

^१राधाकृष्णं रुक्मिणीं जीविकार्थे सङ्गृहीते यो नरस्तं च धिग्धिक् ।

अस्मिन्पद्ये योऽपशब्दं न वेत्ति ^५व्यर्थप्रज्ञं पठितं (पण्डितं) तं च धिग्धिक् ॥ १ ॥

गीतं नृत्यं मालिकां जीविकार्थे धत्ते पुण्ड्रं यो नरस्तं च धिग्धिक् ।

अस्मिन्पद्ये योऽपशब्दं न वेत्ति व्यर्थप्रज्ञं पठितं (पण्डितं) तं च धिग्धिक् ॥ २ ॥

गङ्गां काशीं भैरवं विश्वनाथं नो जानीते यो नरस्तं च धिग्धिक् ।

अस्मिन्पद्ये योऽपशब्दं..... ॥ ३ ॥

वेदं शास्त्रं भारतं जीविकार्थे ज्ञात्वाऽधीते यो नरस्तं च धिग्धिक् ।

अस्मिन्पद्ये..... ॥ ४ ॥

“ अरे वाजपेयिनः, ममाऽपि एतादृशाः कूटश्लोकाः सहस्रशः आयान्ति । तेषामर्थः कर्तुं
शक्यते वा [न] भवता । ”

“ वक्तव्याः स्वामिनः । ”

“ किं प्रयोजनमस्माकं कलहेन । गन्तव्यम् । (तिष्ठति ।) दूरे स्थीयते मया । ”

“ कुत्र स्थीयते भवद्भिः । ”

१ Manoramā on Pāṇini V. 3. 99 जीविकार्थे चापण्ये । २ B—वचात्सु० ३ O—
०मुकारणे लाघवतः खरामः । ४ C—वदं दधीति । ५ O and B—राधाकृष्णं रुक्मिणीजीविकार्थे । C—धाराकृष्णं
रुक्मिणीं० ६ B—व्यर्थप्रज्ञं पठितं तं (तं) च धिग्धिक् । १ । O—वृथा प्राज्ञं पठितं....

“ तिलाभाण्डेश्वरे स्थीयते मया । ”

“ ल-काराकारस्य दीर्घः केन । ”

“ अवैद्याकरणसङ्गतिवशाद्दीर्घः आगतः मुखात् । अपराधो जातः तर्हि । ”

“ गम्यतां श्रीमद्भिः । ”

मठे आगत्य गुरुणां वन्दनं कृत्वा स्वामिनः ‘ अनुष्ठानं कृत्वा आगम्यते ’ इत्युक्त्वा गङ्गायां गत्वा यथाविध्यनुष्ठानं कृत्वा मठे आगत्य गुरुणां निकटे गरुडासनेनोपविष्टवान् शिष्यः ।

गुरवः ऊचुः—“ हे वामनाश्रम, अद्य किं किं भुक्तम् । ”

शिष्य उवाच —“ अद्य मया यथा भुक्तं तथा कदाऽपि न भुक्तं स्वामिनः । तथा हि —

पङ्क्तौ सहस्रब्राह्मणाः^१ उपविष्टाः । सहस्राणामप्येकरूपेण पक्ष्मपातं विना परिवेषणं कृतम् । विशालयुक्तदीर्घतराणि रम्भापत्राणि प्रत्येकं दत्त्वा पत्रपुटानि च दत्त्वा लवणशाकानि पर्यवेविषुः^२ ।

“ कानि कानि लवणशाकानि पर्यवेविषुः सुवासिन्यः । ”

“ आम्रशलाटुः । तिमिन्तीशलाटुः । कवकशलाटुः^३ । निम्बूशलाटुः । जम्बीरशलाटुः । नारङ्गी-शलाटुः । बिल्वशलाटुः । आमलकीशलाटुः । कर्कटीशलाटुः ।^४ औदुम्बरशलाटुः । शिवाशलाटुः । करीरलवणशाक (कं) आर्द्रकादीन्येतानि पर्यवेविषुः ।

एतत्परिवेषणानन्तरं शलाटुशाकान्पर्यवेविषुः ।

“ के के शलाटुशाकाः पर्यवेविषुः । ”

“^५ वृन्ताकशलाटुः । कलिङ्गशलाटुः । कारवेल्लशलाटुः । कूष्माण्डशलाटुः । अलावूशलाटुः । कदलीशलाटुः । शिम्बीशलाटुः । धृतकोशातकीशलाटुः^६ ।^७ पनसशलाटुः । शिग्रुशलाटुः । पटोलीशलाटुः । विम्बिकाशलाटुः । उर्वारकशलाटुः ।^८ तिन्दिसशलाटुः । राजमाषशलाटुः ।^९ कर्करी-शलाटुः । राजदन्तफलशलाटुः । गोरक्षकर्कटीशलाटुः ।^{१०} सुखावासशलाटुः ।^{११} कुलकशलाटुः । कर्कोटकी-शलाटुः ।^{१२} राजावुशलाटुः । बार्हतशलाटुः ।^{१३} कटिलकशलाटुः । कर्कारुशलाटुः । चित्राशलाटुः । श्रेयसीशलाटुः । एतानि शलाटुशाकानि परिविध्य अन्यान्यकन्दकान्पर्यवेविषुः । ”

“ के के कन्दशाकाः । ”

“^{१४} सूरणकन्दः ।^{१५} आलुककन्दः । मूलककन्दः । रक्तमूलककन्दः । रक्तालुककन्दः । पिण्डक-कन्दः । अर्वामूलकन्दः^{१६} । पोथिकाकन्दः ।

१ N—सहस्र ब्राह्मणाः, २ N—पर्यवेविषुः O—पर्यवेविषु, ३ N—कवकशलाटुः । ४ N. adds मर्कटीशलाटुः । ५ N and B—वार्त्ताकं ६ C adds कोशातकीशलाटुः । ७ B omits पनसं.....विम्बिकाशलाटुः । ८ B—तिन्दिल्यं N—तिन्दिशलाटुः । ९ N and C—कर्कटीं O—गोरक्षकर्कटीं १० B—सुखावस. ११ N and B—कूळकं C—कूलेकं १२ B—कर्कोटकीशलावुशलाटुः । Apparently B omits, through scribal error, after कर्कोटकीशला, the syllables टुः राजा. N—राजालावुं. १३ B—कटिलकां O—कटिलकं १४ B—आलुकं १५ O—omits. N—अर्वा

- १०—करीरं २ C omits. ३ N O and B—कुर्यको ४ O—समष्टौ
 ५, N and C—दृष्टो B—दृष्टि(?) षं O—omits.
 ६ O N and C add विद्युत्प्रकाशम् । Since विद्युत्प्रकाशम् is already noted above this is omitted from the text above. B omits. O omits आत्स्य and यत्कृत्यम्
 ७ C—वाम् । For वाम् cf. Anekartha-Tilaka of Mahipra, II. 296, p. 32 ; वाम् श्लोककौशले धाम् धीं कर्त्तुं गतौ ।
 ८ B—यत्को O omits. C—यत्को N—यत्को
 ९ C—विद्युत्प्रकाशम् । O and B—विद्युत्प्रकाशम् । Cf. Nānamāhikā of Bhoja, line 545, (Deccan College, ed., 1955) p. 35—अस्माद् विद्युत्प्रकाशम् श्लेषविद्युत्प्रकाशम् ।
 १० ऊस (acc. to Monier Williams' Dictionary)—a dish consisting of sesa-
 mum and grain ; a mixture of rice and peas with a few spices.
 ११ B—माम्पुष्पं एतन्मन्त्रानि परित्यज्य ।
 १२ O—Omits upto शान्त्यं परित्यज्य from अथ कथमग्नौ श्रीमद्भिः on p. 20 above.
 १३ B—अथो...मुहुर्भूयः । माम्पुष्पः । रामाम्पुष्पः ।
 १४ O omits from माम्पुष्पः.....माम्पुष्पः ।

“ गार्भमन्त्रिकारप्रयत्नानि नानाकारानि । तदुक्तप्रयत्नानि । विद्युत्प्रयत्नानिम् ।
 “ कानि कानि प्रयत्नानि पशुवेद्युः । ”
 स्युः । मयैरस्युः । “ स्युः परित्यज्यमानस्युः प्रयत्नानि पशुवेद्युः । ”
 आत्कीर्णः । मुदस्युः । रामाम्पुष्पः । रामाम्पुष्पः । अथकस्युः । अथकस्युः । विद्युत्-
 प्रयत्नानि । एतन्मन्त्रानि परित्यज्य एतन्मन्त्रप्रयत्नानि परित्यज्य शान्त्यं परित्यज्य ।
 “ दयाम् । ‘माम्पुष्पं प्रयत्नानि । अथकस्युः । अथकस्युः । अथकस्युः । अथकस्युः । अथकस्युः ।
 “ कानि कानि ? ऊसरेवाम् । ”
 न्युः] परित्यज्य ऊसरेवाम् । पशुवेद्युः । ”
 कानिपुष्पम् । मुदस्युः । विद्युत्प्रकाशम् । अथकस्युः । अथकस्युः । अथकस्युः । अथकस्युः । अथकस्युः ।
 “ कारवेद्युः । ‘माम्पुष्पं । अथकस्युः । अथकस्युः । अथकस्युः । अथकस्युः । अथकस्युः ।
 “ के के एतन्मन्त्रानि परित्यज्य । ”
 एतन्मन्त्रानि परित्यज्य एतन्मन्त्रप्रयत्नानि परित्यज्य । एतन्मन्त्रप्रयत्नानि परित्यज्य । एतन्मन्त्रप्रयत्नानि परित्यज्य ।
 एतन्मन्त्रप्रयत्नानि परित्यज्य । एतन्मन्त्रप्रयत्नानि परित्यज्य । एतन्मन्त्रप्रयत्नानि परित्यज्य । एतन्मन्त्रप्रयत्नानि परित्यज्य ।
 एतन्मन्त्रप्रयत्नानि परित्यज्य । एतन्मन्त्रप्रयत्नानि परित्यज्य । एतन्मन्त्रप्रयत्नानि परित्यज्य । एतन्मन्त्रप्रयत्नानि परित्यज्य ।
 “ कानि कानि पशुवेद्युः । ”
 एतन्मन्त्रप्रयत्नानि परित्यज्य एतन्मन्त्रप्रयत्नानि परित्यज्य ।

एतद्दानानन्तरं ^१घृतपाचितपर्पटिकाद्वयं प्रत्येकं दत्त्वा नानाविधान्शाकिनीरसान्दत्त्वा कथि-
कान्पर्यवेविषुः ।

“ कान्कान्कथिकान्पर्यवेविषुः^२ । ”

“ तककथिका । आमलकीकथिका । ^३तिन्तिणीकथिका । दाडिमरसकथिका । मरिचसारादि
सर्वाः कथिकाः परिविध्याऽनन्तरं माहिषं दधि परिविष्य^४ घृतपाचितपक्वानानि बहुप्रकाराणि पर्यवेविषुः^५ । ”

“ कानि कानि भक्ष्याणि पर्यवेविषुः । ”

“ माषवटकाः । मुद्गवटकाः । चणकवटकाः । मण्डकाः लडुकाः । शङ्कुल्याः^६ । मोदकाः ।
तिललडुकाः । अपूपाः । पूपाः ।^७ पिष्टकाः । अतिरसाः ।^८

एतत्परिवेषणाऽनन्तरं सद्योघृतं दुग्धं च पर्यवेविषुः ।

एतान्पदार्थान्पुनः पुनः पर्यवेविषुन्^९ सुवासिन्यः । ”

“ अरे वामनाश्रम यद्दत्तं तत्सर्वं भुक्तं वा न भुक्तम् । ”

“ न भुक्तं मया स्वामिनः । मम यद्वस्तु भक्षणयोग्यं तदेव मया गृहीतं स्वामिनः । ”

^{१०}कृता वरदभट्टेन गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी ।

गणेशप्रीतये चैव वैदिकप्रीतये भवेत् ॥

॥ इति श्रीगीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी समाप्ता^{११} ॥ शुभमस्तु ॥ ६ ॥

१ O—पर्यटिकाद्वयं.....नानाविधान्शाकरसान्दत्त्वा कथिका पर्यवेविषुः ।

२ O—पर्यवेविषुः.

३ O—तिन्तिडी० B—तिन्तिणी० C—तिन्तिणी०

४ C—पर्यवेवेष्य B—पर्यवेविष्य O—पर्यवेष्य । N पर्यवेविष्य.

५ B—पर्यवेवेविषुः O—पर्यवेविषुः C—पर्यवेवेविषुः.

६ B—शङ्कुल्याः । मोदकाः । The reading शङ्कुल्याः मोदकाः is equally good. It would mean sweet-balls prepared from baked cakes, just as मण्डकाः लडुकाः taken together would mean (sweet) balls of मण्ड of milk, rice etc.

७ O—omits.

८ Is it an older or Sanskritised name of अनारसाः ? In गीर्वाणवाङ्मञ्जरी we have a variant reading अतिरसान् for अनारसान् or अनारसान्.

९ C—पर्यवेवेविषुः B—पर्यवेवेविषुन् O—पर्यवेविषुः.

१० O—कृता वरदभट्टेन गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी कृतं ॥ श्रीविश्वेश्वराय नमः ॥

११ C—०समाप्तमिति ॥ शुभमस्तु ॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ श्रीरामचन्द्राय नमः ॥ ६ ॥

N—इति श्रीगीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी समाप्तम् ॥ सं १७३६ वर्षे चैत्र शुक्लात् पष्ठी ६ श्रुगु दिने लिखितमधुना ॥

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

नन्वा श्रीपतिपदपद्युगालं विधायरं शारदां

तद्वच्छैश्वर्यैरुत्तरपादपङ्कजयुगैश्च शारदा ततः सादरम् ।

काशीस्थेन हि सुविहाराज-कविना गीर्वाणव्याज्जगते

वाजना सुखवाचनस्य रचितेन संशोधनीया वृधैः ॥ १ ॥

केवलं वैदिकानां तु शब्दादिषु मतिवृत्तरसम् ।

स्वरस्यस्योत्पत्तिं च तद्विषयं तद्विषयं तद्विषयं ॥ २ ॥

शब्दादिषु विषयस्योत्पत्तिं कर्तुं कर्मस्योत्पत्तिम् ।

नानाप्रकारेषु संशोधनेषु तद्विषयं तद्विषयं ॥ ३ ॥

शान्तरस्य विदुषा कर्मस्य कर्मस्य ॥ ४ ॥

उक्तमासाद्यप्युत्तरमस्ति यत्कर्मस्योत्पत्तिम् ॥ ५ ॥

वक्तव्यस्योत्पत्तिः कविशैलीषु च विनीहि (द)तः ।

शुद्धकथयिषु सवै वक्ष्यमाणसुधीयते ॥ ५ ॥

तदाऽऽह—कविशैलीः उच्यते शब्दादिषु यत्कर्मस्योत्पत्तिं पठन्सन्निवृत्तं प्रत्युत्तिवान् ।

“अत्र, यथा वीथ्याङ्कं गच्छते । शीघ्रमुत्तरे” इति । करपादविशोधनार्थं सति का देवा ।”

इत्युक्ते सति तथा इतिरुत्पत्त्याय जलपूरितपात्रं दत्तम् । करपादविशोधनार्थं सति का देवा । तदा देव-
शौचादिकं विषयं पीठोपरि स्थित्वा करपादौ प्रक्षाल्य दन्तकण्ठिन दन्तविशोधनं पुनः शिव-
सुवाच ।

१ D—श्रीमते मगधविशोधनं नमः । As the author seems to follow Madhva, it is not likely that he would pay homage to Nimbarka in the beginning. C—श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ अथ मगधवति मारुतः ॥

२ O—omits पति, which would be metrically faulty.

३ B & C—मल्ल

४ O—विश्वरं शक्तिं

५ O—तस्मात् इति

६ C—प्रत्युत्तरे

७ O—दंष्टकं

८ O—omits तदा.

१ C & O—श्रीं. २ O—omits है. C—विश्लेषिका देवतावर्णनिका. ३ O—संज्ञात्मिका
 चन्दनं दत्तव. ४ O—एतान्. C—एतानि वस्तूनि शीघ्रमात्रेण. ५ O—आदि. ६ B—यत्. ७ C & B
 —दीपः. ८ O—अथकारे गृह्. ९ B—omits. १० B—पूर्णा त्रयं कियते किम्. C हे कान् त्रैणी त्रय
 किं कियते। द्रव्यकथा तत्रो. ११ O and B—इत्युक्तम्. १२ O and B omit अथ. १३ B—अफरणीयः.
 १४ O—omits किम्. १५ O reads स. १६ O and B—अपराधीभावम् । १७ O reads त्रै. B—
 B—इत्ये. २० B & C—अथान्तरं ज्ञानः.

आलस्यं वदति ।”

पुनः स रोषोऽऽह—“अरे बलीवर्द, शीघ्रमुत्तिष्ठ । प्रयातं जातम् । एतौवकाशपश्यतं किं निद्रितोऽसि ।

“ स तु भवदशये एव तिष्ठति । भवतिदरेव बोधितव्यः ।

“ राहोइयं शीघ्रमुत्थापय ।”

“ स तु निद्रितो वदते ।”

“ तद्वै पुत्रमाकारय ।”

“ तद्वै उपसामग्रीं ह्यनियतं ।”

“ यन्मनसि आयास्यति तच्छुभः ।”

अथ मध्ये किं बोधयम् ।”

पुनः सा—“वदतु निद्रितवैतव पुनरिती पश्यते । तस्मात्सुभकरम् यत्ताना कथं न भवति । तद्वै

आयास्यति ।”

“ आः तस्मात्सुभकरम् किम् । तन्निमित्तं किं विधिं कर्तव्यं भविष्यति । सर्वेषु मध्ये योऽप्युक्तः

दृश्यते सति पुनः साऽह—“तद्वै भवतामपि शत्रुपक्षमाकारणीयं खलु ।”

आयास्ये” । तत्र—“स्वभावाः आकारणीयं दृश्यते तस्मात्सुभकरम् ।”

आकारणीयः—“तत्र जायमाना आयास्यति तत्र योऽसि आगच्छति । तत्र शत्रुपक्षमाकारणीय
 “अपि, अथ—“सदृशं तिष्ठति । अथ कश्चिद्द्वेषणी निम्नगण्यः । कश्चिदपि (यतिः) यत्

दृश्यते—“तथा सर्वं दत्तम् । पुनरिच्छियुत्थाव—

“तूष्णीं त्वरा कियते तदिकम्” ।”

समयो गच्छति ।”

दृश्यते सति सः कोषोऽऽह—“सो रोहं, किं वदति । मम स्वामस्य कालातिक्रमो जायते । सत्या-

त्वरितं चैकथं भविष्यति ।”

पुनरुत्तरायत्यते—“त्वरा किमपि कियते । अत्र—दीपकरत्नं नास्ति । अन्वकारेणैव किमपि न दृश्यते ।

नातिक्रमं चन्दनं च दत्तवः । एतानि शीघ्रमात्रम् ।”

अथोदकमात्रं ददति । अथपि च दत्तवः । अथपि च दत्तवः । अथपि च दत्तवः । अथपि च दत्तवः । अथपि च दत्तवः ।

“अपि, शून्ये । अथ सया शोकात्मिकायाः शयने । शीघ्रं स्वामसामग्रीं ददति ।

इत्युक्ते सति स तूर्णमुत्थितः करौ मेलयित्वा विनयात्प्रणम्य पितुरग्रे स्थितवान्^१ । ततः^२ पिताऽऽह—

“ अरे, अद्य गृहे महत्प्रयोजनं तिष्ठति । त्वमापणे गच्छ । उपसामग्रीमानय^३ । ”

“ तर्हि मुद्रिकाः ढवुकाः^४ देयाः । ”

पुनः पिताऽऽह—“ अरे अन्तःपुरे गच्छ । तत्र दारुमञ्जूषा तिष्ठति । तन्मध्ये जातरूपसम्पुटोऽस्ति । तदन्तः सुवर्णमुद्रिका रजतमुद्रिका ढवुकाः^५ सन्ति । तासु रजतमुद्रिकाद्वयं गृहाण । पुनस्तत्सर्वं तादृगेव स्थापनीयम् । पश्चात्तन्मुद्रिकाद्वयं गृहीत्वा बृहदापणे गच्छ । चतुस्तम्भापणे गत्वा मूपक-माधवजी-हृष्टे ते विभज्य ढवुकान्कृत्वा यद्यदपेक्ष्यते तत्तद्गृहाण । ”

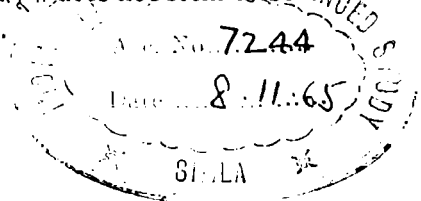
“ भो पितः किं किं गृहामि तद्वध्वम् । ”

ततः पिताऽऽह—“ अरे, आदौ वणिजापणे गत्वा तत्र घृतं सार्द्धशेरकद्वयं^६ ग्राह्यम् । तदुद्धमुद्रिकाया भविष्यति । सिता^७ शर्करा ग्राह्या । पूर्णार्थ^८ चणकदालिप्रोद्या^९ । हिङ्गु ग्राह्यम्^{१०} । जीरका ग्राह्या^{११} । हरिद्राचूर्णं ग्राह्यम् । कसुकाः ग्राह्याः । एला-^{१२}लवङ्ग-जातीफलानि जातिपत्रं च ग्राह्यम् । खदिरं मा विस्मर । कर्पूरो ग्राह्यः । कस्तूरिका^{१३} ग्राह्या । केसरं गोरोचनं ग्राह्यम् । उशीरो ग्राह्यः तस्याऽपरं नाम सुगन्धवाळा^{१४} इत्युदीरयन्ति जनाः । दशाङ्गं ग्राह्यम्^{१५} । तत्र इयत्^{१६} गृहीत्वा तदग्रे गच्छ । तत्र पटशोधितगोधूमचूर्णं प्रतिज्ञया^{१७} गृहीत्वा शुद्धमाषपिष्टं ग्राह्यम् । शुद्धचणकदालिपिष्टं^{१८} ग्राह्यम् । तगडुलपिष्टं च ग्राह्यम् । ततोऽप्यग्रे शाकापणे^{१९} गत्वा यान्यान्शाकान्प्राप्नोषि तान्तान्गृहाण । ”

“ कान्कान्गृह्णामीति तद्ब्रूत^{२०} । ”

“ अरे आदौ सूरणो^{२१} ग्राह्यः । शुभ्रकन्दो ग्राह्यः । रक्तकन्दो ग्राह्यः । कर्कटिका ग्राह्या^{२२} । बुद्बुदका^{२३} ग्राह्यास्तर्हि सर्षपान् आनयस्व^{२४} । कूष्माण्डफलं ग्राह्यम् । पीतकूष्माण्डं च ग्राह्यम् । परोवराणि वृन्ताकानि तुण्डीफलानि^{२५} गृह्णीष्व । पटोलफलानि^{२६} कारवेळानि^{२७} पनशफलानि गृहाण । तदग्रे अन्नपूर्णान्तिके^{२८}

१ O—तिष्ठवान्. २ B—तदा. ३ B and C—आनेहि. ४ B—मुद्रिकाः ढवुकाः. C—ढवुकाः.
५ B—सम्पुटो. ६ B—वाह्यः. C—बहूस्तिष्ठन्ति. ७ O—सार्द्धशेरकद्वयं. B—सार्द्धशेरकद्वयं. ८ Thus
ghee was priced at eight silver coins per maund. The seer may be of 40 or 80
tolas, probably the latter. ९ O—तस्याः सिता. १० पूर्णं = पूरणं of modern
पूरणपोळी, a very favourite dish of the Mahārāshtrians. C—पूरणार्थं. ११ O—च
एकदा विग्राह्या. १२ C—हिङ्गु ग्राह्यः. १३ C—जीरकामरीचिका ग्राह्याः. १४ B—एलाः लवङ्गा
१५ B—कस्तूरी. १६ B and C—नाम सुगन्धवाला. १७ दशाङ्गं refers to दशाङ्ग-धूप. १८ B—इदं.
१९ B—प्रतिज्ञाया. २० B—दालिका. २१ B—शाकाशापणे. २२ O—तद्ब्रूत. B—तद्ब्रूहि.
२३ B—सूरणो. २४ B—कर्कटिका ग्राह्याः. C—कर्कटि. २५ B—बुद्बुदका. O and C—बुद्बुकाः.
२६ C omits सर्षपा. २७ तुम्बीफलानि. २८ C adds कोशांतकी ग्राह्या. २९ O—फनसानि.
३० अन्नपूर्णा—This is a reference to the famous shrine of अन्नपूर्णा at Banaras.
Near the shrine, plaintains etc. were sold. अन्नपूर्णा does not seem to be a market
name like शाकापण, वणिजापण etc. noted in the text.



गत्वा तत्रापक्ककदलीफलानि पक्ककदलीफलानि^१ च गृहाण । कदलीगर्भकन्दं कदलीकुमुमानि च गृहाण^२ । तत्र नागवल्लीदलानि मागधीयानि पक्कानि गृहाण^३ । ततोऽपि इत आगत्य काल-भैरवापणे^४ गत्वा तत्र बहवः पत्रशाका वर्तन्ते तेषु प्रथमतः मेथीपत्रं^५ ग्राह्यम् । तद्गुडुलपत्राणि^६ उपोदकीपत्राणि चकमर्दकपत्राणि वृहतीफलानि गृहाण ।^७ वनकारवेल्हानि मिलिष्यन्ति चेद्गृहीष्व ।^८ रक्तकन्दपत्राणि शुभ्रकन्दपत्राणि प्राप्स्यसे तर्हि गृहाण । अरे तिनितणी^९ मा विस्मर । तथैव शृङ्गवेरं गृहाण दीर्घरम्भापत्राणि आनय । अतोऽप्यधिकं यद्दृश्यते तद्गृहाण ।^{१०}

“ भो पितः एतेषां पदार्थानां स्मरणं कथं भविष्यति । ”

[इति] तेन उक्ते सति पुनः क्रोधेन जनिताऽऽह^{११}—

“ अरे मूर्ख त्वं केवलं गर्दभप्रायोऽसि । तवाष्टादशवर्षाणि कुतो गतानि को वेद । हे मूढशिरोमणे तर्हि एकस्मिन्कागदे^{१२} सर्वमालिख तमालोक्य^{१३} सर्वं गृहीष्व । ” इत्युक्त्वा पुनर्जगाद—

“ आः अद्य मम भूरि विलम्बो जातः ।^{१४} अतीव कालक्षेपो^{१५} जातः । अहह ममाऽदृष्टस्य सर्वेऽपि^{१६} मूर्खतराः मिलिताः ।

यथेऽयं दुर्भगा रण्डा तथाऽयं मन्दधीः सुतः ।

अनयोस्सङ्गदोषेण कुतः श्रेयो भवेन्मम ॥ १ ॥

भवतु अतः परं स्थातुं न शक्यते । ” इत्युदीर्य गङ्गातीरेणैव मणिकर्णिकां गतः । तत्र गत्वा महाप्रयोगसुचचार्यं यथाविधि स्नानं विधाय सन्ध्यामनुष्ठितवान् । तदनन्तरं ब्रह्मयज्ञं^{१७} निवापश्च (पं च) विधाय^{१८} भगवन्तं यथोत्पादितद्रव्यैः सम्पूज्य पुनरस्थितस्तत्रैकमयाचित-वृत्तिनं^{१९} ब्राह्मणं निमन्त्र्य^{२०} पुनर्घट्टमारुह्य संन्यासिनां मठे गतः । तत्र बहवो दण्डिनः स्थिताः । तेषु एको वृद्धस्तुन्दिलो यतिः स्थितः^{२१} । तमालोक्य तदन्तिके गतः । दण्डवत्प्रणम्य वाक्यमुवाच—

“ स्वामिनः, श्रीमतां दर्शनेन ग्रहमतीव कृतार्थो जातः । ”

इत्युक्ते सति स्वामिभिः ‘ नारायण नारायणे ’त्युक्तम् । तदाऽयं पुनरुचिवान्—

“ स्वामिनः श्रीमतामत्रैव स्थितिर्वा । ” पुनः स्वामिना ‘ नारायण ’ इत्युक्तम्^{२२} ।

“ अतिसमीचीनो मठस्तिष्ठति । अतिसम्यक्स्थलं वर्तते । स्वामिनः^{२३} किञ्चिद्विज्ञप्तुकामोऽस्मि, अङ्गीकृतं चेद्वक्ष्यामि । ”

“ किं तद्ब्रूहि^{२४} । ”

१ O omits पक्क...दलानि. २ B. गृहीष्व. ३ O omits तत्र नाग...गृहाण । ४ Market near the shrine of Kāla-Bhairava. ५ O—मेथिकापत्रं. ६ B—उपौदकी. C—कूरोदकी. ७ O—वनकारवेल्ह. ८ O—रक्तकण्ठ. ९ O—तत्रिणी. १० जनयता. ११ O—पत्रे. १२ सर्वमालिखितं तदालोक्य. B—सर्वं समालिखितमालोक्य. C—सर्वं समालिख्य तमालोक्य । १३ O—मम विलम्बो जात भूरि. १४ O—०क्षयो. १५ O—त्र for अपि. C—अहह मम दिष्टस्य सर्वेऽपि. १६ B omits निवापश्च. १७ B—भगवन्. १८ B—मयाचितवृत्ति. १९ B—घट्टमा. २० O—तेषु एको वृद्धो यतिस्थितमालोक्य तदन्तिको गतः । B—एषु एकः वृद्धः स्तुन्दिलो यती स्थितः etc. २१ O and B read only “ नारायण ”, but C preserves the whole line as above. २२ अति सम्यगलङ्कनो वर्तते तिष्ठति. २३ O— तत् ब्रूत.

“ श्रीमद्भिरथ मम गृहे भिक्षार्थमागन्तव्यं चेत्कृतकृत्यो भवामि । स्वामिनः ममाद्य जन्मनः साफल्यं जातम् । ”

ततः परं यतिवयैरुच्यते^१—

“ अरे, तव का वा ज्ञातिः । ”

“ स्वामिनः अहं महाराष्ट्रो^२ऽस्मि । ”

“ एवं किल तर्हि महाराष्ट्राणां गृहे अस्मदादीनां भिक्षा तु अतीव शस्ता^३ । ततस्त्वं श्रोत्रियोऽस्ति किम् ।

“ स्वामिनः श्रोत्रियोऽस्मि^४ । ”

“ तर्हि सम्यग्जातम् । कुतः—

याचयेच्छ्रोत्रियस्यान्नं तदभावे जलं पिबेत् । तदथ घटितम् । अरे, परं तु त्वं गौडवद्भाससे रे^५ । किमिदम् । ”

“ सत्यम्, स्वामिनः, मम जन्म गौडदेश एव जातम्^६ । मम पितुरपि जन्म तत्रैव जातम् । आवाभ्यां तत्रैवाधीतम् । ”

“ एवं वा तर्हि तव पितुर्नामधेयं किम् । ”

“ स्वामिनः मम पितुर्नाम अदब्धव्रतप्रमतिर्वसिष्ठभट्टाचार्य इति प्रसिद्धम् । ”^७

“ तव नाम । ”

“ मम नाम झिलिमिलिझाङ्कार-शौचालङ्कार-अलर्षियुध्-मखजकृत्-पुरन्दर-भट्टाचार्य^८ इत्युदीर-यन्ति जनाः । ”

“ सत्यं तत्रत्यानामेतादृशमेव दीर्घतरं नाम भवति । त्वमपि तत्रत्यः किल । ”

“ स्वामिनः । ”

इत्युक्त्वा पुनरुचिवान्^९—“ स्वामिनस्तर्हि उत्थानं कर्तव्यम् । समयस्तु जातः^{१०} । अतः परं दण्डक-मण्डलवादिकं गृहीत्वा मया सहैव श्रीमद्भिरागन्तव्यम् । ”

१ O—तत्

२ B—यतिनोच्यते

३ B—महाराष्ट्रो

४ C—अति प्रशस्ता

५ B and O omit this as well as हि from the preceding line

इत्युक्तं सति स्वामिभिरत्यतः—
“अरे तव गृहे किमद्दूरे” तिष्ठति । कस्मिन्पदद्वारेति ।

“स्वामिनः मम गृहे समापे तिष्ठति । तुष्यतिवत्प्रकथयति चेत्तदेव । गङ्गादास इति प्रसिद्धी
महाजनसदस्येणाननसमीपे समाप्तिं वेद्यम तिष्ठति ।”

“तर्हि भवतु ।”

इत्युक्त्वा स्वामिनः उत्थिताः । षोडशमण्डलवादिषु गृहीतम् । तदा स्वामिनः प्रियं प्रत्युच्चैः—

“अरे भोग्यम त्वया अथ अत्रैव स्वातन्त्र्यम् । मठं त्यक्त्वा कुत्रापि न गतव्यम् ।”

“तर्हि स्वामिनः सिद्धार्थं कुत्रचित् गतव्यं यत् ।”

“अरे किं वदसि । अथ कुत्रापि मा गच्छ” । तत्र पुष्टिकास्तिवदिति । तत्र वृत्ते । काष्ठमाजने
लघु तिष्ठते” । तद् गृहीत्वा तदेव मध्याह्नम् । कुतः आश्रयि” ।”

इत्युक्त्वा स्वामिभिः प्रयातम् । तदा यजमान आह—

“स्वामिनः भवतः अथ भवतु । अहं पश्चाद्भवामि ।”

इत्युक्त्यर्थं यत्स्मिन्काम्—

“न हि न हि” इत्यमती भव । अहं पश्चाद्भवामि । अतीवसप्तमदतिरुद्धि । त्वया सर्वेषां
निराकरा कर्तव्यं नो चेत्स्वर्गो भविष्यति ।”

इत्युक्तं सति तेनाहं गीकृतं तथैव कृतवत् । “गुपस्वतुष्वसौ गृहमागतौ । अनर्णैर्मामत्य
उपमाकारयामास—

“अरे यमाकर यीप्रमहि । स्वामिनां पदप्रखालनाशुदकं वेदि ।”

इत्युक्तं सति तेन यीप्रमुदकमानीतम् । तदा यजमानः स्वहस्तेन स्वामिपदौ प्रखाल्य तदस्यसा क्षिरसि
अभ्युदयान्तःपुरे गतः । ततः स्वामिनः “गृहद्वीशोपनि सावकायां तस्यः । तदा ये भोजनाशु-

१ O—किमदि(इ)तिर्दूरे. B—किमदूरे.

२ O—इत्युक्ता. B—इत्युक्ता. Both O and B often misspel अक्ता and write उक्ता.

Such variants are not noted.

३ O—भयत्तः.

४ B and O—त्यक्ता.

५ O—अरे वदसि अथ कुत्रापि गच्छत.

६ B—पुष्टिकास्तिवदिति.

७ B and C omits काष्ठ... तिष्ठते.

८ B and C—कुतः आश्रयसि. O—कुतः आश्रयसि.

९ O—उत्थते.

१० O—omits one वदि.

११ O—omits after नो चैव, स्थानी...पुनः.

१२ B—गृहद्विशीं. C—श्रावणीं

- “ परं साध्वी भवति । यत्राऽऽकृतिस्तत्र गुणा वसन्तीति ध्रुतं स्थितं तदद्य दृष्टम्^१ । त्वं परं भाग्यवानसि । कुतः
 भोज्यं भोजनशक्तिश्च रतिशक्तिर्वैराङ्गना^२ ।
 विभवो^३ दानशक्तिश्च नाल्पस्य तपसः फलम् ॥ १ ॥
 इत्युक्तं वर्तते । ते सर्वे गुणास्त्वयि दृष्टाः^४ । त्वत्तोऽन्यः कश्चिद्भाग्यवान्^५ । ”
- “ स्वामिनः सर्वं भवतां प्रसादात्खलु । ”
- “ अरे, तव कति अपत्यानि तिष्ठन्ति । ”
- “ स्वामिनः द्वौ पुत्रौ स्तः द्वे दुहितरौ च^६ । ”
- “ इमौ द्वावपि तव कुमारौ वा । ”
- “ स्वामिनः । ”^७
- “ एतयोर्नाम किम् । ”
- “ स्वामिनः ज्येष्ठस्य दिवाकर इति नाम । अपरस्य प्रभाकरशर्मा इत्यभिधानम् । ”^८
- “ एताभ्यां किञ्चित्पठ्यते । ”
- “ स्वामिनः किञ्चिद्दयाकरणं पठ्यते । काव्यानि पठ्यन्ते । कोशादिकमधीतं वर्त्तते । ”
- “ एवं वा तर्हि सम्यक् । एनयोर्विवाहो जातोऽस्ति [न] वा । ”
- “ स्वामिनः ज्येष्ठस्य लग्ने जातं कनीयसः^९ न । ”
- “ एवं तर्हि तव स्नुषा न दृश्यते । ”
- “ स्वामिनः अधुना प्रणामार्थमागता स्थिता खलु सैव । ”
- “ एवं^{१०} वा तर्हि^{११} अतिशोभना वर्त्तते । परं लावण्यवती वर्त्तते । तव पुत्रस्य योग्या भवति । ”
- “ स्वामिनः । ”
- “ एतस्याः प्रथमरजोत्सवो जातो वर्त्तते[न]वा । ”
- “ जातः स्वामिनः । ”
- “ कति दिनानि जातानि । ”
- “ स्वामिनः मासद्वयं जातम् । ”
- “ एवं वा तर्हि सम्यक् । परंतु सर्वेषामाज्ञया वर्त्तते खलु । ”
- “ एतावत्पर्यन्तं तिष्ठति । ”
- “ अरे, त्वं परं भाग्यवानसि । ”
- “ स्वामिनः सर्वं भवतां कृपया । ”
- “ अपरा षोडशवार्षिकी दृष्टा, सा का । ”
- “ स्वामिनः मम ज्येष्ठदुहिता । ”

१ O—घटितम् २ C & B—वरा स्त्रियः ३ B—विभवे ४ B—अनापि दृष्टाः । C—त्वयि दृष्टाः
 O—त्वयि दृश्यन्ते ५ B—omits न ६ B & C—वत्तने. ७ C—omits. ८ अपरस्य प्रभाकर
 इत्यभिधानं. C—ज्येष्ठस्य दिवाकर इति शर्मे अपरस्य प्रभाकर इत्यभिधानं. O—omits इत्यभिधानं. ९ O—
 एतयोः. १० O—कनिष्ठस्य. ११ B and C—omit एवम्. १२ B—अतितरा.

“ अरे, एतस्याः परिणेता स एव वा । ”

“ [स्वामिनः ।] ”

“ आः इदं किं कृतम् । स कनीयान्दृश्यते ^१ह्रस्वोऽपि वर्त्तते । अनया योग्यो न भवति । तव एतादृशी लावण्यवती कन्या । स रागडेयः ईदक् दुर्भगः^२ । इदमनुचितं कृतम् । ”

“ स्वामिनः, तस्याः ब्रह्मसूत्रेण कृतम् । मया किं कर्तव्यम् । परं तु वयसा अधिकस्तिष्ठति परं तु ह्रस्वो वर्त्तते । ”

“ भवतु, अपरस्याः विवाहो जातो वा न^३ । ”

“ न हि स्वामिनः । ”

“ तर्हि तस्या एवं न^४ कर्तव्यम् । हो द्रष्टव्यम् । ”

“ स्वामिनः तस्याः प्रारब्धगत्या यद्भविष्यति तद्भवतु । ”

“ अरे, तव कनिष्ठकुमारस्य लग्नं कदा भविष्यति । ”

“ स्वामिनः मासचतुष्टयादूर्ध्वं भविष्यति । ”

“ तर्हि कुत्रचिद्योजितं वर्त्तते । ”

“ हो स्वामिनः^५ ब्रह्मघट्टे एकस्त्रयम्बकभट्टनामा^६ ब्राह्मणस्तिष्ठति । तस्य दुहित्रा साकं घटितार्थः । तथेति तेन^७ दास्यामीत्युक्तं वर्त्तते । परंतु ऋणानुबन्धो बलवत्तरः । अपरं च—

भ्रमन्वनान्ते नवमञ्जरीषु न षट्पदो [गन्धफलीं हि] जिघ्रति ।

सा किं न रम्या स च किं न रन्ता ब्रलीयसी केवलमीश्वरेच्छा ॥ ”^८

“ एवं वा तर्हि अहं तं जानामि । तस्य गृहे मया बहुवारं भिक्षार्थं गतं वर्त्तते । तस्य भार्या अतीव^९ साध्वी वर्त्तते । अतिशोभना वर्त्तते । तथा मयि भूरिस्नेहो विधीयते^{१०} । तस्या हस्ते^{११} पाकस्तु अतिरुचिरो भवति । परं कुशला वर्त्तते । तर्हि सा तव योग्या भवति^{१२} । ”

“ स्वामिनः उपहास्यते किम्^{१३} । ”

“ न हि रे, तव सम्बन्धयोग्या भवति । कुलीना वर्त्तते । तामहं जानामीति कृत्वा उच्यते । ”

“ द्रष्टव्यं स्वामिनः, यदा भविष्यति तदा खलु । ”

“ न हि न हि त्वं सुकृती असि । ईश्वरस्य कृपया तव वाञ्छितं शीघ्रं भविष्यति । ”

“ तथास्तु । ”

१ B—तरुणोऽपि. C—रुणोऽपि. २ B—ईद्रियदुर्भगः. ३ O—omits न. ४ C—omits न.
५ O—omits हो. ६ C—ब्रह्मघट्टे भास्कर नामा. ७ C—घटितार्थस्त्व यातितेन. B—घटितार्थः त्वदाचितेन.
८ O and B omit from अपरं च.....to केवलमीश्वरेच्छा. ९ O—अतिसाध्वी. C—अतीव अतीव साध्वी.
१० O—मयि बहुस्नेहो वर्त्तते. ११ C—omits हस्ते. १२ B—भवसि. O and C—भवति. १३ B—
स्वामिनः उपहाससि. C—स्वामिनः उपहास्यते किम् ।

पुनः स्वामिनः ऊचुः —

“ अरे परं तु मया तव ^१भार्यया समा काऽपि योषिन्न दृष्टा । एतस्याः गुणात्किं वर्णयामि । कुतः, मूर्ध्निद्वयाऽभ्यन्तरं यया एतादृशाः समीचीनो पाको विहितः । एते पदार्थाः रचिताः । पुनः सर्वान्परिविषय ब्राह्मणान्यथेच्छं भोजयित्वा द्राक्^२ स्वयमपि भुक्त्वा त्वयाऽऽकारिते^३ सति अत्राऽपि आगता । एतावानुद्योगः । अन्यासां स्त्रीगामायास्यति [न]^४ वा । एते गुणा अभ्यास-सिद्धा न भवन्ति । कुतः —

दातृत्वं प्रियवक्तृत्वं धीरत्वमुचितज्ञता^५ ।

अभ्यासेन न लभ्यन्ते चत्वारः सहजा गुणाः ॥

एते सर्वे गुणास्तव योषिति वर्तन्ते । त्वयाऽतिभाग्यवशादियं लब्धा । तव परं सुखदात्री भवतु । अरे, श्रुणु, तव योषिस्सगर्भा वर्तते किम् । ”

“ सत्यं स्वामिनः । मासचतुष्टयं जातं वर्तते । ”

“ एवं तर्हि मया आदावेव ज्ञातम् । ”

“ सत्यम् । ”

“ तर्हि सम्यग्जातम् । अप्तपुत्रा भवतु । ”

“ तथाऽस्तु । ”

पुनः ऊचुः स्वामिनः —

“ अरे, तव पिता वाराणसीं त्यक्त्वा गौडदेशे बहुवपेपर्यन्तं किमर्थं स्थितः । ”

“ स्वामिनः विद्याभ्यासार्थं स्थितः^६ । ”

“ तर्हि काश्यामध्ययनं न भवति किम्^७ । ”

“ न भवति^८ कुतः । भवति, परं तु तत्र तर्कं अधीतम्^९ ।

“ किमधीतम्^{१०} । ”

“ स्वामिनः यथा पितृनरणैरभ्यासः कृतस्तावान्मया^{११} कर्तुं न शक्तम् । तदर्थं किञ्चिन्मयाऽपि^{१२} अभ्यस्तम् । ”

“ किं किमभ्यस्तं भवता । ”

“ स्वामीनः मया आदौ पञ्चप्रकरणान्यधीतानि, ततश्चिन्तामणिरधीतः । पश्चाच्छिरोमणिरभ्यस्तः । तदनु मथुरानाथी अधीता । ततो भावानन्दी^{१३} पठिता । ततो मिश्रान्ताऽपि ग्रन्था दृष्टाः । ”

“ अन्यत् किमधीतम् । ”

१ B—भार्यायाः. २ C—प्राक् O—इदृक् स्वयमपि भुक्त्वा. ३ O—आकारिता. ४ O—आयास्यन्ति. B—स्त्रीणां त्रया (पा ?) अतीव. ५ C—उचितज्ञया. B—पावित्र्यं वित्तविज्ञतां. ६ B. omits this reply. ७ O—कुतः < O—तर्कमधीतं. ९ C—omits. १० C—तावत्. O omits from कृतः... ..अभ्यस्तम्. ११ C—omits अपि. १२ C and B—भवानन्दी.

“ अष्टादशाऽपि कोशा दृष्टाः वर्तन्ते । भाष्यान्तं व्याकरणमधीतम् । मीमांसायामप्यध्ययनं वर्तते । वेदान्तेऽपि परिश्रमोऽस्ति । अष्टादशपुराणानि पठितानि^१ वर्तन्ते । छन्दोऽलङ्कारनाटक-साहित्यसहितानि काव्यानि अपि पठितानि वर्तन्ते । ज्योतिषेऽपि अभ्यासोऽस्ति । वैद्यकेऽपि परिश्रमो विहितः । सङ्गीतेऽपि भूरिपरिश्रमो^२ वर्तते । अतोऽप्यधिकं यत्किञ्चिद्वर्तते तत्र सर्वत्र मम^३ अभिनिवेशो वर्तते । ”

स्वामिनः उचुः—“ त्वया सर्वमधीतं वेदो नाधीतः किम्, शिव शिव । ”

“ स्वामिनः वेदं विना ब्राह्मणत्वं कुत्र । ब्राह्मणानामादौ वेदाध्ययनं पश्चात्किमपि भवतु । ”

“ तर्हि^४ कान्वेदानधीतवानसि । ”

“ ऋग्वेदोऽथ यजुर्वेदः सामवेदो ह्यथर्वणः ।

वेदा अधीताश्चत्वारः सपडङ्गपदक्रमाः ॥ ”^५

“ एवं वा तर्हि सम्यक् न हि मया श्रूयते वङ्गदेशीया ब्राह्मणाः केवलं वेदवाद्या भवन्ति । ”

“ सत्यम्, स्वामिनः । तत्रस्था ब्राह्मणाः स्मृतिप्रामाण्येन^६ वर्तन्ते । न तु^७ वेदाध्ययनं कुर्वन्ति । ”

“ एवं वा भवतु । अन्यत्किञ्चिन्मया श्रुतं वर्तते । यत्तत्रत्याः ब्राह्मणा अपि^८ मत्स्याशनं कुर्वन्ति । तर्हि अयं तु^९ भूयान्दुराचारः क्रियते तैः । इदं सत्यं वा अलीकम् । ”

“ तत्तु सत्यं^{१०} स्वामिनः । ”

“ एतादृशो दुराचारः कुत्र नास्ति^{११} । ”

“ सर्वत्र एकैकः दुराचारस्तिष्ठति । ”

“ एतादृशः दुराचारः कुत्रचित् तिष्ठति किम् । ”^{१२}

“ अहं दर्शयामि स्वामिनः । भवद्भिर्द्रष्टव्यम्—

आदौ दक्षिणदेशे कलौ मातुलकन्याप्रणयनं (परिणयनं) दुराचारः^{१३} । वर्षचतुष्टयात्प्राक् कन्याया विवाहो^{१४} दुराचारः । आन्ध्रदेशे^{१५} हलचरणं^{१६} दुराचारः । श्रीमतां कर्णाटकदेशे^{१७} स्नानं विना भोजनं दुराचारः । ताम्रपात्रे गव्यादिनिक्षेपणं^{१८} दुराचारः । द्रविडकेरलयोः सर्वासां कुचदर्शनं दुराचारः । पथि पर्युषितान्नभक्षणं दुराचारः । केरलदेशे उपरिसुरतं दुराचारः । कोङ्कणदेशे वृक्षारोहणं दुराचारः । गुर्जरदेशे चर्मोदकपानं^{१९} तृतीयदिने रजस्वलास्नानं दुराचारः । उत्तरदेशे कलौ मांसभक्षणं दुराचारः । क्वचित् शुष्कमांसभक्षणं दुराचारः ।

१ C—अष्टादशानि पुराणानि कथितानि. O—कथितानि. B—अष्टानि काव्यानि पठितानि वर्तन्ते ।

२ B—संगीतेषु भूरि परिश्रमो C—संगीतेषु परिश्रमोरित. ३ O—न मे ४ O omits कान्. ५ C—चत्वारो वेदा अधीता सपडङ्गपदक्रमाः । O—वेदाधीता....पदविक्रमाः । ६ O—प्रमाणेन. ७ B. च. ८ O and C omit अपि. ९ O—omits तु. १० O—तत्सत्यं. C—न तु. ११ C—एतादृशाः दुराचाराः कुत्र नास्ति. B—कुत्रापि नास्ति. १२ C—एतादृशः कुत्रचित् दुराचारस्तिष्ठति किं । B. एतादृश कुत्र दुरस्तिष्ठति किं । O omits एतादृश.... तिष्ठति. १३ C—कन्यावरणं इदमेव दुराचारः । O—omits कलौ. B—omits दुराचारः । १४ O—कन्याप्रणयनं. C—कन्याविवाहो. १५ B—अन्ध्रदेशे. १६ C—हलवहने. १७ C—कर्णाटकं O—कर्णाटकं B. कर्णाटके देशे. १८ B—गव्यादीनां निक्षेपे. १९ B—चर्मोदकपानं C. गुर्जरदेशे चर्मोदकं. O—चर्मोपानं.

पर्वतदेशे कलौ देवरेण सुतोत्पत्तां(त्तिः) दुराचारः । १मैथिल-गौड-देशे सदातैललेपनं^१ दुराचारः । गौडदेशे वेदत्यागो^२ दुराचारः । कान्यकुब्जदेशे पण्यस्थ^३घृतपक्वभक्षणं दुराचारः । विवाहादौ भोजनसमये पररपरस्पर्शनं दुराचारः^४ । उत्तरदेशे परत्री [गमनम्] दुराचारः । उत्कलदेशे सुखमुरतं दुराचारः । गौड-द्रविड-केरल-उत्कल-मैथिलेषु^५ पक्व-कलमतण्डुलभक्षणं दुराचारः । मगधे वर्णसङ्करणं^६ दुराचारः । चन्द्रावत्यां दासीगमनं दुराचारः । काश्मीरदेशीयाः द्विजाः केवलयवनप्रायाः खलु तेषां दुराचाराणां गणनैव नास्ति । सर्वेषां स्ववृत्तिं परित्यज्य अन्यवृत्त्यवलम्बनं कन्याद्यविक्रयाणां विक्रयकरणं पथि ताम्बूलभक्षणमित्यादि दुराचारविशेषः स्वभावत एव भवति^७ । स्वामिनः, महाराष्ट्रं विना सर्वासु^८ जातिषु कश्चित्कश्चिद्दुराचारस्तिप्रत्येव । महाराष्ट्रेष्वपि ये माध्वाः वर्तन्ते तेषां दुराचारस्य लेशोऽपि^९ न दृश्यते । ”

“ इदं तु त्वया सत्यमुक्तं मयाप्यनुभूतं वर्तते । ”

“ स्वामिनः, नो चेदनुत्तमुच्यते किम् । श्रीमतां कृपयां वयं सर्वं जानीमः सत्यम् । ”

“ अरे, तव गौडदेशे कानि कानि तीर्थानि वर्तन्ते । ”

“ स्वामिनः गङ्गासागरतीर्थं वर्तते, कुमारिकाक्षेत्रं^{१०} वर्तते^{११} । ब्रह्मपुत्रस्तिष्ठति । कामरूपेश्वर-स्तिष्ठति । कामाक्षी-देवी^{१२} वर्तते । अतोऽप्यधिकानि बहूनि तीर्थानि^{१३} बहून्यायतनानि वर्तन्ते । ”

“ एवम्, अन्यत्किं विशिष्टवस्तु जायते । ”

“ स्वामिनः, पट्टवस्त्राणि बहुविचित्राणि^{१४} बहूनांल्यानि तत्र भवन्ति । क्षीरोदकसंज्ञानि दुकूलानि अतिसमीचीनानि जायन्ते^{१५} । अन्यान्यपि रेश्मसम्भवानि चौराणि बहुविचित्राणि भवन्ति^{१६} । स्वामिनः पृथिव्यां रेश्मोत्पत्तिस्तत्रैव जायते । अन्यानि^{१७} तूलजातानि वस्त्राणि अतिसूक्ष्माणि भवन्ति । तथा सर्वाणि धान्यानि तत्र भवन्ति । व्रीहयो भवन्ति । गोधूमा भवन्ति । यवाः, चणकाः, आढक्योः^{१८} मापाः, मुद्गाः, मसूराः, राजमापाः, कुल्लिथाः, लङ्काः,^{१९} तिलाः, खल्वाः, प्रियङ्गवः, एणवः,^{२०} नीवाराः, श्यामाकाः,^{२१} मण्डवाः,^{२२} सर्वपास्त्रिविधाः भवन्ति^{२३} । पृथुको अतिसमीचीनो जायते^{२४} । स कथं पृथुकः—

१ C—omits पर्वतदेशे...मिथिलगौडदेशे...दुराचारः । and takes it after उत्कल etc.
२ O & B—मिथिलं ३ B—सदातैलस्नानं O—तैलभक्षणं लेपनं ४ C—adds अपि ५ O—
अपर्णस्थ घृतभक्षणं C—पण्यस्थघृतभक्षणं ६ B—omits उत्कलदेशे...दुराचारः । ७ C—^१पक्वकेलमेतदुल.
O—पक्वमलतदुलं ८ C—मगधदेशे वर्णसंक्रो ९ O—स्वयमेव भवति. १० O and C—ज्ञातिषु
११ C—लवलेशोऽपि १२ B—गङ्गासागरस्वतीतीर्थं etc. O—omits गङ्गा...वर्तते then, कुमारिकादेवी वर्तते ।
१३ C—adds कुमारिका देवी वर्तते १४ B and C—कामाक्षीदेवी १५ O—omits बहून्यायतनानि...
upto अन्यत् in the next line.s १६ C—omit बहुविचित्राणि १७ C—दुकूलानि भवन्ति । समीचीना
जायन्ते । १८ C—रेश्मसंभवानि समीचीनानि बहुविचित्राणि भवन्ति । B—रेश्मसं [भ]वानि चीनानि
बहुविचित्राणि भवन्ति । O—रेश्मसंभवानि चौराणि बहुविधानि संति । १९ O—अन्यत्र तूलजानि २० C—
यवाः भवन्ति । चणकाः भवन्ति । आढक्यो द्विजातीनि भवन्ति । मापाः द्विजातीयाः भवन्ति । मुद्गाः मसूराः etc.
२१ C—लकाः २२ C—एणवः २३ C—श्यामकाः O—श्यामकाः २४ B and C—मंडवाः O—मंडवाः
२५ O and B—omit भवन्ति. २६ O—पृथुकाः अतिसमीचीना जायन्ते ।

कीरतनूरुहपीतस्तरुणीकरकमलैरुपनीतः ।

पयसा शर्करया समुपेतः कर्षति कस्य जनस्य न चेतः ॥

१एतादृशाश्चिपिटकास्तत्रैव भवन्ति । शर्करा अतिशोभना जायते, सिताऽपि भवति^२ । गुडोऽपि भवति ।

दुग्धं समीचीनं जायते, दधि भवति, क्षौद्रं भवति,^३ घृतमतिसमीचीनं भवति । तैलानि बहुविधानि भवन्ति, तिलतैलं, सर्षपतैलं, अतसीतैलं, एरण्डतैलं, कुसुम्भतैलं^४ च जायते । नानाविधानि सुगन्धि तैलानि भवन्ति । नानाविधानि सुगन्ध(न्धि) अर्काणि भवन्ति^५ ।

बहुविधा शाखा भवन्ति । बहुविधा वृक्षा भवन्ति । आम्रवृक्षा^१ भवन्ति, पनसवृक्षा वर्तन्ते, नारिकेलितरवः, क्रमुकवृक्षाः,^२ बहुविधाः कदलीतरवश्च सन्ति । बदरीवृक्षाः जम्बूवृक्षाः^३ दाडिमी-वृक्षा वर्तन्ते । कदम्बवृक्षाः बकुलभूरुहाः सन्ति । पारिजाततरवः^४ नागचम्पकाः अनेकजातीया निम्बूतरवः सन्ति पिचुमन्दवृक्षाः । नारङ्गगुल्माः भूचम्पकगुल्माः वर्तन्ते । कनकचम्पकगुल्माः सन्ति^५ । ^६सीताफलशाखिनः कपित्थवृक्षाः केतकीगुल्माः सन्ति । शमीवृक्षाः धातकीवृक्षाः^७ तिनित्णीतरवः करमर्दुगुल्माः^८ भूपनशगुल्मास्तिष्ठन्ति । देवदारुतरवस्तिष्ठन्ति । शुष्कागरुतरवः कृष्णागरुतरवः न्यग्रोधवृक्षाः^९ सन्ति । अध्वत्थवृक्षाः वर्तन्ते^{१०} । शाल्मलीतरवः काञ्चनवृक्षाः सन्ति । बिल्ववृक्षाः सन्ति । मधूकवृक्षाः वर्तन्ते^{११} । अशोकवृक्षाः सन्ति । औदुम्बरवृक्षाः वर्तन्ते । कर्मतरवः^{१२} सन्ति । तमालतरवः तालवृक्षाः शालवृक्षाः शालकलवृक्षाः सरलतरवः पुत्रागवृक्षाः अर्जुनवृक्षास्तिष्ठन्ति । वनवदर्यः केतकवृक्षाः विद्यन्ते^{१३} । धवखादिरशाखिनः कर्बूरवृक्षाः^{१४} पलाशतरवः विभीतकवृक्षाः भल्लातकवृक्षाः भूजवृक्षाः अभयवृक्षाः सन्ति । कीचका वर्तन्ते । वेतसाः सन्ति । करञ्जकवृक्षास्सन्ति । गुग्गुलुवृक्षा भवन्ति । चन्दनतरवः कदम्बवृक्षा-स्सप्तच्छदाः सन्ति । चारवृक्षाः अर्गस्तवृक्षाः^{१५} अक्षतरवः^{१६} सन्ति । वचनागतरवः वनस्पतयो बहुविधा भवन्ति । अपामार्गगुल्माः नागरङ्गगुल्माः^{१७} सन्ति । नागकेसरं जायते । भृङ्गराजतृणं

१ B—एतादृशश्चपट्क० २ B—omits शर्करा...भवति ३ C—दधिभवक्षौद्रो भवति. O—omits क्षौद्रं भवति...upto वृक्षा भवन्ति । ४ B—कुसुंभ० ५ O and B omit नानाविधानिमुग्ध...अर्काणि भवन्ति । Is this a later interpolatoin ? ६ O omits from भवन्ति...पिचुमन्दवृक्षाः । It reads आम्रवृक्षाः जम्बूवृक्षाः नारंगगुल्माः etc. C omits भवन्ति only. ७ C—क्रमुकाः. ८ C—जंबूफलतरवः. ९ C—त्र्यपकवृक्षाः त्रिविधाः संति । बहुविधाः नानातरवानि बहुतरवः संति पिचुमंदवृक्षाः संति । १० References to भूचम्पक and कनकचम्पकगुल्माः omitted in C. ११ B and C—शीताफल० १२ B and C—धात्रीवृक्षाः १३ B—कर्बदगुल्माः C—करगुल्माः. १४ C—भूपलाश. O—भूपणश. १५ B adds here तमालतरवः but they figure after कर्मतरवः below in C and O. C adds here—चंदनवृक्षाः औदुंबरवृक्षाः रक्तचंदनतरवः, शुष्कागरुतरवः कृष्णागरुतरवः. Omitted in B and O but B and O give औदुंबरवृक्षाः below. I have omitted चंदनवृक्षाः and रक्तचंदनवृक्षाः from the text above. १६ B—सन्ति. १७ B omits शाल्मलीतरवः...मधुकवृक्षाः वर्तन्ते. The order of the different trees is different in B, O and C. १८ B—चर्मतरवः. १९ C—बदरीवृक्षाः केतकवृक्षाः etc. B—वनवदर्यः तैटुकवृक्षाः etc. २० B and C—वर्जुवृक्षाः. २१ Omitted by O. २२ B—माक्षर(?)तरवः. C—प्रक्षतरवः. ३ O and C omit नागरंगुल्माः.

१ O—omits मानकम्.....अक्षरसंख्यया लिखितं भवति । २ C—
 सूच्यते । B—सूच्यते । B—सूच्यते । ३ B and C—मातीचरतः ४ O—गजवर्षे ५ O and C—
 कन्दुव्यालि ६ O—माती ७ C—दमनस्युमाः मख्युमाः भवति । B omits ८ O—
 omits ९ B omits १० O—युक्तस्यः ११ C—omits the word सुरवेति, but adds
 after भवति, ईदीवर्याणि जायते । १२ O—दीपतविद्युः १३ C—कामो १४ C—
 जलकुंडलिनो B—जलकुंडलिनो १५ O—omits दायते...दरितः भवति १६ C—कात्काश्रितः
 १७ O—omits यथा...वपुः...परावताः भवति १८ O and C—द्विधाः १९ C—adds
 यथाः भवति B—व यथा (यथा) भवति २० O & B omits २१ B—omits २२ C—यथाः
 २३ O—सूच्यते B—सूच्यते

नवा वद्वत्तद्विहितं । पुरीससिद्धोऽस्ति । मानीरधी बतुते । अस्यालि वद्विव्यालि सरासि
 विद्यते । पुष्करिण्यः सति । तसि वद्विव्यालि सरासिदेहालि मवति । कुमुदालि वद्विव्यालि
 जायते । तत्र वद्विव्याः पक्षिजालयः सति । नीलपतविज्यः सति । देसा विद्यते । वकाः
 विद्यते । कायसा विद्यते । पिकाः विद्यते । मयूः सति । चालकाः सति । चक्रवाकाः
 सति । खजराः सति । युका विद्यते साहिका विद्यते । चक्रीः सति । जलकुम्कुटाः
 विद्यते । कोण्डयः सति । दालुः सति । देरितः सति । चक्रीयाः सति । काण्डपक्षिणः
 सति । यथाः सति । चापाः सति । पिङ्गलाः सति । पारावताः सति । सास्याः सति ।
 वलकाः विद्यते । पुरिण्यः सति । द्विधाः सति ।

अतोऽप्यपिका वनरमलि विद्याया वद्वत्तद्विहितं ।
 विद्यते । कायाः विद्यते । यारा विद्यते । श्वेतद्वेषी विद्यते । विष्णुकान्तं गुणमति ।
 कुलीयुत्तमाः, मास्युत्तमालि मवति । देवेषी मवति । अपरमादेवेषी मवति । कुपाः
 जातीकुसुमालि, मलिकापुष्पाणि विद्यते । वन्दकपुष्पाणि, सिन्दूरकुसुमालि, मालीकुसुमालि,
 वासविकका, कुन्दपुष्पाणि, करवीरपुष्पाणि, पान्दलकुसुमालि, मन्दारपुष्पाणि,
 गुडेषी, नानामनजलता, गुडालता बतुते । नानवसुलीलता विद्यते । सेवलिनाकुलि मवति ।
 अथ ललाशियाः—मावीलता, मालवीलता, आकाशवल्ली, मदीचलता, लिपलीलता,
 मवति । अपरलिनास्ति । पुननवा बतुते । विजयायुत्तमा मवति । देवीवीवावरपुलि विद्यते ।
 जायते । वृद्धीयुत्तमाः मवति । अक्षरसंख्ययाः सूच्यतेऽप्युत्तमाः । वयो-बाहो-मुष्की-द्वेषी-वेषी

अथ जलजन्तवः ।—बहुविधा मत्स्याः सन्ति, शफर्यः सन्ति,^१ कूर्मा विद्यन्ते । नकाः विद्यन्ते । जलसर्पाः सन्ति । जलश्रिकाः सन्ति । कर्कटा विद्यन्ते । जलौका विद्यन्ते । जलमूषका विद्यन्ते । एभ्योऽपि बहुविधाः जलजन्तवस्तिष्ठन्ति । नौविशेषाः बहवः सन्ति । ^२नौचारिणः बहुकुशलाः वर्तन्ते^३ । कैवर्तकाः बहवः सन्ति । नौव्यवसायिनः बहवो वर्तन्ते ।

बहुविधा जनाः वर्तन्ते—ब्राह्मणाः वर्तन्ते, क्षत्रियाः वर्तन्ते, वैश्याः सन्ति, शूद्राः वर्तन्ते । गुर्जरा वर्तन्ते । आन्ध्रास्तिष्ठन्ति । कर्णाटका वर्तन्ते । द्रविडा वर्तन्ते । महाराष्ट्रास्तिष्ठन्ति ।

चित्तपावनाः सन्ति । काण्वाः^४ सन्ति । माध्यन्दिनाः सन्ति । जैनाः सन्ति । कान्यकुब्जाः सन्ति । सारस्वताः सन्ति । माथुरा वर्तन्ते । पाञ्चालाः^५ वर्तन्ते । मरुजाः सन्ति । ^६भागधीयाः सन्ति । मैथिलाः सन्ति । पार्वतीयाः सन्ति । त्रिहूतनाः सन्ति । गौडानां देश एव तु । उत्कलाः वर्तन्ते । काशीस्था वर्तन्ते । गयापालकाः वसन्ति^७ । प्रयागपालकाः अपि गच्छन्ति ।

अन्ये नीचजातीया वर्तन्ते । नापिताः^८ सन्ति । रजकाः सन्ति । कुलालाः वर्तन्ते । शिल्पिनः सन्ति^९ । वणिजस्तिष्ठन्ति । पटकाराः^{१०} सन्ति । मागधाः सन्ति । अन्ये पण्यजीविनो^{११} बहवः सन्ति । यवनाः प्रवर्तन्ते । चण्डालाः वर्तन्ते । वंशस्फोटकाः वर्तन्ते । धीवराः सन्ति । वनेचराः^{१२} सन्ति । व्याधाः वर्तन्ते । कुसुमोपजीविनः^{१३} सन्ति । जटिलाः^{१४} वर्तन्ते । तापसाः सन्ति । वैरागिणः सन्ति । भैरवोपासकाः^{१५} सन्ति । नटाः सन्ति । नर्तकाः सन्ति । वैश्याः^{१६} सन्ति । वैश्योपजीविनः सन्ति । मन्त्रिकाः सन्ति^{१७} । व्यवसायिनो बहवस्तिष्ठन्ति । धनिका बहवो वर्तन्ते । वैद्याः सन्ति । ज्योतिर्विदः सन्ति । एवंविधा सर्वजातीया जनास्तत्र वसन्ति^{१८} । स्वामिनः, भूरि किं वक्तव्यं, पृथिव्यां ये विशिष्टाः पदार्थाः वर्तन्ते ते सर्वे तत्र विद्यन्ते । ”

“ एवं वा तर्हि अतिसमीचीनो देशस्तिष्ठति । तर्हि मयाऽपि एकवारं गन्तव्यम् । अत्र गङ्गासागरे स्नानं विधाय, अग्रे पुरुषोत्तमस्य दर्शनं कृत्वाऽऽगन्तव्यम् । चातुर्मास्यं विधाय गमिष्यामि । ”

“ तर्हि गन्तव्यं स्वामिनः, सर्वं द्रष्टव्यम् । ”

‘ भवतु ’ इत्युक्ते सति भूयः यजमान उवाच —

“ स्वामिनः भवतां पूर्वाश्रमे को वा ग्रामः । ”

“ अरे, पूर्वाश्रमे अस्माकं कर्नाटकदेशे चंजीग्रामः^{१९} । ”

१ O omits शफर्यः सन्ति. २ B omits नौचारिणः.....कैवर्तकाः सन्ति. ३ O adds बहुविधाः जनाः वर्तन्ते, obviously from below. ४ O and C—काणवाः B—काणवाः. ५ C and B—पाश्चात्याः. ६ B omits मागधीयाः....त्रिहूतनाः सन्ति । ७ C reads for प्रयागपालकाः etc., गयापालकाः तत्र गच्छन्ति । गंगापुत्राः तत्र आगच्छन्ति. ८ O—नापिताः. ९ O adds गुयापालकः before शिल्पिनः, obviously a scribal error of rewriting गयापालकाः of the line above. C—adds after शिल्पिनः सन्ति—चित्रकारिणस्तिष्ठन्ति, जंतुपाला वर्तन्ते । स्वर्णशिल्पिनः अयसशिल्पिनः and before वणिजस्तिष्ठन्ति । १० O—पटुकाराः, C—पटुकाराः ११ O—अन्योपजीविनो बहवः C—अन्येप्यजीविनो. १२ C—वनेचराः १३ O—कुसुमोपजीविनः B—कोसुमोप १४ O—बटिलाः १५ C—भैरवपालकाः १६ C—कुटलाः O—वैश्याः १७ B—omits. १८ B—omits एवंविधा etc. १९ O—चंदिं C—वीजापूरं

“ एवं तर्हि पूर्वाश्रमे श्रीमतां का वा वृत्तिः स्थिता, भिक्षुकवृत्तिः स्थिता वा^१ व्यवसायवृत्तिः स्थिता । ”

“ अरे तत्किमपि मा पृच्छ । तत्किमपि वक्तुम् नोत्सहेऽहम् । ”

“ न हि स्वामिनः मम श्रोतुमिच्छा वर्तते । श्राव्यमेव ।

“ अरे, मया पूर्वाश्रमे व्यवसायवृत्त्या स्थितम् । यदा दिल्लीश्वरस्य^२ अमात्यः असत्खान^३ इति । तस्य पुत्रः जुलुफकारखानः^४ । स यदा दिग्विजयार्थमागतस्तदा तस्य निकटे मया भूरि दिवसपर्यन्तं व्यवसितम्^५ । तदा अस्माकं निकटे सहस्रद्वयमश्वचाराः स्थिताः । दशसहस्रपादचाराः स्थिताः । चत्वारिंशद्दन्तिनः स्थिताः । बहवो उष्ट्राः स्थिताः^६ । बहवो रथाः स्थिताः । तदा मद्गृहे चतस्रः पल्यङ्क्यः^७ स्थिताः । कतिशो भारवाहकाः शकटाः स्थिताः । पूर्वमस्माकं गृहे षोडश दास्यः अतिसुन्दर्यः स्थिताः । तासां लावण्यं वर्णितुं न शक्नुमः^८ । तादृशीः मम गृहिण्यः अपि नासीत् । ताः सर्वाः मम सेवायां अतितत्पराः स्थिताः । तासु एका अतिशोभना स्थिता । तस्याः गुणाः सौन्दर्यं किं वर्णनीयम् । केवलमपरा देवाङ्गनेव स्थिता । तस्यां मम रुचिरतीव स्थिता । मां विना तस्या अपि मनः कुत्राऽपि न गतम् ।

अरे पूर्वं मम निकटे कतिशो वाराङ्गनाः स्थिताः । ताः मम बाहूनामन्तिके सदैव आसन् । तास्वपि एका अतीव लावण्यवती स्थिता । तस्यामतीव कौशल्यं स्थितम् । तस्याः कण्ठस्य माधुर्यं नृत्यगीतादिकं तथा आलापामिनयाँश्चैव वर्णितुं नैव शक्यते । अधुनाऽपि यदा तस्याः स्मरणं जायते तदा मम मनः कुत्राऽपि न लगति । तत्किं वक्तव्यं यज्जातं यद्गतं स्वप्नवत्स्मरणम् ।

अरे पूर्वं मद्गृहे प्रत्यहं शतशः ब्राह्मणाः भोक्तारः स्थिताः । तैः साकं मया सुहृताभ्यन्तरमेव भोक्तव्यम् । तथैव बहवो अन्नार्थिनः । तथैव वस्त्रार्थिनः^९ । तथा कतिशो याचकाः । अन्येऽपि ये ये अर्थिनः मां प्रति आगतास्तेषां सर्वेषां मनोवाञ्छितं मया दत्तम् । मम प्रभुतायां सत्यां मत्सकाशात्कोऽपि निराशतया नाऽगमत् । पूर्वं मे तादृशी^{१०} विभूतिः स्थिता । अधुना अनुभूतमपि तत्सर्वं स्वप्नप्रयायं भासते । तस्य स्मरणे महती व्यथा जायते । ”

“ तर्हि स्वामिनः पूर्वमेतादृशं वैभवं स्थितम् । सहसा तत्सर्वं कुत्र गतम् । तत्र किं कारणं जातम् । ”

१ C—omits भिक्षु.....वा. B—omits भिक्षुक.....व्यवसायवृत्तिः स्थिता. २ C—इन्द्रप्रस्थेश्वरस्य. O—दिल्लीश्वरस्य ३ B—असतवान C—असतवात. ४ C—जुलुफदारखार O—जुलुफगारखान ५ O—विमृतं B—व्यवसितं. ६ O—omits ७ O—पल्यङ्क्यः C—पल्यङ्कः ८ C adds after this:—सा कथंभूता । पद्मनेत्रद्वयं, यस्याः वक्त्रं चेन्द्रोपमं शुभम् । स्मरपा (?) शोभौ (स्मरोपमशुभौ ?) कणौ, कप(पा)लौ चन्द्रकोज्वलौ, नासिका तिलपुष्पाभा, कामचापोपमौ भ्रुवौ । दशनाः हीरकैस्तुल्याः । द्विभ्रुवौ (दाडिमौ) पमितधरा (मितौ अधरौ) । मयूरस्य कलापेन तुल्यं कचनिबन्धनं शंखरेखात्रयेणाऽपि कंठदेश (शो) विराजते । स्वल्पकं मध्यदेशं च मुष्टिग्राह्यं तु केवलम् । नामिमंडलमध्यस्थं लावण्यं केन गृह्यते ॥ रंभोपमौ उरूजंवे भुजौ कमंडल (कमल)दंडकौ । चरणस्थलकमलाभं मणिमंडितनूपुरं । इत्यादि मम गृहिणीपि नासीत् । C—seems to be later than both B and O as it reads बीजापूरग्रामः for चंजी above. As both B and O omit this passage, the passage may be a later addition. ९ B omits. १० C—पूर्वं पतादृशी.

“ अरे श्रुणु । मया करिंमश्चिद्दिने योषिद्धिः सह रहसि सौधान्तरे स्थितम् । तस्मिन्काले मम प्रभुणा आकारितम् । द्विवारं दूतः प्रेषितः । मया ^१सौन्दर्यवशात्सुखोत्पत्तिं त्यक्त्वा न गतम् । तदा भूयोऽपि अनुचरः प्रेषितः । तथाऽपि मया न गतम् । इति कारणात्सः अतीव क्रुद्धः । तेन अकस्मात् एकसमयावच्छेदेन सहस्रचतुष्टयाश्वचाराणां सेनानीः प्रेषितः^२ । तदा ममानुयायिनः असन्नद्धाः^३ स्थिताः । तदा तेन घटिकाद्वयाभ्यन्तरं सर्वं लुण्ठितम् । मामपि गृहीत्वा चतुर्भुजं विधाय^४ नीतम् । तदा प्रभुणा अतीव निर्भर्त्सितम् । मासचतुष्टयपर्यन्तं तस्य काराग्रहे स्थितम् । पश्चाच्छृङ्खलामोचनं जातम् । तद्दिनादारभ्य मम मनसि अतीव अनुतापो जातः । तदा अहं सर्वं कुटुम्बादिकं त्यक्त्वा कुरुक्षेत्रं गतः तत्र कियद्दिनपर्यन्तं तपोऽनुष्ठितम् । तत्रैव संन्यासो गृहीतः । पश्चादिहागतम् । ”

“ तर्हि स्वामिनः, श्रीमतां तुर्याश्रमं गृहीत्वा कतिवर्षाणि जातानि । ”

“ अरे मम द्वादशवर्षाणि^५ जातानि । एतावद्दिनपर्यन्तं मया तीर्थाटनं कृतम् । साम्प्रतं मासचतुष्टयं जातमिहागत्य । अधुना सर्वं त्यक्त्वा मणिकर्णिकां सेवयामि । ”

“ एवं तर्हि सम्यक् क्रियते स्वामिनः ।

विश्वेश्वरसमो देवः क्षेत्रं वाराणसीसमम् ।

मणिकर्णिकासमं तीर्थं नारितं ब्रह्माण्डगोलके ॥

एवमुक्तं वर्त्तते इति कृत्वा भवत्सदृशमेतादृशं क्षेत्रं विहाय अन्यत्र वासोऽनुचितः । ”

“ सत्यमुच्यते त्वया । ममाऽपि मनसि एवमेव वर्त्तते । कुतः—

असारे खलु संसारे सारमेतच्चतुष्टयम् ।

काशीवासः^६ सतां सङ्गो गङ्गाम्भः शम्भुपूजनम्^७ ॥

एतादृशं स्थलं विहाय अन्यत्र गन्तुमुचितं वा नहि । ”

“ स्वामिनः सत्यम् ” इत्युक्ते सति स्वामिन ऊचुः—

“ अरे मया अतः परं मठं प्रति गम्यते । ममाऽद्य भूरि कालक्षेपो जातः । गीतापाठोऽपि न कृतः ।^८ मम अनुष्ठानस्य समयो जातः अतः परं गन्तव्यमेव । ”

इत्युक्त्वा स्वामिनः उत्थिताः । तदा यजमानेन स्वामिनां साष्टाङ्गं प्रणामं विधाय यतिवर्यैस्सह कतिचित्पदानि गतम् ।^९ ईषदूरं गत्वा स्वामिनो^{१०} विज्ञापितवान्—

१ C—सौकर्यवशात्. O—सौकार्यवशात्. २ O—सहस्रचतुष्टयाश्वचाराणां सेना प्रेषिता । ३ B and O—सन्नद्धाः. O omits मम. ४ C—ममपि गृहीत्वा चतुर्भुजं विधाय. B—ममपि गृहीत्वा भुजवन्धनं विधाय. ५ C—द्वादशचतुर्मास्यानि मम जातानि । ६ C—काश्यां वासः. ७ C—शिवपूजनं. ८ C adds here—सप्तशतीपाठोपि न कृतः । विष्णुस्तवराजपाठोपि न कृतः । विष्णुसहस्रनामस्य पाठोपि न कृतः । गजेन्द्रमोक्षस्य पाठोपि न कृतः । भीष्मस्तवराजपाठोपि न कृतः । The passage, like the description of female beauty given by C above, may be a later interpolation. The passage is omitted by both B and O. ९ C—तदा यजमानः... गच्छति । १० C and O—स्वामिनां.

“ स्वामिनः, अद्य^१ भूरि श्रमितम् । अतीवकालो^२ जातः । क्षन्तव्यम् स्वामिनः । ”

“ नारायण नारायण, इदं किमुच्यते । एतादृशं शिक्षासौकर्यं कुत्रापि न भविष्यति । एतादृशी भक्तिः कस्याऽपि न स्यात्^३ ।

यादृशी भावना यस्य “सिद्धिर्भवति तादृशी । ”

“ स्वामिनः सर्वं श्रीमतां प्रसादात् । अतः परं शनैः शनैः गन्तव्यम् । ”

इत्युक्ते सति स्वामिभिरनुज्ञातः सन् पश्चान्निवृत्तः । तदा स्वामिनः कमण्डलुं कुत्रचिन्निक्षिप्य दण्डयष्टिम-
वलम्ब्य शनैः शनैरतिकष्टेन स्वमठं प्रति गताः^४ । मठं गत्वा शिष्यं प्रति ऊचुः—

“ अरे मेघाश्रम, त्वं शीघ्रमुत्तिष्ठ । तूर्णमास्तरणं विधेहि । ”

अथ तेनोच्यते—“ स्वामिनः अनुष्ठानस्य समयो जातः । इदानीं निद्रा कथं विधीयते ।

“ अरे त्वं तूष्णीमास्तरणं विधेहि । एकं व्यजनमा^५ (वीजनमा) द्रीकृत्य मां वीजय । शरीरे अतीव दाहो जायते । ”

“ तर्हि, स्वामिनः अद्य किं किं भुक्तम् । ”

“ अरे अधुना किमपि मा पृच्छ । पश्चाद्दद्यामि । अधुना वक्तुं न शक्यते । स्थातुमपि न शक्यते । ”

एवमुक्त्वा स्वामिषु शयितेषु सत्सु ततः यजमानः किमाचरितवान्तदाह । यजमानः पुनस्त्रियमुवाच—

“ अयि शृणोसि । अद्य त्वमपि श्रमिताऽसि । अहमपि श्रमितोऽस्मि इति कृत्वा अद्य अट्टालोपरि^६
तूर्णं शय्यां विरचय । सर्वानर्भकान्स्वापयित्वा^७ त्वमपि शीघ्रमुपरि आगच्छ । आदौ मम सन्ध्यावन्दनार्थमुदकं देहि । ”

इत्युक्ते सति तथा एवमेव कृतम् । सन्ध्यार्थमुदकं दत्तम् । तस्मिन्सन्ध्यामनुष्ठितवति सति शीघ्रमुपरि गत्वा पर्यङ्कोपरि^८ आस्तरणमास्तृतं^९ तदुपरि मल्लिकाकुसुमानि विकीर्य तदुपरि अतिशुभ्रं चीनांशुकमास्तीर्य शिरोदेशे कण्डुद्वयं^{१०} संस्थाप्य पर्यङ्कस्याधोदेशे ताम्बूलसाधनादिकं सर्वं निक्षिप्य स्वामिनः समर्पयत्^{११} । तदा सः सन्ध्यां विधाय उपरि गतः^{१२} । पर्यङ्कोपरि उपविश्य स्त्रियमा-
कारितवान् ।

“ अये त्वं शीघ्रमुपरि आगच्छ । अधः किं करोषि । ”

इत्युक्ते सति सा अपत्यादीन्यधास्थानं स्थापयित्वा स्वयमुपरि आगता । तदा सः तां निरीक्ष्य

१ O—अति. २ O and C—अतिकालो. ३ C—भक्तिरपि. B—omits कस्यापि. ४ C—
बुद्धिर्भवति. ५ O omits तदा स्वामिनः.... गताः । B—दण्डमप्यवलम्ब्य. B—मठं प्रति गतः । ६ O—
व्यंजन. B—वीजयमादी. C—व्यजन. ७ C—अट्टालीकोपरि. ८ C—सर्वानर्भकान् अधः स्थापय त्वमपि
शीघ्रमु. O—सर्वानर्भकान् अधः स्थापयित्वा. ९ C—पर्यङ्कोपरि. १० O—आस्तीर्णमास्तृतं. B—पर्यङ्कोपरि
आस्तरयामास. ११ C—कटुकद्वयं. B—गण्डुकद्वयं. १२ B—स्वामिनमाख्यात. C—स्वामिनमारव्यत्.
१३ B—आगतः.

सविलासमुवाच—

“ पानीयं पातुमिच्छामि त्वत्तः कमललोचने ।
यदि दास्यसि नेच्छामि नो दास्यसि पिबाम्यहम् ॥^१ ”

इति श्रुत्वा तया उदकं दत्तम् । तेन जलं पीत्वा पुनरुक्तं—

“ पर्णानि स्वर्णवर्णानि कर्णान्तायतलोचने ।
चूर्णमानीयतां तूर्णं पूर्णचन्द्रनिभानने ”^२ ॥

इत्युक्ते सति तया सोपस्कृता ताम्बूलवीटिका दत्ता । तदा तेन तस्याः पाणिमवलम्ब्य तां क्रोडे उपावेश-
यत् । ततस्तां दोर्भ्यामुपगृह्य^३ तस्या वदनं चुचुम्ब । ततस्तावुभौ तदूर्ध्वं उत्तरक्रीडां चक्राते^४ ।

[इति] “श्रीरङ्गभट्टसुत धुण्डिकवीश्वरेण [विरचिता] गीर्वाणशब्दमञ्जरी [।] समाप्तेऽयं
गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी ॥ ॥ श्री ॥ विश्वेश्वरप्रसन्न ॥

१ C adds—अन्यच्च ।

स्वच्छं सज्जनचित्तवल्लुधुतरं दीनार्तिवत् शीतलं
पुत्रालिंगनवत्तथैव मधुरं बालस्य संजल्पवत् ।
एलोशीरलवंगचंद्रनलसत्कपूर्कस्तूरिका—
जातीचंपकपाटलात्यु(भि)रसितं पानीयमानीयताम् ॥

२ C adds—तद्यथा

नालाकारपयोधरे तनुभवत्तत्राधिकारक्रिये
नाभ्य(भि)मध्यतले तडित्समरुचे तत्री(तन्त्री)समालापिनी ।
ताटंका नितरां कृताक्षियुगले तन्वंगि ताम्रो(त्रा)धरे
तारानाथनिभानने तव करा(रात्) तांबूलमानीयताम् ॥

३ O—मुपगृह्य.

४ B—चक्रे ।

५ C—॥ इति भाषामंजरी समाप्ता ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥

B—श्री रंगमद्रुत धुण्डिकवीश्वरेण गीर्वाणपदमंजरी सादरेण नीता संपूर्णं ॥ * ॥ श्री ॥

INTRODUCTION

Two small texts are published here as M. S. University Oriental Series No. 4. They are the *Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī* (henceforth referred to as *GPM.*) of Varadarāja and the *Gīrvāṇavāñjarī* (referred to as *GVM.*) of Dhunḍirāja, both composed with a view to teach Sanskrit by Direct Method. As Dhunḍirāja puts it, he composed the work for *bālānām sukhabodhāya*, and adds that knowledge of *śabda*, *liṅga*, *vibhakti*, etc., and of *kartr*, *karma*, *kriyāpāda*, *avyāya*, as well as of names of different objects and beings etc., can be imparted through this work. It is composed in the form of dialogues (*ukti-pratyuktibhiḥ*) and is not devoid of wit and humour (*GVM.* v. 5). We are reminded here of the *Ukti-Vyakti-prakarana* of Paṇḍit Dāmodara¹ of Banaras, composed in c. 1150 A.D. It may be noted that in both *GPM.* and *GVM.* the scene is laid in Banaras. Thus it may be surmised that all the three texts preserve for us the direct method of teaching Sanskrit in Banaras, the great centre of Hindu culture and Sanskrit learning.

The *Ukti-Vyakti-prakarana* refers to the old Kośali dialect spoken in the twelfth century. Even though these two works do not refer to words from any local dialect they are however more interesting in reading as short stories, and also contain much useful cultural data for Banaras and India of the seventeenth century A.D.

The text of the *Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī* is edited here from the following four manuscripts:

O.—Baroda, Collection of the Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda, Register No. 9201. Extent, 13 folios, nine lines to a page. Size: 23.5 × 10.5 cm. No date. Characters of c. 19th century A.D. Paper. Carelessly written, cf., for example, स्वामिनः बुबुः । or, कति ब्राह्मणाः भोजनार्थे अरेयाः etc. The text omitted by the scribe at the end of folio 10b is abruptly added at the end of f. 11a and again continued upto the end on folio 13b, omitting even half-words.

End :—कृता वर्द्धभट्टेन गीर्वाणपदमंजरी कृतं ॥ श्री विश्वेश्वराय नमः ॥

C.—Baroda. Collection of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, No. 5012. Extent, 21 folios, six lines to a page. Size, 26 × 10 cm. Folios 1-5 missing. No date. Characters of c. first half of the 18th century A.D. Paper.

¹ *Ukti-Vyakti-Prakarana*, ed. by Muni Jinavijaya, with Introductions by Dr. S. K. Chatterji and Dr. Moti Chandra, Singhi Jaina Granthamala, Bombay (1953 A.D.).

Nicely written in bold characters. Sometimes missing portion is added by another hand in margins. Occasional scribal errors like पक्षपात विना for पक्षपातं विना and so on.

End :—इति श्री गीर्वाणपदमंजरी समाप्तमिति ॥ शुभमस्तु ॥

॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ श्रीरामचन्द्राय नमः ॥ ७ ॥

B.—Poona. Collections of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, No. 395 of 1899-1915 (new No. 22). Extent, 19 folios, nine lines to a page. Condition good, edges slightly worn out. Size: 20.6 × 12 cm. No date. Characters of c. early 19th cent. A.D. Paper.

Somewhat carelessly written, cf. for example, यास्यं for त्रास्यं (f. 1b), तथा । ह । आदिपवणि for तथा हि आदिपर्वणि, and so on.

End :—इति श्री गीर्वाणपदमंजरी समाप्ता ॥ शुभमस्तु ॥ ७ ॥

The text begins on f. 1b. On folio 1a, however, the title is written in a different hand as : अथ बृहद्भाषामंजिरि प्रारंभः ॥

N.—Bikaner. Collections of Śrī Agarchand Nāhaṭā, Bikaner, Reg. No. 4734. Extent, 20 folios, eight lines to a page. Condition fair. Paper brittle, edges mutilated. Red marginal lines. Size: 23 × 10.5 cm. Copied in Samvat 1736 = 1680 A.D. Paper. Writing fairly correct, occasional mistakes like आंम्रफलानि for आम्रफलानि (folio 12b).

End :—इति श्री गीर्वाणपदमंजरी समाप्तम् ॥ सं १७३६ वर्षे चैत्रशुद्धत् षष्ठी ६ लिखितं मधुक (? के ?)न ॥

The manuscript is important as it is fairly accurately written and dated. Besides, being written within about 25 to 40 years of its composition, it preserves a very reliable text.

The text of the *Gīrvāṇavāṇmañjarī* is prepared from the following three manuscripts :—

O.—Baroda. Collection of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, No. 13184. Extent, 14 folios. Size: 23.2 × 12 cm. 12 lines to a page. No date, Characters Devanagari of c. early 19th cent. A.D. Paper. Text begins on f. 1a. Last few verses written in three margins of folio 14b. Marginal lines drawn on a few folios. Writing fairly good. Occasional scribal errors showing careless writing, e.g. आपत्यानि for अपत्यानि on folio 9b, यथेछं for यथेच्छं, निवाराः for नीवाराः, प्रयाग-पतलका for प्रयागपालकाः and so on. Sometimes श is used for स as in वाराणशी for वाराणसी.

End :—श्रीरंगभट्टतुत धुंडिकवीश्वरेण गिर्वाणशब्दमंजिरी समाप्तोयं गिर्वाणपदमंजिरी ॥ श्रीः विश्वरप्रसन्न .

A photostat copy of this ms. also exists in the Oriental Institute Collection, No. 13110.

C.—Baroda. Collection of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, No. 4371. Extent, 16 folios, eighteen lines per page, Size: 27.6 × 13.3 cm. No date. Characters Devanāgarī of c. late 19th cent, A.D. Paper. Bold but careless writing.

Red marginal lines. This text seems to have been inflated. It seems that in the lists of flora, fauna, etc., the tendency to add more names seems to have started with a view to increase the vocabulary of the student. Thus sandal-wood tree, which is not so common in Bengal as in the South, is added in the list of trees of Bengal. Mss. O and B do not mention this tree, but C adds it. Again, additional lines and verses, relegated to the foot-note on pp. 35 and 38 of this printed text, are available only in C. But more conclusive proof about inflation of C is supplied by the fact that C alone puts in the mouth of the Sannyāsin — सप्तशतीपाठोपि न कृतः । विष्णुस्तवराजपाठोपि न कृतः । विष्णुसहस्रनामस्य पाठोपि न कृतः । गजेन्द्रमोक्षस्य पाठोपि न कृतः । भीष्मस्तवराजपाठोपि न कृतः । (printed text p. 36, ft. note 8).

Now it is not likely that Sannyāsins in that age would have read these texts daily. Again on folio 12b (printed p. 34) this ms. reads वीजापूरग्रामः for चंजीग्रामः of the other manuscripts. Dr. Gode has shown that the original reading must be चंजीग्रामः ।

On folio 1a is written : भाषामंजरी ॥ जान्ती गिरजाशंकरस्येदं पुस्तकं ॥ and the text begins on folio 1b.

End :—॥ इति भाषामंजरी समाप्ता ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥

B.—Poona. Collection of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona., No. 345 of 1892 (new No. 16). Extent, folios 16. Size: 30 × 15 cm. No date. Characters Devanagari of c. 1800 A.D. Writing bold, somewhat carelessly written, e.g., कारगृहे for कारागृहे. व is often used for ब as in बकाः for बकाः. Again, such errors as कान्नवाः for काण्वाः, तत्का for त्यक्त्वा, रहागत्यं for इहागत्यं (f. 13) are seen. Red marginal lines.

End :— श्रीरंगमदसुतधुंष्टिकवीश्वरेण गीर्वाणपदमंजरी सादरेण नीता संपूर्णं ॥ * ॥ श्री ॥

Manuscripts of both the works are not rare. They seem to have been popular in Northern and Western India within a century of their composition. Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*, p. 154, refers to two manuscripts of GPM.—one, no. 2167 from *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, by Rajendralal Mitra, Vol. VI (Calcutta, 1882), and the other, no. 26 from *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts existing in Oudh*, compiled by Pandit Deviprasad (1885). A manuscript of GPM. is also referred to in the *India Office Catalogue*,² and another exists in the *Ujjain Mss. Library*.³

A ms. of GVM. of Dhunḍhirāja Kavi is referred to as GPM. by Aufrecht, *op. cit.*, part 3, p. 33, from Peterson's Report, Vol. 5, 345. A ms. of GVM. also

² *India Office Manuscripts Catalogue*, VII (1904), p. 1574, Ms. No. 4108. Miscalled श्रीसंस्कृतमंजरी at the end.

³ *Catalogue of Ujjain Manuscripts* (1936), p. 41, Ms. No. 1081.

exists in the India Office Library. ⁴ The Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona, possesses three mss. of the GVM.—No. 21 of 1919-24 (this, like C. of Oriental Institute, Baroda, seems to be a later ms. as it reads बीजापुरग्राम for चंजीग्राम); Ms. No. 345 of 1892-95 (used here as B.); and ms. no. 13 of 1898-99 (this merely states कर्नाटकदेशग्राम: instead of mentioning बीजापुर or चंजी).

Both GPM. and GVM. have been discussed by Dr. P. K. Gode, ⁵ who fixed their dates, and quoted some important passages. In view of the fact that they contain interesting and valuable cultural data, and are good primers written in a simple but amusing style, I have edited them here. I am thankful to Dr. Gode for lending me the manuscripts from the collections of the B.O.R.I., Poona, as also to Shri Agarachand Nahata for lending me a dated ms. of the GPM. from his collections.

As shown by Gode, Varadarāja, the author of GPM., was a pupil of Bhaṭṭojī Dikṣita. He appears to be a southerner, as his name Varadarāja suggests, and is to be distinguished from Varadarāja, the author of Vyavahāra-nirṇaya (composed before 1350 A.D.). Our author abridged the Siddhāntakaumudī of Bhaṭṭojī Dikṣita and as he mentions Bhaṭṭojī's works like the Siddhāntakaumudī, with Praudhamanoramā and the Śabdakaustubha in the GPM., Varadarāja may be assigned to c. 1600-1650 A.D. Varadarāja does not record any biographical information about himself except the name of his father as *Durgātanaya* (son of Durgā) in the Sāra-Siddhāntakaumudī, and as suggested by Gode, the father's name may be Gaṇeśa (who is the son of Durgā) since, at the end of GPM, Varadarāja says—गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी.....गणेशप्रीतये भवेत्. The Madhya-Siddhāntakaumudī, and the Laghu-Siddhāntakaumudī referred to in the GPM., were also composed by Varadarāja and hence the GPM. is relatively later in age than the above two works.

Varadarāja shows intimate knowledge of the city of Banaras in the first half of the 17th century A.D. as is evident from the list of *Ghaṭṭas* (*Ghāṭs*) of Banaras on the banks of the Ganges, incidentally recorded in the GPM.

⁴ *India Office Manuscripts Catalogue, VII* (1904), p. 1574, Ms. No. 4109—“ This ms. is described as ‘ a collection of easy continuous sentences on ordinary domestic occurrences intended to serve as a primer and variously called भाषामञ्जरी, गीर्वाणवाचमञ्जरी or गीर्वाणशब्दपदमञ्जरिका, compiled at Banaras by Dhunḍirāja, son of Śri-raṅgabhaṭṭa.’ ” The Ms ends : श्रीरंगभट्ट मुत-धुंडेकवीश्वरेण गीर्वाणशब्दपदमञ्जरिकांरेण ।

नीतां समाप्तमिति तां विदुषाः सुधावत् दृष्ट्वा पिवन्तु सुरसां कृपयैव तावत् ॥

⁵ Gode, P. K., *An Echo of the Siege of Jinji in a Sanskrit Grammatical work—Studies in Indian Literary History*, Vol. III (Poona, 1956), pp. 161-171, and, *Varadarāja, a Pupil of Bhaṭṭojī Dikṣita and his works—Between A.D. 1600 and 1650,—Studies in Indian Literary History*, Vol. II (Bombay, 1954), pp. 316-329.

The GVM. of Dhuṇḍirāja is an imitation of the GPM., but not without interest. In both the works, the subject of conversation, which fills the entire work, consists mainly of the doings of a Brahmin householder of Banaras from morning till evening. As a literary composition, the GVM. is superior to the GPM. which latter abruptly ends when the Sannyāsin tells his guru that he had partaken of only that food which was suitable or permissible to him. The GPM. does not tell us anything about what the Brāhmaṇa householder did after the departure of the Sannyāsin. The GVM., which adds this part, ends in the climax of *śṛṅgāra*, with the happy union of the Brāhmaṇa householder and his wife—a romantic end (for a Brāhmaṇa on a *parva-day*) in a work which is professed to have been composed as a primer of Sanskrit for *bālas* (*bālānām sukhabodhāya*)!

In the GVM. the Brāhmaṇa householder gets up early in the morning and after toilet etc., he prepares to go out to the *Maṇikarnikāghāṭa* for his morning bath, prayers etc. The GPM. begins rather abruptly. In the GVM., the householder, before going out for a bath, informs his wife that the day was an auspicious day (*parva*) when some Brahmanas and a Sannyāsin were to be invited for dinner. He instructs his son about some purchases to be made for the occasion, which gives us an insight into the different markets at Banaras in the end of seventeenth century A.D. The amusing conversation between the father and son, the husband and wife, as also the easily excitable nature of the householder are true to life and further give us an insight into the family life of the Brāhmaṇas in that age.

The Brāhmaṇa tells his son : अद्य गृहे महत्प्रयोजनं तिष्ठति । The use of the word *prayojana* in the sense of a dinner and a festival is typical of Mahārāṣṭra. This as well as the use of the word *karvanda* (modern Gujarati, *karamadān*) is also typical of Mahārāṣṭra. The author of GVM., Dhuṇḍirāja, seems to be a Mahārāṣṭrian. In the list of *durācāras*, the householder says : स्वामिनः महाराष्ट्रं विना सर्वानु जातिषु कश्चित्कश्चिदुराचारस्तित्थत्येव । महाराष्ट्रेष्वपि ये माध्वाः वर्तन्ते तेषां दुराचारस्य लेशोऽपि न दृश्यते. This shows that Dhuṇḍirāja, the author of the GVM. hailed probably from Mahārāṣṭra and that he was a follower of Madhva-ācārya.

The age of Dhuṇḍirāja is also discussed by Dr. Gode who assigns the GVM. to c. 1702-1704 A.D.⁶ In the GVM. the Brāhmaṇa householder invites a Sannyāsin for dinner. After dinner they talk about various things. First, when members of the family of the host come to pay their respects to the Sannyāsin, the latter makes inquiries about the sons, daughters, wife etc., of the

⁶ Gode P. K., *An Echo of the Siege of Jinji in a Sanskrit Grammatical Work* published in *Studies In Indian Literary History*, vol. III (1956), pp. 161 ff., esp. p. 168.

host: Here we get an insight into the conditions of the Brāhmaṇa society at Banaras, e.g., the unhappy marriage of one daughter for which the Sannyāsin mildly rebukes the host. Then the host inquires about the *pūrvāśrama* (life before renunciation) of the Sannyāsin which the latter reluctantly narrates. In his early life, the Sannyāsin was a Brāhmaṇa grandee from Karnāṭaka, his native place being *Canji-grāma* (variously called *Candry* or *Cindri* by Marathas, *Gingee* or *Jinji* by the French, *Cingee* or *Cengy* in early Madras records and *Gingee* by the English from the Tamil word *Senji* (once a celebrated hill fort, South Arcot district, 50 miles north of Cuddalore).⁷ The emperor of Delhi had a minister named *Āsat Khān*, whose son *Zulfikār Khān* started on a military expedition and reached Karnāṭaka. At this time this Brāhmaṇa (now a sannyāsin) was in his company for several days with 2000 horses, 10,000 servants, 40 elephants, and many camels and chariots. In his house, the Brahmin had four palanquins, several coolies and carts. He had sixteen maid-servants of unparalleled beauty and extremely devoted to his service. His own wife was not so beautiful as these maid-servants, one of whom was extremely lovely and to whom he was deeply attached. In his house hundreds of Brāhmaṇas were fed and no beggar was turned out without any gift. Once while this Brāhmaṇa was enjoying the company of young damsels, he was called by his master *Zulfikār Khān*, but in spite of repeated callings the grandee paid no heed to his master's orders. Enraged at this, the master immediately dispatched his commander with some horsemen and the grandee's followers were taken unawares. The grandee himself was hand-cuffed and brought before *Zulfikār Khān* who kept him in prison for four months. Released, the grandee, filled with remorse, went to Kurukṣetra, practised penance for some days, and then became a *sannyāsin*. Twelve years had passed since he became a monk. After wandering in different holy places (*tīrthas*) he had come to Banaras, four months before he was invited by the Brāhmaṇa householder for dinner.

As shown by Gode, "the story was too vivid to be idealised by our author by dropping references to *Āsat Khān* and his son *Zulfikār Khān* and their military expedition (*digvijaya*) to Karnataka on behalf of the Mogul Emperor (Aurangzeb) at Delhi." It is well-known that *Zulfikār Khān* laid siege to the fort of *Jinji* (*Gingee*) for 6 or 7 years (1691-1697 A.D.), but it was a complete failure.⁸ Calculating from this Dr. Gode has assigned the composition of the GVM. to c. 1702-1704 A.D.

⁷ According to some manuscripts—*Bijāpur*.

⁸ *Madhyayugīna Caritrakośa* (Marāṭhī), p. 417; *Oxford History of India* (1928), p. 444. Rao Bahadur Shrinivasachari, *History of Gingee and its rulers*, pp. 286-350. For life of *Āsat Khān* (*Asad Khan*), see Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (London, 1894) p. 80.

Dr. Gode writes, "Dhuṇḍirāja's work, as also Varadarāja's work of the same name, ought to be kept before the students of the cultural history of Banaras in the 17th century works which give us a peep into the cultural life of the Banaras Brahmins in the 17th century..., which produced celebrities like the Gāgābhaṭṭa, Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja, Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa and others."⁹ I hope this edition of the two works will serve the above purpose.

Both the texts are written in a simple language, the main object being to acquaint a student with Sanskrit composition. It may be noted that all manuscripts use certain forms which were not in accordance with rules of grammar. For example, we find the use of forms like पर्यवेवेषिपुः, पर्यवेवेषिपु or पर्यवेवेषिपु in manuscripts for the correct form पर्यवेवेषिपुः (p. 18 of the printed text), similarly cf. परिवेवेषिपु for परिविवेषिपु (p. 25). In editing the texts, since they are originally meant for teaching Sanskrit, I have given the correct forms, the incorrect ones being given in foot-notes. Again, on p. 25, I have given the reading फेनिका for फेणिका of mss. O and C. But both might have been in use in spoken language. Similarly it is just possible that कथिका (p. 18) was also used for काथिका, or कर्षद (p. 32, note 13) for करमद.

Let us now turn to the Cultural data supplied by these texts.

Religious, Social and Economic Conditions

Brāhmaṇas in Banaras got up early in the morning before day-break, recited hymns (*stotrādīkam*, p. 19), eased themselves, washed their hands and feet with clay and water, cleansed teeth with a wooden brush, and then went to Maṇikarnikā Ghāṭa on the Ganges for morning bath, taking with them a water-vessel (*jalapātram*—GPM., *agrodaka-pātram*—GVM.) possibly like a modern *jhāri* (in Gujarātī and Marāṭhī), and an *arghya-pātra* (GVM.) or a *khadga-pātra* (GPM.) for offering water. The *khadga-pātra* was possibly made of hide or horn (of a rhinoceros or a buffalo¹⁰) and Dr. Moti Chandra informs me that such vessels are still preserved with some old families of Banaras. Here since, since the GVM. uses the word *khadga-pātra* for the *arghya-pātra* of GPM. it would seem that the *khadga-pātra* might have been of the shape of an *arghya-pātra*. Copper vessel of the shape of an *arghya-pātra* is generally known as *khadga-pātra*. The brahmins also carried with them a *rudrākṣamālikā* (a rosary of berries of *Elaeocarpus Ganitrus*) a ball of sacred ashes (*vibhū-vaṭika* p. 20), *tilaka-sādhana* for making a *tilaka*—mark on the forehead), the box containing accessories for worship of gods (*devārcana-pelikā*, p. 20), *kuśa*-grass, an upper (*uttariya*) and a lower garment (p. 1), sesame seeds and cocoanut (*tila-nārikelam*, p. 20),

⁹ *Studies in Indian literary History*, Vol. III. p. 170.

¹⁰ cf. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Rev. ed., 1956), p. 335.

and sandal-wood. On the *Maṅikarṇikā*, the Banaras Brahmin takes his morning bath after reciting the *Mahāprayoga*,¹¹ and performs his morning *sandhyā* (obligatory prayers, according to prescribed rules), followed by *Brahma-yajña* and *nivāpa-tarṇa*.¹² After this he worships the Lord with the *pūjā-dravyas* brought from home.

On *parva*-days, a brāhmaṇa householder invites a *sannyāsin* and some brāhmaṇas, including relatives, for dinner. After bath, he goes to a *maṭha* or monastery for *sannyāsins* to invite one *sannyāsin*. There were many such monasteries in Banaras, and *sannyāsins* from various provinces lived in one *maṭha*. In the GPM., the head of one such *maṭha* asks the Brāhmaṇa as to the *sannyāsin* the latter would like to invite. The Brāhmaṇa says that he would prefer a monk from *Karṇāṭaka*. Now this shows the preferences of the author of the GPM. whose name *Varadarāja* suggests that he hailed from the South, probably from *Karṇāṭaka*.¹³ Similarly in the GVM. the *sannyāsin* invitee is glad to find that the Brāhmaṇa host was a *Mahārāṣṭra-brāhmaṇa*. Hence in this case the author of the GVM., *Dhuṇḍirāja*, seems to be a brāhmaṇa from *Mahārāṣṭra*. The householder in GVM. further states that both he and his father were born in *Gauḍa-deśa*. The names of both the father (अद्वयव्रतप्रनतिर्वसिष्ठ भट्टाचार्य) and the son (शिलिमिलिज्ञाङ्कार-शौचालङ्कार-अल्पियुध्-मखजकुत्-पुरन्दर भट्टाचार्य) show the sense of humour of the author and his satire on the high-sounding names of Bengali Pandits. It is also interesting to note that in GPM. the high-sounding name of the householder (अल्पियुध्-मखजकुत्-पुरन्दर-वाजपेयि) is very similar to the name of the Brāhmaṇa in GVM., and since the GVM. is later in age, it is obvious that the GVM. is written in imitation of the GPM.

As can be seen from the GPM., there were in one monastery, *sannyāsins* who were *Drāviḍas*, i.e., who hailed from *Drāviḍa* country (Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam speaking areas, the land of the Ceras, Coḷas, Pāṇḍyas etc.), *sannyāsins* who were *Āndhras* (from *Āndhra-deśa*), *Karṇāṭakas*, *Mahārāṣṭras*, *Ābhīras*, *Gaurjaras*, *Gauḍas*, *Maithilas*, *Autkalas* (from *Utkala, Orissa*), *Kānyakubjas* and *Sārasvatas*. It is interesting to note the reference to *Ābhīras*¹⁴ in this age. The

¹¹ This is the same as *Hemādriprayoga*, the long *saukalpa* to be recited before taking bath in a sacred river at a holy place.

¹² For the *snāna-vidhi*, *Brahma-yajña* and *tarṇa* or *nivāpa* see Kane, P.V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II. 2., pp. 656ff.

¹³ Also see, Gode, P. K., *Studies in Indian Literary History*, Vol. II, p. 325.

¹⁴ In Akbar's age, there was an *Ahirwārah* district in the *Sarkār* of *Chanādah* (*Chenār*) in *Allahabad Subah*, *Ain-i-Akbari*, transl. (Calcutta, 1949) Vol. II, p. 176; for *Āhirs* in *Soraṣṭh* see *op. cit.*, pp. 254f. For *Ābhīras*, also cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 221-3. *Ābhīras* are in *Aparānta* or *W. India*,

Ābhira country in this age probably indicated the districts in Saurāṣṭra, Rājasthān, Bikāner etc. where Āhirs or Ābhīras are numerous, or the Ahirwāḍa between the Pārvati and the Beṭwā rivers in Madhya Bharata. But it is better to regard *Ābhīras*, *Gauḍās Kānyakubjas* and *Sārasvatas* as referring to castes rather than to people hailing from specific countries, though it is possible to do so in the case of *Kānyakubjas*, *Maithīlas*, *Gauḍas*, etc.

Sannyāsins were approached with proper courtsey and requests were made to come for dinner. On the way they took care to avoid crowds for fear of touching people of certain castes (cf. p. 24). The host received the sannyāsin with proper respect, washed their feet, gave them a big seat (*brhat-pīṭha*, p. 24), and special care was taken in giving them big plates (cf. *sthūlarambhāgrapatram* etc., p. 5) while dining. After dinner the sannyāsin was smeared with sandalwood paste fragrant with musk and camphor, was given cloves to chew, and was duly garlanded (p. 5). The host then gave him some presents, e.g., costly garments (*samīcinamamūlyam vastradvayam*, p. 5) and prostrated himself before the monk (*sāṣṭāṅgadaṇḍavatpraṇāmam kṛtvā*, p. 5). The host also called all the members of the family to pay their respects to the monk (pp. 5-6, pp. 26ff.). The sannyāsin, well fed and often over-eating (p. 5), then inquired about the different members of the family coming to pay respects. He sometimes showed interest in the members of the family of the host householder (pp. 27-29), praised the qualities of the hostess (p. 29), the intimacy and affection thus shown pleased the householder and enhanced his love and respect towards monks. Monks could advise the householder about the latter's family affairs and occasionally offered to help them (p. 28), or mildly rebuked them for their misdeeds as is done by the sannyāsin in GVM. when he plainly tells the host that the latter's action regarding the marriage of the younger daughter was not proper (p. 28). The incident is a clever satire by Dhunḍirāja on certain customs of the contemporary Brāhmaṇa society in the 17th century A.D.

This sannyāsin, before he turned an ascetic, was a "grandee", a rich Brāhmaṇa trader from *Cañjigrāma* in Karnāṭaka (p. 34) who used to feed every day a number of Brāhmaṇas as also beggars and used to give them food as well as clothing. No beggar was turned out empty handed. This was the Hindu ideal of householders, especially those who could afford to do so. The merchant could keep a number of beautiful young damsels in his service with whom he could take all liberties. Of course, ultimately, his attachment to women landed him into serious difficulties.

especially in Saurāṣṭra and Rājasthān. They spread upto Khāndeśa. It is better to regard all these as caste names originally based on countries. In the age of these works, however, the (Pañca) Gauḍa Brāhmaṇas, the Kanojiā-Brāhmaṇas etc., were found not only in Gauḍa or Kānya-kubja but in other parts of India as well.

Brāhmaṇas in Banaras generally stayed near the various ghāṭas (pp. 1-2), the host in GPM. stayed on the Bindu-Mādhava-Ghaṭṭa, near the shrine of Dugdha-Vināyaka (p. 2). There were rich brāhmaṇas who owned large buildings. Near Dugdha-Vināyaka, there were mansions of Timmābhaṭṭa, Rāma-bhaṭṭa, Śivabhaṭṭa, Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa, Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa, Bhairavabhaṭṭa and so on. These may or may not be historical names. Such mansions (*grhas*) had *śālās* (lit. halls, here possibly blocks) in four directions,—east, north, west, south. There was the main *prāsāda* (in the centre). Tenants, (probably brāhmaṇa families only) were housed in either of the four *śālās* or in the main building (*prāsāda*). The householder in GPM. stayed in the block or dwelling at the northern end (*Uttara-śālā*). It is interesting to note that the Brāhmaṇa host in GVM. also stayed near the Dugdha-Vināyaka which again shows that GVM. was influenced by the GPM.

The Brāhmaṇa in GVM. loses temper with his wife because of her delay in giving the *snāna*-and *pūjā-sāmagrī* to her husband. The husband addresses her as *raṇḍe*, which is a clever satire by our author on the bad treatment meted out to Hindu ladies in this age. The Brāhmaṇa, of an easily irritable temperament, also abuses his son as *rāṇḍeya* and orders the latter to go to the bazaar (*āpaṇa*) and make certain purchases for the dinner to be given to some Brāhmaṇas and a Yati on that *parva*-day. Cash money was kept in the inner apartment (*antahpura* reserved for ladies) in a wooden-box (*dāru-maṅjūṣā*) wherein was safely deposited a small gold-casket (*jātarūpa-sampūṭa*, GVM) in which were preserved gold and silver coins (*suvarṇa-mudrikā rajatamudrikā*). The son was asked to take only two silver coins from these and go to the Big Bazaar (*bṛhadāpaṇa*—modern, *badā bājāra*). There in the *Catustambhāpaṇa* (lit. market with four pillars—modern *Caukhambhā* area in Banaras) he was asked to change them into *Ḍhabukās*¹⁵ at the shop (*haṭṭa*) of *Mūṣaka Mādhavaji*.¹⁶ The fact that the son could make so many purchases with only two silver coins (about the value of two rupees) shows how cheap commodities for daily use were in India in c. 17th century A.D. Two and a half *seers* of pure ghee could be purchased for half a (silver) coin, thus ghee was sold at sixteen silver coins per (Bengali or pakkā) maund.

¹⁵ Of smaller denomination—during the British Period a *Ḍhabū* or *Ḍhabbu* was a big copper coin equal to two paisās. For *Rajata-mudrā* and *Ḍhabuka*, see, *Rājapraśasti-Kāvya-men mudrā* (Hindi) by Agrawala, R. C., in *Śodha-Patrikā*, March 1958, pp. 1-13 ; also, *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. VI, part 1, pp. 55-61.

¹⁶ *Mūṣaka* may be a surname from mouse, compare, for example, *Mānkaḍa*, *Ghoḍā*, *Hālhī*, *Mankōḍi*, surnames in Saurāṣṭra. Or, *Mūṣaka* may be *Mūkhaka*, since *khā* is often written as *ṣa* in manuscripts and *Mūkhaka* = *Mukhyaka*, a headman. The first explanation is preferable.

For the day's dinner, the son is asked to buy white sugar (*sitā śarkarā*), dāl of grams for preparing *phūrṇa* (= *phūrāṇa*, sweet paste or pulp from boiled pulse of ¹⁷ grams mixed with sugar or molasses. *Pūraṇapolī*, known as *Veḍhamī* or *Pūraṇapolī* in Gujarat, a favourite dish of the people of Mahārāṣṭra (Deccan), is a flat bread in which the sweet pulp is sandwiched between two covers of the bread and then fried). He also purchases asafoetida (*hiṅgu* for flavouring and for frying—*chonka*), cumin-seeds (*jīraka*) powdered *haridrā* (Hindī *haldī*, turmeric), betel-nuts (*kramukāḥ*), cardamoms (*elā*), cloves (*lavaṅga*), nutmegs and mace (*jāti-phala* and *jāti-patra*), *Khadira* (may be the *katthā*, used in betel-leaves, prepared from bark of the *Khadira*-tree, *Acacia Catechue*). The betel-nuts, cardamoms, cloves, *khadira* etc. are used in betel-leaves (*tāmbūlapatra*) but *elā*, *lavaṅga*, *jāti-patra*, *jāti-phala* etc. are also used in flavouring certain dishes. Camphor (*karṇūra*), musk (*kāstūrikā*), and saffron (*hesara*) mentioned next are used for both the purposes. Amongst other articles purchased were *gorocanā* (yellow orpiment, slightly fragrant, from urine or bile of cow, or from cow's head according to some ¹⁸), *uśīra*, also called *sugandhavālā* (in local prakrit), the same as *khasa* in Gujarati, in Marāṭhī *vālā* etc., (Sanskrit *vīraṇa*, *sevya*, and similar to *abhaya*, *nalada*, *hrīvera*, etc., *Andropogon squarossus* ¹⁹), the *daśāṅga* (*-dhūpa*, incense, famous in Tantras etc.). ²⁰

The son was further asked to purchase wheat-flour (*godhūma-cūrṇa*) passed through a piece of cloth (*i.e.* Fine powder of wheat, *mendā* in modern Hindi, Gujarati etc.). It is interesting to note that the bargain was to be struck with

¹⁷ Besides pulse of gram, this dish is also prepared from other pulses.

cf. पूरणाची पोळी, तुपाची होळी (Marathi) for popularity of this dish amongst Mahārāṣṭrians. *Pūraṇapolī* is eaten with plenty of ghee.

¹⁸ cf: *Gorocandana*, in Gujarati. *Gorocanā* is used as a sedative, tonic etc., and for children.

¹⁹ cf: *Abhijñāna-Śākuntalam*, act 3,—प्रियंवदे, कस्येदमुशीरानुलेपनं मृणालवन्ति च नलिनीपत्राणि नीयन्ते ।

²⁰ cf:—रोगरोगहरोरोगदंशः सुरतरुजतुलुपत्रविशेषाः ।

वक्रविर्विजितवारिजमुद्रा धूपवत्तिरिह सुन्दरि भद्रा ॥

अन्यच्च—

मधु मुस्तं घृतं गन्धो गुग्गुलागुशैलजम् ।

सरलं सिद्धसिद्धार्थं दशाङ्गो धूप उच्यते ॥

Quoted from Tantrasāra in *Śabdakalpadrumakośa*, Vol. II, p. 80r.

Also compare the following formula of this *dhūpa* for worship of Keśava, from *Pādmottarakhaṇḍa* :—

कर्पूरं कुष्ठमगुरु गुग्गुलुर्मलयोद्भवम् ।

केशवं वालकं पत्रं त्वग्जालीकोपमुत्तमम् ॥

सर्वमेतद् घृतयुतं दशाङ्गो धूप ईरितः ॥ *Śabdakalpadruma*, II. p. 80r.

a vow (*pratijñayā gṛhītvā*), possibly on the part of the merchant selling it, that there was no adulteration in the wheat-flour; this reminds us of modern practices of adulterations in food-stuffs and the black-markets. Also the son was asked to purchase, *piṣṭa* or unadulterated flour of *māṣu* (beans, *Phaseolus Radiatus*), of unmixed grams (*Cicer Arietinum*) and of rice (Compare the Marāṭhī *piṭha* from Skt. *piṣṭam*, a preparation of gram-flour is called *piṭhale*). Then from the Vegetables-market (*śāka-āpaṇa*, modern *śāka-market* or *śāka-bazaar*) he was to purchase *sūraṇa* (a bulbous root, a morphophallus campanulatus) the red and white *kandas* (bulbous roots, yams, these, may be modern *ratālu* in Guj. and *Rātāle* in Marāṭhī), the *Karkaṭikā* (modern Guj. *kākaḍī*, cucumber), *budbudakās* (?) *kūṣmāṇḍa-phala* (Guj. *Koḷu*, a kind of pumpkin-gourd, *Benincasa Cerifera*), the yellow-*kūṣmāṇḍa*, *parovarāṇi* (Guj. Mar. *paravala*), *vṛntākas* (Guj. *Vengana*, *Riṅgaṇā*, *Vantāka*; Marathi *Vāṅge*; Hindi *Begaṇa*), *tuṇḍi-phala* (a kind of gourd or cucumber, *Momordica Monodelpha*, modern *ṭiṇḍolā*, in Guj.) *paṭolaphala* (*paṭoḷa* = *paḍavaḷa* (ra) Mar.),²⁰ *kāravellas* (*kārelā* in Guj. Hindi, *Kārale* in Mar., *Momordica Charantina*), and the *panaśa-fruit* (bread-fruit, jack-fruit).

There was another market²¹ near the temple of Annapūrṇā. From the shops near Annapūrṇā-temple were available, ripe and unripe plaintains, the flowers of the plaintain-tree and the root of the same (*kadalī-garbha-kanda*). Mahārāṣṭrians are fond of preparing dishes from *kadalī-kusuma* etc.

From this place the son was to go the *Kāla-Bhairava-Market* (*i.e.*, market near the *Kāla-Bhairava* shrine and named after the latter) where a number of *patra-śākas* (modern Guj. Mar. *Bhājī*) or leafy vegetables were sold. Here were purchased, leaves of *methī* (*Trigonella Foenum Graecum*), *tanḍula* (pot-herb, *Amarantus Polygonoides*, modern Guj. *-tāṇḍaljo* Mar. *tāṇḍuljā*), *upodakī* (*Basella Cordifolia-vālicī bhājī* in Mar.), *Cakramardaka* (*Cassia Tora*, Guj.-*Puṅvāḍio* or *Kunvāḍio*; Skt. *prapunnāṭah*), *brhatī* (= skt. *kaṅṭakārikā*, Guj.-*Bhonya-riṅgaṇi* (?) *Solanum Indicum* or *S. Melongena* and *S. Jacquini* (?)), the wild *kāravellas* (these are very bitter), the leaves of red and white *kandas*. Tamarind (*tintini*) was not to be missed in these purchases, also *śyṅgaveraka* (= *ārdraka*, fresh undried ginger) and long leaves of the plaintain tree. Leaves of the plaintain tree were used, and are still used, as plates in which meals are served.

²⁰ *Trichosanthes Cucumerina*. There is a variety of *paṭoḷa*, very bitter to taste, used as pittaghna in *Āyurveda*.

²¹ For markets in *Kāśī* in the early part of the nineteenth century, as also for their growth in the same age, see, R. L. Singh, *Banaras, A study in Urban Geography*, pp. 34ff, 38ff, 73ff.; also see, Reginald Heber, *Narrative of Journey through Upper Provinces of India, 1824-25, Vol. I, 2nd ed.*, pp. 371-436 and James Princep's *Map of Banaras, 1822*.

The GPM. gives no list of purchases made for the feast. Since the list was long (in GVM.), the son was asked to note it down on a piece of paper (*kāgada*). The various preparations served, as narrated in GPM. and GVM., will be discussed below under ' food and drinks '. The above account of special purchases shows that, as in modern times, vegetables, certain spices, special flours etc. were purchased fresh whenever necessary whereas other commodities such as rice, dāl or pulses etc. were stored in the house.

The GPM. shows that Vidyānagar (Bījāpur) was a flourishing town, the district of the same name was also flourishing. Various jewels and gems, like the diamond, pearls, cat's-eye gem (*vaidūrya*), the *gomedā*²¹ gem, topaz (*puṣṣarāga*), etc. various precious metals like gold, silver, iron etc., beautiful varieties of garments, superior quality of *malaya-candana* (sandal-wood from Malaya region), the *bhīmasenī-karpūra* (camphor known as such²²), musk, betel-nuts of good quality, cloves of best qualities, cocoanuts, plaintain-fruits, creepers (*latā*) of pepper (*marīca*), betel-leaves (*tāmbūla*), grapes, soma plant (?) etc. were available in plenty. A list of various trees, creepers and plants, clusters, bushes or shrubs and flowers growing in this region is given in GPM. (pp. 3-4).

Similar lists about Madhyadeśa in GPM. (pp. 11-13) are especially interesting. The Brāhmaṇa in GPM. says that he hailed from Kānyakubja-deśa which is also called the Madhyadeśa. In this region, the following food-grains (*dhānyāni*) grew : *yava* (barley), *vrīhi* (paddy), *caṇaka* (horse-grams), *māṣa* (*uḍḍā* in Mar., *aḍada* in Guj. *Phaseolus radiatus*²³) *rāja-māṣa* (*cavalū* in

²¹ *Gomeda* also known as *Pītaratnaka*, *Pīngasfatika*, *Agastisatva*, *Tamo-maṇi*, *Rāhuratna*, etc., is interpreted variously as Onyx, Amethyst, Chalcedony, Agate, Sardonyx, Hisonyte etc. For this as well as other gems, see, *Ratnapradīpa* (*Marāṭhī*), Vol. I, by Mahādeva Lakṣmaṇa Khāmbote (Nagpur, 1931 A.D.).

²² It may be *barāsa*. *Bhīmasenī karpūra* is referred to in the *Varṇaratnākara* of Jyotirīśvara, wherein all nine varieties of camphor are noted. *Cenā* (a Chinese quality) and *Bhīmasenīkarpūra* are also referred to in Jyāyasi's *Padmāvata*, Agrawal's ed., p. 4. According to *Sulabhauṣadhiprabhākara* (ed. by P. B. Ogale, pub. by Citrasālā Press, Poona, 1932), p. 127, this is prepared from raw camphor. The formula for preparation is also given. See also, *Nighaṇṭaratnākara*, I (*Nirṇayasagara Press, Bombay, 1936*), pp. 54-55 giving varieties of camphor. They are *Īśāvāsa-karpūra*, *Hima-k.*, *Bhīmasenī-k.*, *Udayabhāskara-k.*, *Parṇa-k.*, and *Chinī-karpūra*.

²³ S. Sen Gupta, in his paper, *Food Prohibition in Smṛti Texts*, *Journal of the Asiatic Society, Letters (Calcutta)*, Vol. XII, No. 2., p. 206, renders *Māṣa* as Black pea, Bengali *Māṣakalāi Phaseolus mungo var. roxburghii*. See, *Nighaṇṭu-*

Mar.,²⁴ *colā* in Guj., *Varvaṭi kalāya*, in Bengali), *mudga* (beans of *Phaseolus Mungo*, *Maga* in Guj., *Munga* in Hindi), *sarṣapa* (Rape seeds, *Brassica campestris*, Beng. *śvetasariṣā*,²⁵ Hindi *Sarason*, Guj. *Sarasava*), *alasi* (Linseed, *Linum usitatissimum*, Masinā or Tisi in Bengali, Aḷasī in Guj., Alasī in Hindi), *tīla* (sesamum, *S. indicum*), *masūra*, (lentil, Beng. Mar., Mar., Hind, Guj. *masūra*, *Lens esculenta*, *Ervum lens*²⁶), *yavanāla* (Great millet, *Joyāra* in Bengali, *Andropogon Sorghum*, *Sorghum vulgare*,²⁷ *Jondhale* in Marathi²⁸), *priyaṅgu* (= *gahunlā* in Gujarati, *gahvalā*, *ghenulā* in Marathi, *Aglaiia Roxburghiana*)²⁹, *śyāmāka* (*sāmo* in Guj., *sāmvā*, Hindi and Mar., *śyāmāvāsa* or *sāmādhāna*, Bengali, *Panicum Frumentaceum*, *śyāmāka-taṇḍūala* and *śyāmākaudana* are known to Vedic literature)³⁰ and *kodrava* (= *kodarā* in Guj., *kodru* or *harika* in Mar.³¹ and Bengali *kodo*, Skt. *koradūṣaka*, *Paspalum scrobiculatum*). Several other *dhānyas* were also grown. The above list is noteworthy as it includes most of the grains in common use amongst masses in North India. The list of *tīrthas* given in this context, discussed below, shows that by Madhyadeśa, the author here denotes almost the whole of India, North of the Vindhya.

Ādarśa, ed. by Bāpālāl Garbaḍḍās Vaidya (Gujarati; Broach, 1927), Vol. I., for quotations from Āyurvedic texts.

²⁴ S. Sen Gupta, *Op. cit.*, p. 198 renders it as Cow-pea, asparagus bean, Beng. *Varvaṭi*, *Vigna Sinensis*; V. Catjang. According to Monier-Williams Dictionary, it is *Dolichos Catjang*. Śri Bāpālāl Vaidya, *op. cit.* p. 382 says that the identification of *Rājamāṣa*, and *Mahāmāṣa* in old Vaidyaka works is not certain.

²⁵ S. Sen Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

²⁶ S. Sen Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 190. According to Monier Williams Dictionary it is *Ipomoea Turpenthum*, *Ichnocarpus Frutescens*.

²⁷ S. Sen Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

²⁸ *Nighaṅṭaratnākara*, I. p. 110 gives two varieties, *Dhavala* and *Śārada-yāvanāla*.

²⁹ *Nighaṅṭu-Ādarśa*, I. pp. 252, gives all Vaidyaka references with quotations. Shri B. G. Vaidya, in his *Samskṛta Sāhityamān Vanaspati* (Guj., Ahmedabad, 1953) pp. 333 ff., gives a number of references from Classical texts and discusses the various identifications. S. Sen Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 205 calls it *Setaria Italica*, Bengali—*Kānī dhāna*, Hindi—*Kangu*, and says in a foot-note that *Priyaṅgu* denotes many plants. Hemacandra, in *Abhi. Cint.* v. 1176, writes —कङ्कुस्तु कङ्कुनी कङ्कुः प्रियङ्गुः पीततण्डुलाः । Acc. to Amara., 758-59 :—श्यामा तु महिलाह्वया । लता गोवन्दिनी गुन्द्रा प्रियङ्गुः फलिनी फली । विष्वक्सेना गन्धफली कारम्भा प्रियकश्च सा ।

³⁰ Monier Williams Dictionary (1956 ed.), p. 1095; also see, *Nighaṅṭaratnākara*, I. pp. 114 ff.

³¹ *Nighaṅṭaratnākara*, I, p. 114.

In this region was available the *śarkarā* (= *sākara* in Guj., *sākhara* in Marathi,³² candied sugar, sugar), *khaṇḍa-śarkarā* (possibly modern *khaḍī-sākara* in Guj. Hindi etc., big crystals of sugar), *guḍa* (molasses),³³ and fruits like grapes, dates (*kharjūra*), plaintains, elephant or wood-apple (*kapittha*, *Koṭhum* in Guj. *Kaith*, *Kabiṭ* in Hindi, *Kavaṭha* in Mar., *Feronia Elephantinum*), mangoes, lemons, tamarind, oranges, pomegranate-fruits, and such other several fruits.

Three types of salts were available—*Saindhava lavana*, *Sāmudrika-l.*, and *Sāmbhara-lavana*. The first is produced in the Sindhu (Indus) river delta, the second from the Ocean and the third from the Sāmbhara region and the Salt mines of Punjab.³⁴

Milk,³⁵ curds, butter-milk and other preparations like *udaśvit*, *mathita*, *āmikṣā*, *phāṇṭa*, *navanīta*, (butter), and *ghee* were also in use in this region. *Udaśvit* is butter-milk with fifty percent of water added to it, *mathita* is simply churned curds. *Āmikṣā* is prepared from boiled or hot milk mixed with butter-milk, while *fāṇṭam* is natural decoction (*vikāra*) of milk without *dadhīyoga*.

In the *takraprakaraṇa*, the *Bhojanakutūhala* (a work of c. 1650 A.D. by Raghunātha), I, the four varieties of butter-milk according to Suṣeṇa are noted. They are : *ghola*, *mathita*, *udaśvit* and *takra*. Cf. ससरं निर्मलं घोलं मथितं सर्वजितम् ।

³² For varieties of Śarkarā, see *Nighaṇṭaratnākara*, I, pp. 182 ff., which gives properties of *śarkarā*, *khaṇḍopalā* (*khaṇḍa-śarkarā*) *śvetopalā* (called *Nāvadasākhara*, *Rāyapuri*, i.e. coming from Raipur according to the editor of this work in the last century), *kṣudrā-śarkarā*, *Gauḍī-śarkarā*, *Malakhaṇḍa-śarkarā*, *Paunḍreḷṣu-śarkarā*, *Puṣpodbhavā*, *Madhujā* and *Yavāsa-śarkarā*.

³³ For varieties and properties of *guḍa* and *śarkarā*, also see, *Bhojanakutūhala*, I, pp. 159-165. *Guḍa*, old and new, has different properties. Śarkarā of following varieties and different properties is noted :—*Puṇḍrakaśarkarā*, *Vaṁśekṣujā*, *Śyāmekṣujā*, *Raktekṣujā*, *Macchaṇḍī*, *Yāsaśarkarā*, *Madhuśarkarā*, *Guḍaguḍā* or *Guḍaśarkarā*. Other such sweet preparations of sugar-candy juice are *Sitakhaṇḍa*, *Tavarāja* and *Siddhakhaṇḍa* or *Khaṇḍatavarāja*. Some of these names are also found in the *Nāmamālikā* of Bhoja, lines 565-69. Also see, *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi* of Hemacandra, 941-3.

³⁴ Cf. Hemacandra, *Abhi. Cin.* 941-42 :—रूमा लवणखानिः स्यात्, सामुद्रं लवणं हि यत् । तदक्षीवं वशीरश्च, सैन्धवं तु नदीभवम् ॥ ९४१ ॥ माणिमन्थं शीतशिवं, रौमकं तु रुमाभवं । वसुकं वसुकं तच्च, विडपाक्ये तु कृत्रिमे ॥ ९४२ ॥ सौवर्चलेऽक्षं रुचकं दुर्गन्धं शूलनाशम् । कृष्णे तु तत्र तिलकः.....॥ ९४३ ॥ *Bhojanakutūhala*, I, pp. 116-117 names them differently as *Saindhava-l.*, *Gāḍha-l.* (from Sāmbhara region), *Sāmudra*, *Droṇeya*, *Aukhara* and *Romaka*.

³⁵ For different kinds of milk and curds, and their various medicinal properties, see, *Bhojanakutūhala*, I, pp. 126 ff., *Nighaṇṭaratnākara*, I, pp. 190-193.

पाशेदकमुदस्वित्तत् तक्रमर्धजलं भवेत् ।³⁶ For different kinds of butter and ghee, also see, *Bhoj. kutū*, I. pp. 147-151, *Nighaṅṭaratnākara* 193 ff., 77 ff.

Next the GPM. refers to various oils, e.g. oils of seamum, castor-seeds, rape-seeds (*sarṣapa*, Hindi—*sarason*, Brassica Campestris), linseeds (*atasī*), safflower (*kusumbha*) and neem (*nimba*). The *Bhojanakutūhala*, I. pp. 151-154 notes several oils with their medical properties.

Honey was also used. Of the spices, condiments, dry ginger, pepper (Piper longum, *pīppalī*, known as *pīpara* in Guj. etc.) and black pepper (*marīca*, Piper nigrum), *kaṭuka-rohiṇī*¹⁷ (Picrorrhiza Kurroa, *kaḍu* in Guj.), roots of *pīppalī*, *jiraka* (= *jīrā*, Hindi, *jiru*, Guj., Panicum miliaceum, cumin seeds), *rāmaṭha* (Asafoetida, *Hīngu* or *Hīnga*), *āmalakī* (Emblic Myrobalan) and *vibhītaka* (Terminalia Bellerica, *behaḍā* in Mar. and *bahedā* in Guj.) were produced in this region. It would be interesting to compare the list of spices, condiments etc. used for flavours, mentioned as *sambhāras*, from *Bhojanakutūhala*, I. pp. 115 ff.

Then the Brāhmāṇa Vājapeyī gives a list of the fauna of Madhyadeśa.

In the GVM. (pp. 31 ff) the Brāhmaṇa host is made to note the various holy places in Gauḍadeśa, as also the various commodities like cloth, and food-grains etc. available in this region. He also notes the flora and fauna of the land, the various castes of Brāhmaṇas and people of different professions living in it.

According to this data, the following food-grains grew in Gauḍadeśa,—*vrihi*,³⁸ *godhūma*, *yava*, *caṇaka*, *māṣa*, *mudga*, *masūra*, *rājamāṣa*, *āḍhaki* (Pigeon

³⁶ *Bhojanakutūhala* (Trivandrum, 1956), I. pp. 142 ff. The *sara* and *mastu* are defined as—दध्नस्तूपरि यो भागो घनः स्नेहसमन्वितः । स लोके सर इत्युक्तो दध्नो वारि तु मस्त्विति । The text gives the following ten varieties of *takra* according to Bhoja :—भोजस्तु तक्रस्य दश भेदान्युणभेदांश्चाह—

करमथितोदधित्त्क्रदण्डाहतगौडिकानि ।

कालसेयक्रखाडवकमिलितामिलितानि दश भवन्ति ॥

These varieties are then separately described in this text, pp. 145 ff.

³⁷ According to Monier William's Dict., it is *Helleborus Niger*. But see, *Nighaṅṭu-ādarśa*, II, pp. 177 f. It may be noted that *kaṭuka-rohiṇī* or *kaḍu* grows in the Himalayan regions. It may also be noted that this and *vibhītaka* might not have been used as spices.

³⁸ Several varieties of rice (*śālī*) were noted in the first edition (1867 A. D.) of *Nighaṅṭaratnākara*, I, p. 429.—They are—पटणी (गरवी व हळवी), बुड्या वरंगळ व बारीक वरंगळ, राजावळ (कुसाची व बोडकी), तांबसाळ (रायभोग), कोथिबिरे (बोडके भात), डांगी, आवे-मोहोर, जिरेसाळ (जिरवेल), दोडकी, घोसाळवेल, कृष्णसाळ, निरपुंज, तुळशे भात (कुसांचे), बंगालवेल, एलची, कपोद, तोरणा. पंखाळ, महाडी, भुरा, विस्बिटी, खारें भात (i. e. बारीक पटणी, चिमणसाळ हळवी, कुडई, गोदवेल),

pea, *Cajanus cajan*; *C. indicus*; *aḍahara* Bengālī, *tuvera*, Guj., *tūr*, Mar.), *kulittha* (= *kulattha*, *Dolichos biflorus*, Bengālī *kūrtikalāi*, Marathi *kuḷittha*, Guj. *kalathī*), *lankā* (= Guj. *lānga*? Chicking Vetch),³⁸ *tila*, *khalva* (?), *priyaṅgu*, *eṇava* (?), *nivāra*, *śyāmāka*, *maṇḍava* (?) and *sarṣapa*.

Gauḍadeśa was famous for excellent qualities of *Pythukas*.³⁹ This is the same as modern *pohe* (*ḥahunā* or *ḥahunā* in Guj. rice-flakes) and these mixed with milk and sugar are still very popular in India. Even today Bengalis are very fond of these. Sugar (*śarkarā*), white and of good quality, as also molasses were also produced in this region. Milk, curds, *kṣaudra* (one of the eight kinds of honey),⁴⁰ good quality of ghee, various types of oils, e. g. of *tila*, *sarṣapa*, *atasī*, *eraṇḍa* and *kusumbha* as also fragrant oils and essences of sweet smell were produced.

Costly silks (*paṭṭavastrāṇi*) of various types were produced. Excellent *dukūlas* (cloth of certain fibres acc. to Motichandra) known as *kṣīrodaka* (= *khīrodaka* in Guj. of different shades in one cloth, usually white and blue, a *dhūpachāva* type) and many varieties of garments (cloth, *cīra* = *cīvara*) of silk were produced. According to this Brahmin of Gauḍadeśa, sericulture was done in Gauḍadeśa alone. Fine cotton garments were also available.

We omit the lists of trees, creepers, flowers animals, birds, etc. Various types of fishes and the *śafaris* etc. were in plenty.

There were several types of boats, and expert boatmen (sailors) as also traders (having their own boats) in boat-traffic (*nauvyavasāyīnah*). There were also the fishermen (*kaivartakāh*).

जोडभात (i. e. सकवार, कंडा, सुकवेल, कवची, डांमेल, कालवेल, रामसाळ, सुतरसाळ, मालवेल, केळवेल, वांकडे). An earlier list, contemporary with the age of our text is supplied by *Bhojana-kutūhala*, I, pp. 3-7. Different lists, mentioned in the different texts published in *Varnaka-samuccaya*, (ed. by B. J. Sandesara, Baroda, 1956), Vol. I., pp. 5, 175 f., 190, etc. may be noted. Twenty-seven varieties of *cāvala* are mentioned in *Padmāvata* (ed. by V. S. Agrawala), ५४४१-७, pp. 584-86. Caraka, *sūtrasthāna*, xxvii, gives different varieties of *śāli* and includes *śāli*, *vrihi*, *śyāmāka*, *Nivāra* etc. amongst *Śuka-Dhānya-Varga*, while *mudga*, *māṣa* etc. are in *Śamī-Dhūva-Varga*. Suśruta's lists of *śāli* Dhānya, *Ṣaṣṭika* Dhānya, *Kudhānya* etc. may also be noted.

³⁸ Nadakarni's *Indian Materia Medica* (3rd. ed.), Vol. I. p. 726. Properties of *Lankā* are noted in *Bhoj. Kutū.*, I. p. 14.

³⁹ Cf. *Abhi. Cin.*, 401—पृथुकश्चिपिटस्तुल्यौ लज्जाः स्युः पुनरक्षताः। *Amarakośa*, 1801 gives the same meaning. Compare also *Bhoj. Kutū.*, I. p. 24.

⁴⁰ Cf. *Bhoja. Kutū.*, I. pp. 165 ff. The eight kinds are—मादिकं भ्रामरं शौद्रं पौलिकं छात्रकं तथा । आर्ष्येनौद्दालकं दालमित्यष्टौ मधुजातयः ॥ They are described in this text.

There were Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śudras. In Gauḍadeśa were also to be found people from Gurjaradeśa, Āndhra, Karṇāṭaka, Draviḍa and Mahārāṣṭra.

There were (brāhmaṇas known as) *Cittapāvanas* (they seem to have originally come from Mahārāṣṭra where they are numerous), *Kāṇvas* (*i.e.* of Kāṇva śākhā) and *Mādhyandinas* (of the Śukla-Yajurveda, M.—Śākhā). There were Jains, as well as the following people—*Kānyakubjas* (*i.e.* originally coming from Kānyakubja or Kanauj district), *Sārasvatas*, *Mālhuras*, *Pāñcālās*, *Marujās* (people from Marudeśa), *Māgadhiyas*, *Maithilas*, *Pārvatīyas* (from hill tracts), *Trihūtanas* (from the Tirhut region), *Gauḍas* (of course, natives of this Gauḍadeśa), *Utkalas* (coming from Utkala, roughly the state of Orissa), and people from *Kāśī*, *Gayā* and *Prayāga* (Allahabād). The *Gayāpālakas* and *Prayāgapālakas* are possibly the Brāhmaṇa *Pañḍās* (*Purohitas*) from Gayā and Prayāga who look after and earn their living from their *yajamānas* visiting these tīrthas.

There were low caste people earning their living from different professions. There were the barbers, washermen, potters, artisans or sculptors (*śilpinaḥ*), traders (*vaṇijāḥ*), weavers (*paṭākārāḥ*), the bards or professional panegerists (*māgadhiḥ*), and there were many others who lived by selling commodities (*paṇyajīvināḥ*, tradesmen). There were the Yavanas, the Cāṇḍālas, the workers in Bamboos (*vamśasfoṭakas*, *vānsafoḍās* in Guj.), the *dhīvaras* (fishermen), the foresters, the hunters (*vyādhas*) and the persons selling flowers (*kusumopajīvi*, *mālākāra*, Guj. *Mālīs*). There were monks and ascetics who were called *jaṭilas* (wearing matted hair), the *tāpasas*, the *Vairāgis* (a special class usually of Vaiṣṇavas, even today popular in Bengal as *Berāgis*), the worshippers of *Bhairava* and also persons practising charms etc. (*mantrikas*, probably a corrupt reading for *māntrikas*).

There were prostitutes and people living on prostitution. There were the rope-dancers or actors (*naṭāḥ*) and professional dancers (*nartakāḥ*). There were many merchants and many rich people. There were physicians (*vaidyāḥ*) and astrologers (and astronomers—*jyotirvidāḥ*) and such other men of various castes and professions.

Interesting details about some typical customs prevailing in different parts of India are introduced in the GPM. (pp. 13 f) and the GVM. (pp. 30-31) in the dialogues between the Brāhmaṇa host and the Sannyāsin invited for dinner. The Sannyāsin asks Vājapeyī (in GPM.) whether or not in the latter's native land (Kānyakubjadeśa), the *audana* (grain mashed and cooked with milk, porridge, boiled rice) cooked by a lady in her monthly illness was partaken or not. The Brāhmaṇa replies that the *samicīnas* (*i.e.* those who follow the *sadācāra* or the

rules of right conduct, the *śiṣṭas*) did not do so but the *dharkaṭas*, *agra-mānikas* and the *halavāhakas* had no objection to it. The first is a caste-name, persons of Dharkaṭa jñāti or vamsa, usually Vaiśyas, are known from Jaina inscriptions, the second if it is a corrupt reading as suggested in the text, p. 13, foot note, may denote the Mānis (or was it Agravāṇija or Agravaṇija = Agrawalas? also cf. *agrajāṇikas* in Varṇaratnākara, p. 9.) and the third may denote farmers, the Haḷis or Hālis, tilling the land with the plough. The Brahmin further tells the Sannyāsin that such *durācāras* (condemned practices) are seen in all lands, and then gives a list of them. In fact these are local customs, though contrary to prescribed rules in smṛtis etc.

Thus in the South, people marry maternal uncle's daughter and amongst the Dākṣiṇātyas girls are married before they are four years old. In the Āndhradeśa, tilling with plough (which is not the duty of a Brāhmaṇa) is practised. In Karṇāṭaka they dine even without taking bath. In Mahārāṣṭra they partake of the dish from which another person has eaten, and marry the younger son when the elder one is still unmarried, in the Draviḍa and Kerala countries all ladies do not cover their breasts, and in Kerala sexual intercourse is practised contrary to the usual position of the male and the female, in Koṅkaṇa they (twice-born) climb the trees, in Gurjaradeśa they drink water from a vessel made of animal-hide, and a lady observes her monthly illness for two days only, taking her bath on the third day, in the North (Uttaradeśa) they eat meat, though prohibited in the Kali age. In the hilly regions (Parvatadeśa, of the Himalayan regions) the practice of niyoga, that is, begetting a son, by the brother-in-law of the widow is a *durācāra*. In Maithila and Gauḍadeśa they always smear their bodies with oils, and in the Gauḍadeśa, people do not accept the authority of the Vedas. In the Kānyakubjadeśa they eat preparations cooked in ghee from shops in the bazaar, and touch others while dining during marriage ceremony. The people of Utkaladeśa follow a certain obscene practice in sexual life. People of Gauḍa, Draviḍa, Kerala, Utkala and Maithila countries eat cooked *audana* of rice (from others). The last custom reminds one of the practice of eating cooked rice, as *prasāda* of the Lord, by even Brahmins at Jagannātha-Purī Shrine. People of all these lands chew betel-leaves while walking on the road.

An almost similar list is given in the GVM. (pp. 30-31) with the additional information that in Magadha is practised inter-class (*varṇa*) marriage, in the Candrāvati region they enjoy slave-girls while the twice-born of the Kāśmīra live almost like the yavanas, their *durācāras* being innumerable. In this list, the Brāhmaṇa emphatically declares that one or the other *durācāra* is found in all lands, but amongst the twice-born of the Mahārāṣṭra there is no *durācāra*, and especially amongst the followers of the Mādhva sect there is not the slightest

durācāra. It is this boast of the Brāhmaṇa which suggests that the author of the GVM. might have been a Brāhmaṇa from Mahārāṣṭra, and a follower of the Mādhva school.

Such long lists of durācāras became popular and current amongst Brāhmaṇa paṇḍits due to the discussions on the validity of customs in Hindu Law. Kumārila-bhaṭṭa incidentally noted such practices of his times and said that they are to be condemned and not to be followed or regarded as authoritative. In his days, he says, even Brāhmaṇa women of Ahicchatrā and Mathurā drink wine,⁴⁰ the Brāhmaṇas of the North eat from the same plate with their wives, children and friends, the Brāhmaṇas of the South marry the maternal uncle's daughter and take their meals while seated on a couch (of wicker work) ; both (brāhmaṇas of the north and south) take cooked food (kept in pots) that remains after their friends or relatives have partaken of it or that has been touched by them (at the time of eating) ; they chew betel-nut-leaves that have been touched by persons of all varṇas, wear clothes washed by washerman and brought on the back of asses, and so on. Kumārila further says that there are everywhere an infinite number of very obvious transgressions of the subtle dictates of dharma laid down for each man, caste or family, that (transgressions) are contrary to śruti, smṛti and each other and that have a visible purpose behind them, and that it is not possible to regard such practices as authoritative.

However a very tolerant attitude prevailed in ancient India in the case of such practices and customs and Hindu law—givers took a very liberal view even about the customs, practices etc. of heretical sects like Buddhism, Jainism etc. or of the non-Aryan population.⁴¹ But such discussions in works on Dharmaśāstra provide interesting cultural data. The lists of condemned practices in the GPM. and GVM. seem to have grown so long from such discussions amongst Hindu Paṇḍits. Both the GPM. and the GVM. adopt a very liberal view regarding such practices.

Incidentally a few such customs collected by Mm. P. V. Kane from different texts may be referred to here. It will be seen that marrying of maternal uncle's daughter amongst the twice-born of Southern India is a very ancient custom. Jaimini. I. 3.15-23 constitute what is called Holākādhikaraṇa or Sāmānyaśrutiprakaṛaṇa. Here incidentally it is said that certain practices like the Holākā (spring festival, Hoḷī in Gujarati) are observed by the easterners,

⁴⁰ *Tantravārtika*, p. 204, Also see, for a discussion on transgressions of dharma, and authoritativeness of customs and usages with full references, Mm. Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmaśāstra* Vol. III. pp. 843 ff.

⁴¹ For a very detailed discussion, see, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. III. pp. 848 ff. 856 ff. 859 ff.

certain others like Āhnīnaibuka (worship of growing Karañja or Arka or other trees as handed down in one's family) by the southerners, and the Udvṛṣabhaya-jña (honouring oxen on the Full Moon of Jyeṣṭha and making them run a race) by the northerners.

The Āśv. Gr. Sū. I. 7.1-2 says that various indeed are the observances of (different) countries and villages; one should follow those in marriages. The Āp. Gr. Sū. II. 15 declares that people should understand from women what procedure is to be observed (according to custom). Several Gṛhyasūtras (like Pāraskara II. 17, Mānava Gr. Sū. I. 4.6) refer to the practices of people that should be followed in such matters as commencing agricultural operations, holidays etc.

Baudhāyana Dharma Sū, I. 1.19-26 says, " there is difference of opinion regarding five (practices) in the South as well as in the North. We shall explain those peculiar to the South. They are : to eat in the company of one whose upanayana is not performed, to eat in the company of one's wife, to partake of stale food, to marry the daughter of a maternal uncle or a parental aunt. Now the customs peculiar to (Brāhmaṇas of) the north are : to sell wool, to drink rum, to deal in the sale of animals with an upper and a lower row of teeth, to follow the profession of arms and to travel by sea. "

Bṛhaspati, quoted in Smṛticandrikā, I. 10, advises the king to keep intact customs of countries, castes and families that have been long in vogue in them and states that otherwise the subjects become irritated and disaffected and there is loss of wealth and army. He gives certain striking illustrations of such practices : members of the twice-born classes in the south take in marriage their maternal uncle's daughter ; in the middle country (the country between the Himālaya and the Vindhya lying to the west of Prayāga and to the east of Vinaśana where Sarasvatī disappears) artisans and menial workers eat the flesh of a cow ; in the eastern countries all people (including Brāhmaṇas) eat fish and women are given to adultery ; in the north women drink liquor and contact with them even in their monthly illness is allowed ; the people of the khaśa country take as wives widows of their own brothers ; these several people are not liable to punishment or penance because of their doing things in the respective countries. Medhātithi on Manu. VIII. 3 gives some interesting illustrations of local customs, viz., in certain southern localities a sonless widow occupies a square low table in the hall of justice, when she is struck with dice by judicial officers and then she gets her husband's property, in the north there is a custom that when certain persons come on behalf of a bridegroom seeking for a virgin in marriage and if they are fed at the house of the girl's father it amounts to a promise for the proposed marriage. Again Medhātithi on Manu II. 6 gives certain illustrations of practices of śiṣṭas on matters on which the

Veda and smṛti are silent and which they observe with the consciousness that such practices are right.

Some of the condemned practices, noted in the GPM. and GVM are thus fairly old customs of those countries. It seems however that these were in existence even in the seventeenth century.

Veṅkaṭādhvarī, the son of Raghunātha Dīkṣita, composed an interesting work entitled *Viśvaguṇādarśa-Campū*.⁴¹ He was a contemporary of Nilakaṇṭha Dīkṣita and therefore his age falls in the seventeenth century A. D., the age of GPM. and GVM. The *Viśvaguṇādarśa-Campū* supplies interesting cultural data about different parts of India, and as contemporary evidence about the state of Brāhmaṇas in Banaras, it would not be out of place to note it here.

According to this text, two Gandharvas, Viśvāvasu and Kṛṣānū, start on an aerial survey of various parts of India and while flying over different towns or districts they discuss the region under survey. The whole text is very interesting as it thus provides some useful cultural data for India in the seventeenth century. In the section on *Kāśīvarṇanam*⁴², a reference is made to the degraded condition of the Brāhmaṇas at Banaras who could not properly observe all the rules of conduct prescribed for them and an attempt is made to excuse their conduct by stating that Kāśī (Banaras) suffered largely from the onslaught of the Turuṣkas and the consequent stay of some of them in this holy place. Compare :—

कृशानुः—किमेतद्देशवासिनोऽपि ब्राह्मणाः केवलं कलिमाहात्म्याकलितशास्त्रीयचर्याविपर्यया भवता नमस्क्रियन्ते ?
पश्य तावत्प्रायेणास्य काशीदेशजनसुचर्याविपर्ययसम् ॥ २४ ॥

शस्त्रैर्जीवति शास्त्रमुज्झति परं ब्रह्माहूतैरम्बुभिः
स्नात्याचामति देवताः स्नपयति स्वैरं पत्रत्योदनम् ।
उच्छिष्टान्न विभेति याति यवनैरुच्चावचैः सङ्गतिं
मातङ्गान्त्रिकटं गतानगणयन्मार्गान्मुहुर्गाहते ॥ ८९ ॥

किं च—

प्रातर्हन्त कृताप्लवोऽपि रजकस्पृष्टान्जडो रासभै—
रूढान् धारयते पटाननुदिनं धृत्वा बहिर्गच्छति ।
गत्वा म्लेच्छमुखाशुचीन्स्पृशति च स्पृष्ट्वापि न स्नात्यहो
न स्नातोऽप्यथ मुक्क एष चपलो भुक्त्वापि न व्रीडति ॥ ९० ॥

अपि च—

नीचैर्दुर्यवनैः शुनीभिरपि वा निःशङ्कमालोकितं
भुङ्क्ते पङ्क्तिविदूषकैः सह नरैरज्ञातवेदाक्षरैः ।

⁴¹ *Viśvaguṇādarśa-Campū*, edited with commentary by B. G. Yogī and revised by M. G. Shastri Bakre, published by Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, Fifth edition, 1923 A. D.

⁴² *Viśvaguṇādarśa-Campū*, pp. 54-66.

मद्यास्वादनमत्तन्चित्तजनतामोहाय भीहानितः
कर्माण्यारभते श्रुति-स्मृतिवचोदूराण्यसाराण्यहो ॥ ९१ ॥

अपि च—

कन्यां कामप्युदूह्य प्रविजहदुदयद्यौवनामज्ञ एनां
द्रव्याशापाशकृष्टो भ्रमति त्रिरतरं हन्त देशान्तरेषु ।
अन्योन्याश्लेषवाञ्छाविगलितवयसोरात्तमालिन्यमत्यो—
र्दम्पत्योर्व्याकृतैव हतविधिरुभयोर्लोकयोः शोकयोगम् ॥ ९२ ॥

अपि च—

नाऽधीतेऽत्र जनो यदि कश्चिदधीते शते सहस्रे वा ।
दुस्तर्केषु श्राम्यति दूरीकुरुते श्रुति-स्मृतिसुतर्कान् ॥ ९३ ॥

At this Viśvāvasu tries to condone the actions of Brāhmaṇas of Kāśī by stating that this is due to the power and influence of the Kali Age, and says those still protect the Hindu temples and help the Brāhmaṇas, while serving under the cruel Turuṣka (Turks) kings, deserve to be respected. Compare :

किं च

ये कायस्थजनाश्च ये नृपसुता ये च द्विजाः शस्त्रिण—
स्ते यत्नादनुसृत्य निर्दयतया शुष्कांस्तुरुष्कापिपान् ।
देवान्भूमिसुरांश्च पागित कृतिनस्ते चेद्द्रव्येष्व्वासते
ब्राह्मण्याय जलाञ्जलिः किल भुवि प्राज्ञैः प्रदेयो भवेत् ॥ ९६ ॥

The lamentable condition of Kāśī tormented by the Yavanas is further indicated—

सर्वतो दृष्टिं प्रसार्य सक्षाधम्—

आक्रान्तासु वसुंधरासु यवनैरासेतुहैमाचलं
विद्राणे क्षितिभृद्गणे विकरुणे निद्रातिं नारायणे ।
निर्विघ्नप्रसरे कलावपि बलान्निष्कण्टकं वैदिकं
पन्थानं किल तत्र तत्र परिपात्येको हि लोकोत्तरः ॥ ९७ ॥

पुनः सक्षाधम्—

त्यजतु विहितमेतद्देशवासी निषिद्धं
भजतु तदपि लोके नारित धन्यस्तदन्यः ।
त्रियुगपदनखश्रीदत्तशुद्धिर्यदङ्गे
लगति दुरितभङ्गे लग्नको गाङ्गपूरः ॥ ९८ ॥
प्रौढेषु गौडेषु च कान्यकुब्जेष्वङ्गेषु वङ्गेषु च मैथिलेषु ।
अन्येषु सत्त्वेषु बुधेषु धन्येष्वध्यापि जीवन्त्यधिभूमि विद्याः ॥ ९९ ॥
× × × प्रातश्शीतजले निमज्ज्य विबुधानभ्यर्चयत्युच्चकै—
रायैः पशुपितं तु नाभ्यवहरत्यन्धः क्षुधान्योऽव्यसौ ।
भागे गोमथलिप्त एव पचते भुङ्क्ते ततोऽन्यत्र य—
श्रीतं तद्विजहाति भुक्तिनियमो दृष्टः क भूयानियान् ॥ १०१ ॥

The above lengthy quotations will show that the Brāhmaṇas at Kāśī could not confirm to the prescribed rules of conduct, mainly due to political

conditions and hence even writers from the south, like Śrī Veṅkaṭādhvarī, made a plea for taking a very liberal view of their conduct. We can now very well understand that this question of *ācāra* was uppermost in the minds of Brāhmaṇas and Sannyāsins, not only in other parts of India, but also those living in Kāśī itself. It is for this reason that both Varadarāja and Dhunḍirāja introduced this problem cleverly in their text-books GPM. and GVM. and suggested a liberal outlook on such problems.

The Viśvagunādarśacampū contains such interesting cultural data about different parts of India in the seventeenth century and deserves proper notice at the hands of historians. In the Gurjaradeśavarṇana, for example, the text (pp. 73 ff) says that the young people of Gurjaradeśa used to wear costly ambara-garments, and enjoyed life in company of young ladies, with their lips red and shining with the chewing of betel-leaves with camphor etc. added to them, their bodies shining with costly jewelled ornaments and fragrant with the use of saffron. The beautiful forms of young ladies of Gurjaradeśa are praised. The men of Gujarat, however, leaving aside the delightful company of their charming wives, travel into far off lands in pursuit of trade and for earning jewels, riches etc. They are said to amass immense wealth in this way. The people of Mahārāṣṭra (text, pp. 83 ff), rich and being storehouses of good qualities, honour and serve their guests in good faith. Mahārāṣṭra is a beautiful country full of sweet waters of streams, rivulets, etc. and looking like heaven. The conduct of some Brāhmaṇas, however, is criticised by Kṛṣṇānū who says that they do not observe properly their duties of sandhyāvandana etc. and earn their living as *grāma-gaṇakas* (village accountants or village headmen etc.). Study of Yavanānī script (Arabic or Persian language) is resorted to instead of study of the Vedas—

×× ग्रामायय्यलेखनेन नयतां कालानशेषानहो
पारम्पर्यत ईदृशमिह नृणां ब्राह्मण्यमन्यादृशम् ॥ १३५ ॥

The conduct of such Brāhmaṇas is further criticised in the following verse—

कुक्षेः पूर्त्यै यवननृपतेभृत्यकृत्यानि कर्तुम्
विक्रीणीते वपुरपि निजं वेतनैरेतदास्ताम् ।
विप्रो भूत्वाप्यहह गणनानैपुणैर्वञ्चयित्वा
स्वर्गस्तेयं रचयति जनः स्वामिनां पोषकाणाम् ॥ १३६ ॥

×××× वेदव्यासः स इह दश यो वेद वेदाक्षराणि
श्लोकं त्वेकं परिपठति यः स स्वयं जीव एव ।
आपरतम्बः स किल कलयेत्सम्यगौपासनं यः
कष्टं शिक्षति कृति कलौ कार्दर्यमृच्छति विद्याः ॥ १३८ ॥

Viśvāvasu replies that here in Mahārāṣṭra also there were a number of Brāhmaṇas well versed in Vedas and Vedic rites, who are Agnihottrins, who

have knowledge of Ātman and who are pious souls living a spiritual life, having given up attachment to objects of senses, Brāhmaṇas who have mastered the śrutis and purāṇas thoroughly, who are self-controlled, and who worship gods and avoid contact with śādras. Again the twice-born who are behaving in certain ways need not be criticized for the following additional reason. The argument advanced reminds one of the famous saying, शिवाजी न होत तो हुन्नर होत सवती. Compare—

चमूनियमनेन वा जनपदाधिकारेण वा
द्विजव्रज उपव्रजन्मभुजं महाराष्ट्रतः ।
न वृत्तमेह् पालयेद्यदे धरापुराणां ततो
भवेद्यवनवेष्टितं भुवनमेतदब्राह्मणम् ॥ १४१ ॥

* * *

The same argument is advanced in favour of Kṣatriyas, non-Brahmins (or Marāṭhās) whose other misdeeds, noted in v. 143, should be excused and tolerated as they have saved the earth (*i.e.* Bhārata) tormented by the Mlecchas—

मायाचुचुनया भयावहगतिः प्रत्यधिपृथ्वीभुजां
माहागष्टमटच्छटा रणपट्टेर्नापर्यटाय्येत् चेत् ।
देवब्राह्मणवर्गनिग्रहकृतो देशान्तरुत्था इमे
निष्प्रत्यूहमनोरथा दितनुयुनिर्देवभूमीसुरान् ॥ १४४ ॥
देवक्षोणीसुरहितकृते दारितम्लेच्छपङ्के—
र्षणां सखा कथमपि महाराष्ट्रयूथरय चेष्टा ।
व्याधिन्ग्रहप्रतिहतिकृतां व्यक्तमुग्रैषधानां
कायागैर्यप्रणदिहैर्यैः काटवं मर्षणीयम् ॥ १४५ ॥

The Āndhradeśa (pp. 94 ff) is praised for its fishes, crocodiles etc., and for the people from various parts inhabiting it in order to earn their living. It is said that this land also has the demerits seen in the case of Mahārāṣṭra. But the devotion, of the Āndhra-people, to Gods (Viṣṇu and others) is so great that it does not matter at all if they do not perform sacrifices or study the Vedic lore. Besides the land, in the valleys of the rivers Godāvarī and Kṛṣṇā, was full of Śaiva shrines where sand-made (*saikata*) liṅgas of Śiva were worshipped, where Paṇḍits were well-versed in Vedic lore, logic, śāstras etc., and who were attached to the worship of Mukunda (Viṣṇu). Here too the Yavanas riding on swift chargers had demolished shrines of Śiva and Viṣṇu and the land was full of Yavanas from Turuṣka country.

The Karnāṭa-deśa described next (Viśvaguṇādarśa-campū, pp. 100 ff) had beautiful gardens and forest-groves in each town or city, these groves were full of betel-nut trees with flowers and humming bees attracted towards the latter. The ladies, displaying amorous gestures and exciting passion, were enjoying the humming of bees in gardens and groves.

But the land, according to Gandharva Kṛṣṇānū, did not deserve so much praise, filled as it was with heretics (*pāṣaṇḍas*) having their bodies besmeared with ashes, bearing on their chests the phallus-symbol and, fierce as they were, they were antagonists of Veda and its followers. The land was a stronghold of the followers of Madhva. In the city of Rajatapura (modern Udupi) lived Ānandatīrtha (*Madhvācārya*), a great monk, who was the founder of this sect. Here in this land is the famous Yadu-śaila (Yadu-giri, modern Melkoṭe) where in ancient times was brought from Śveta-dvīpa, the white-earth (*Tiruman* in Tamil) which the followers of the Rāmānuja sect (both Teṅgale and Vaḍahale sects) use for Tilaka-marks. Followers of the Mādhva-saṅgha are criticised, by Kṛṣṇānū, for not practising the sandhyā at proper time, for giving up Gāyatrī-mantra and the sacred-thread while resorting to the fourth āśrama, and for the use of a Piṣṭa-paśu (an animal form made of dough of flour) instead of a real animal in sacrifice; these monks are criticised for riding on a palanquin and so on. At this Viśvāvasu gives a long defence of the Mādhvas who are Bhāgavatas devoted to Nārāyaṇa.

Descriptions like these can be added from the Viśvaguṇādarśa-Campū, but a critical study of the whole text would be out of place here. The above accounts are sufficient to show that in almost all parts of India, the presence of the Yavanas or Mlecchas was regarded as responsible for the defects in the observance of rules of right conduct prescribed for the twice-born.

The Brāhmana Vājapeyī (GPM.) says that he had studied the four Vedas, along with Vedāṅgas (Vyākaraṇa, Jyotiṣa, Nirukta, Chandah-śāstra, Śikṣā and Kalpa), the six Darśanas (Vaiśeṣika, Tarka or Nyāya, Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta). The latter are called upāṅgas in the text. Vājapeyī also studied Kāvya, Nāṭaka, Alamkāra, Smṛti and Saṅgīta. He is thus regarded as a Śrotiṃya by the Sannyāsin.

The Brāhmana host Bhaṭṭācārya (in GVM.) was born in Gauḍadeśa. His father had gone to Gauḍadeśa to acquire learning. A question is asked as to what was the necessity of going to Gauḍadeśa when learning could be done in Kāśī. To this Bhaṭṭācārya replies that his father went there in order to acquire proficiency in Tarka or logic. This shows that Gauḍadeśa or Bengal was famous for its advancement in Nyāya. The Navadvīpa, Nadiā, was famous for its Navya-Nyāya. The Brāhmana host (in GVM.) learnt from his father, first the Pañca-Prakaraṇas, or five Prakaraṇa-granthas *i. e.* elementary works, beginner's texts. Here looking to the context, they seem to be five works on Logic. They might have been Tarkasamgraha, with Dīpikā and Nilakanṭhī; the Muktāvalī of Viśvanātha and the Dinakarī of Dinakara and Mahādeva. By Pañca-Prakaraṇa are generally meant the five elementary works on Nyāya, Vyākaraṇa, Mīmāṃsā, Vedānta and Sāhitya or Alaṅkāra-śāstra. Next the

Brāhmaṇa host studied Cintāmaṇi of Gaṅgeśopādhyāya (c. 1175 A. D.), Śiro-
maṇi of Raghunātha (c. 1300 A. D.), Mathurānāthī (*i. e.* Tattvadīdhiti-Ṭikā of
Mathurānātha, c. 1580 A. D.), Bhāvānandī (Tattvadīdhiti-ṭikā by Bhavānanda
c. 1600 A. D.) and works of Pakṣadhara-Miśra and others (*Miśrāntāh granthāh*).
The works studied by the sannyāsin Trivikramāśrama (in GPM.) are listed on
text pp. 9-11, with footnotes about their authors, dates etc. They need not be
repeated here. But the different lists in GPM. and GVM. are important as they
provide for us lists of texts books in different subjects studied by students and
scholars in order to obtain proficiency in the different branches of studies. The
sannyāsin Trivikramāśrama does not appear to have studied all these texts, he
does not even speak correct Sanskrit, *e.g.*, *Tilābhāṇḍeśvara* for *Tilabhāṇḍeśvara*,
anādhyāya for *anadhyaaya*, and *mādhūkaram* for *mādhukaram*. The character of
Trivikramāśrama, in GPM., is a satire on some of the sannyāsins, of this age,
who were hypocrites and pretended to have been learned paṇḍits.

Emphasis is laid (by the author of GPM., p. 6) on the desirability of ob-
taining knowledge of grammar and it is said that those who, disregarding gram-
mar, study other sciences (*darśanas*), are misguided people (*bhrāntāh*). It may
be remembered that Varadarāja, the author, was himself a grammarian of repute.

Varadabhaṭṭa strongly deprecates those who are attached to mere dialecti-
cal disputations, those who are sceptics. This view is supported with citations
from various ancient texts (cf. for example, तर्काप्रतिष्ठानादिति व्याससूत्रम् । नैषा तर्केण मति-
रापनेया इति श्रुतिः । and so on). This has been the Hindu ideal from Vedic age to
this day, and Varadabhaṭṭa wanted to warn his students against undue emphasis
on Tarka. It is not improbable that his attack was somewhat directed against
Bengal Paṇḍits of the Navya-Nyāya. It must also be remembered that the
Kāśī-Paṇḍits also attacked the Vaṅga-Brāhmaṇas who did not properly respect
the authority of Vedas or Śrutis, cf. Dhunḍirāja, in GVM. (p. 30)—~~×××~~वङ्गदेशीया
ब्राह्मणाः केवलं वेदवाद्या भवन्ति । ~~×××~~ तत्रस्था ब्राह्मणाः स्मृतिप्रामाण्येन वर्चन्ते । न तु वेदाध्ययनं कुर्वन्ति ।

Emphasis was laid on liberal education and general knowledge. The edu-
cation of a Brahmin scholar was not complete with the knowledge of Vedas,
Vedāṅgas and Vedānta. The GPM. as well as GVM. show that besides these the
Brāhmaṇas also studied Lexicons, Grammar, Pūrva-mīmāṃsā, Epics and Purā-
ṇas, Prosody, Poetics, Dramas and other forms of literature, Āyurveda and
Sāṅgīta.⁴³

Banaras has been noted as a seat of learning from ancient times. Takṣa-
silā as a seat of learning declined in circa third century A.D. Banaras and

⁴³ Discussion of the references to Asat-khān, Zulfikāra-khān etc. is not
repeated in this introduction as Dr. P. K. Gode has already given it in his papers
cited before.

Nalanda seem to attain more importance since then. It must however be remembered that there was no organised institution like that of Nalanda at Banaras. In the seventh century Hiuen-Tsang was struck with the devotion of Banaras to learning.^{43a} The great Śaṅkarācārya and other dignitaries had to go to Banaras to get their views and theories accepted by the world of scholars. There were a large number of famous scholars at Banaras who must have been giving tuition to a number of students. We have already referred to the *Ukti-Vyakti-Prakarāṇa* of Pandit Dāmodara (c. 1150 A.D.) composed for teaching purposes at Banaras. The Gāhaḍwāla grants do not refer to any colleges or temple colleges, though among the donees of these grants there are some who belonged to the families of hereditary Pandits. An Encyclopaedic work, *Kṛtya-kalpataru* of Lakṣmīdhara, was composed by a minister of the Gāhaḍwāla court. This shows the extent of learning of Pandits at Banaras. That Banaras was a recognized centre of Hindu religion, learning and culture is also shown by Kṛṣṇamiśra's reference to it in his *Prabodhacandrodaya*. Kullūkabhaṭṭa composed his famous commentary on *Manu-smṛti* at Kāśī.

Very little is known about writing and literary activity at Kāśī during the troubled times between c. 1200-1500 A.D. But from the 16th century again there seems to have been a great revival. As shown by Altekar, and Gode* several learned families from Mahārāṣṭra and Karṇāṭaka came and settled down permanently at Banaras by the beginning of the 16th century. Dharmādhikārī Śeṣa, Bhaṭṭa and Mauni were the chief amongst them. Nanda Paṇḍita the famous author of *Dattaka-Mīmāṃsā* (c. 1570-1630 A.D.) was a member of the Dharmādhikārī family coming to Banaras from Bidar in the south. Khaṇḍerāya, another member of this family composed in this age, a work on *Dharmaśāstra*, entitled *Paraśurāma-prakāśa*.

Śeṣa Viṣṇu wrote an elaborate commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya* in the 16th century. Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa, the author of many works, lived towards the close of this century. He wrote seven works on grammar (*Pudacandrikā*, *Prakriyā-prakāśa*, *Prākṛtacandrikā*, *Śabdālankāra*, *Sphoṭatattva* etc.), three on *Kāvya* (*Kamsavadha*, *Pārijātaḥaraṇacampū*, and *Murārivijayanāṭaka*) and one on *Dharmaśāstra* (*Śūdrācāraśiromaṇi*). His brother Cintāmaṇi composed several works including *Rasamañjarī-parimāla*. Vīreśvara, a son of Kṛṣṇa, was the preceptor of the famous Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja, the author of *Rasagangādhara* etc. He was also the teacher of Bhaṭṭojī Dikṣita, the famous author of *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, as also the teacher of Annambhaṭṭa, the author of *Tarkasamgraha*.

^{43a} Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II. p. 47.

* The account following here is summarised from Altekar, A. S., *History of Banaras*, pp. 39 ff. and from the three volumes of *Studies in Literary History* by Dr. P. K. Gode.

Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, the author of *Prayoga-ratna*, *Tristhalīsetu* etc., belonged to the Bhaṭṭa family which migrated to Banaras in the latter half of the 16th century. He reerected the temple of Viśvanātha, in c. 1585 A.D., on its old site. His son Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa wrote *Dvaitanirṇaya*, *Vratamayūkha* and *Gādhivam-śūnucarīlakārya*. Nilakanṭha, the son of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa, composed in the first half of the 17th century, the famous work *Lakṣavantablāskara* consisting of twelve *moyūkhās* dealing with different topics of Dharmaśāstra. Nilakanṭha's cousin Kamalākarabhaṭṭa composed *Nirṇayasindhu*, another famous Dharmaśāstra work frequently consulted by modern Pandits. Raḡhunātha, another member of this family composed *Geṭraṣṭavaraniṇya* and *Kālatattvavivēcana*. Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa, alias Gāgābhaṭṭa, composed several works on Mimamsā and Dharmaśāstra.

Raḡgoji Dikṣita, a brother of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita composed *Advaitacintāmaṇi* and *Advaitaśāstrasūroddhāra*. His son Kcṇḍabhaṭṭa, a famous grammarian, composed *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇa*.

Besides Brāhmana families and pandits from Mahārāṣṭra and Karṇāṭaka many others had either migrated to Banaras or spent some years in Banaras for study and carried writing activity also.

Mahīdhara, the son of Fanubhaṭṭa, the son of Ratnākara of Vatsakula at Ahicchatrā, had migrated to Banaras, in the sixteenth century. He was the author of *Vedadīpa*, *Mantramahodadhī*, *Kātyāyanaśulvasūtrabhāṣya* etc. His son Kalyāṇa composed a work on medicine called *Bālatantra*, in A.D. 1587. Vijñānabhikṣu, the author of *Sāmkhya-bhāṣya* (A.D. 1525-1600) had a pupil named Bhāva Gaṇeśa. This Bhāva Gaṇeśa was the leader of Citpāvana Brāhmanas at Banaras, who signed a Nirṇayapatra in 1583 A.D., as shown by Dr. Gode. Appaya Dikṣita (c. 1550-1660 A.D.), the famous author of *Parimala*, *Cītrmīmāṃsā* and a number of other works also stayed at Banaras for sometime.

Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī whose successful intervention with Emperor Shah Jahan (1628-1658 A.D.) resulted in the abolition of pilgrim tax at Banaras is another great Pandit of Banaras in the 17th century. Śivadatta, the author of *Śivakośa* was his contemporary. Kavīndrācārya was a very learned Pandit and the head of the Pandits of his times at Banaras. The title of 'Sarvavidyānidhāna' was conferred on him by Emperor Shah Jahan. His taste for learning is proved by his wonderful collection of manuscripts, an old list of which, fortunately recovered, is published as *Kavīndrācāryasūcīpatra*, as Gaekwad's Oriental Series Vol. XVII. This list shows, incidentally, the various branches of learning in which Pandits at Banaras were interested. Kavīndrācārya seems to have hailed from the Deccan. For a list of several Banaras Pandits who were contemporaries of Kavīndrācārya, see, Gode *Studies in Indian Literary History*, Vol. II, p. 366n.

Nilakaṇṭha Caturdhara, the celebrated commentator of Mahābhārata, flourished at Banaras between A.D. 1650 and 1700.

The great Mīmāṃsaka Khaṇḍadeva (c. 1600-1665 A.D.), author of *Bhāṭṭadīpikā*, *Mīmāṃsākaustubha* etc., also flourished at Banaras.

Lakṣmaṇa Paṇḍita (c. 1663 A.D.), son of Datta-sūri (of Kauṇḍinyakula) and Gojā (of Ātreyakula) of Banaras, was the author of *Advaitasudhā*. He also wrote a commentary called *Sāracandrikā* on *Rāghavapāṇḍaviya*. Gaṇeśa and Raghunātha were his elder brothers, Nāgeśa and Nārāyaṇa were his maternal uncles. Uttamaśloka, the author of *Laghuvārtika-ṭīkā* and Rāmāśrama (possibly son of Bhaṭṭojī Dikṣita) were his teachers. Lakṣmaṇa also wrote *Yogacandrikā*, a treatise on materia medica.

Harideva Miśra, author of *Śṛṅgārasaṅgīvanī* was born and lived at Mathurā, but had later migrated to Banaras. He lived sometime before c. 1650 A.D.

Ratnākara, the author of *Jayasimha-kalpadruma* (c. 1713 A.D.) was the son of Devabhaṭṭa of Śāṇḍilya gotra, resident of Banaras. Ratnākara was well-versed in Śrauta sacrifices. Viśveśvara Mahāśabda, the author of *Nirṇayakaustubha*, and *Pratāpārka* was the great grandson of Ratnākara-bhaṭṭa.

Varadarāja and Dhunḍirāja, the authors of GPM. and GVM. respectively, are already noted before, as having resided at Kāśī.

Nilakaṇṭha Śukla composed his *Cīmanī-caritra*, at Banaras in A.D. 1656. This work refers to Allāh Vardī Khān Turkamān, who, along with his son, was put to death by Dārā's brother Shujā. Nilakaṇṭha Śukla also composed, in A.D. 1637, a work on grammar entitled *Śabda-śobhā*. For Dārā's contacts with Banaras Pandits, see, Gode, *Studies In Indian Literary History*, Vol. II, pp. 438 ff.

The *Padyāmṛtataranginī* was completed by Bhāskara Agnihotri at Banaras on 12th June, 1673, as shown by Dr. Gode. Vāmana Paṇḍita, a Marāṭhī scholar of the latter half of the seventeenth century who translated into Marāṭhī verse the *Gaṅgālaharī* (of Jagannātha), studied Persian at Bijāpur and Sanskrit at Banaras.

In the sixteenth century Banaras made some famous contributions in Vedānta. Narasimhāśrama wrote *Advaitadīpikā* and *Tattvaviveka*. Vallabhācārya wrote his famous *Anubhāṣya*, spent his last days at Banaras and died at Hanumān-ghāṭ. *Advaitasiddhi* was composed at Banaras by Madhusūdana Sarasvatī.

Rāmānanda, one of the famous Vaiṣṇava reformers and saint, flourished in Banaras during the 14th century, and used to live near Pañcagaṅgā ghāṭ. During the next century flourished the famous saints and poets Kabīra and Rāidāsa. Kabīra was soon followed by Tulsidāsa, the famous saint and author of *Rāmācaritamānasa*. He carried on his literary activities at Banaras.

Geographical Data

Incidentally, the GPM. gives us a list of the different *ghāṭas* (built banks, with steps leading to the river-water) on the Ganges at Kāśī in that age. Dr. Gode in his earlier paper on the GPM. (referred to before) quoted the whole passage. These were the *ghāṭas* near which most of the Brāhmaṇa population of Kāśī lived. Of these, one of the most ancient sites is the (1) *Rāja-ghaṭṭa*,⁴⁴ modern Rājghāṭa area, where an ancient site of Kāśī has been excavated, and where beautiful terracottas and seals of the pre-Gupta Gupta and later periods were discovered and where habitation layers date from Pre-Mauryan periods. The other *ghāṭas* are: (2) *Go-ghaṭṭa*,⁴⁵ (3) *Trilocana-ghaṭṭa*,⁴⁶ (4) *Brahma-ghaṭṭa*,⁴⁷ (5) *Durgā-ghaṭṭa*,⁴⁸ (6) *Bindu-Mādhava-ghaṭṭa*,⁴⁹ (7) *Maṅgalā-Gaurī-ghaṭṭa*,⁵⁰ (8) *Rāma-ghaṭṭa*,⁵¹ (9) *Agnīśvara-ghaṭṭa*,⁵² (10) *Nāgeśvara-ghaṭṭa*,⁵³ (11) *Vīreśvara-ghaṭṭa*, (12) *Siddhi-Vināyaka-g.*,⁵⁴ (13) *Jarāsandha-g.*⁵⁵ (this is now known as *Miraghāṭa*, repaired or rebuilt by Mīra Rustam Ali) (14) *Vṛddhāditya-g.*,⁵⁶ (now not known), (15) *Someśvara-g.*,⁵⁷ (now not traceable), (16) *Sarveśvara-g.*,⁵⁸ (not traceable) (17) *Catuḥṣaṣṭi-yoginī-g.*,⁵⁹ (now known as *Cosaṭṭi-ghāṭ*), (18) *Daśāśvamedha-g.*,⁶⁰ (famous, like the *Maṅikarnikā-ghāṭ*), and (19) *Kedāreśvara-ghaṭṭa*.⁶¹ Besides certain localities are mentioned which may or may not have had *ghāṭas* of the same name; they are: (20) *Svargadvāra-praveśa*,⁶² (21) *Mokṣadvāra-praveśa*.⁶³ (22)

⁴⁴⁻⁵¹ Neither these *ghāṭas* nor the shrines from which they received their names are mentioned in the *Tīrthakāṇḍa* of *Kṛtyakalpataru* of Lakṣmīdhara. Only a *Rāmaliṅga* is mentioned, cf. *Kṛtyakalpataru*, *Tīrthakāṇḍa* (G. O. S. Vol. *XCVIII*), p. 113. *Trilocana-ghaṭṭa* is however mentioned in a *Gāhaḍwāla* grant, see, Altekar, A. S., *History of Benaras*, p. 28.

⁵² Mentioned by Lakṣmīdhara (*op. cit.*, pp. 66, 71) as the name of a shrine.

⁵³⁻⁵⁴ Not mentioned by Lakṣmīdhara.

⁵⁵ A *Jarāsandheśvara* shrine is mentioned by Lakṣmīdhara, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

⁵⁶ *Kṛtyakalpataru*, *Tīrthakāṇḍa* does not refer to this *ghāṭ* or temple.

⁵⁷ Temple of *Someśvara* at Kāśī, ref. to by Lakṣmīdhara, in *Kṛtyakalpataru*, *Tīrthakāṇḍa*, p. 98.

⁵⁸ Not ref. to by Lakṣmīdhara.

⁵⁹ Not mentioned by Lakṣmīdhara.

⁶⁰ *Daśāśvamedhika-liṅga*, mentioned by Lakṣmīdhara, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

⁶¹ Not mentioned by Lakṣmīdhara but occurs in grants of *Gāhaḍwāla* rulers, see, Altekar, A. S., *History of Benaras*, p. 28.

⁶²⁻⁶³ *Svargadvāra* and *Mokṣadvāra* not mentioned by Lakṣmīdhara but *Svargēśvara* and *Mokṣēśvara* mentioned, *op. cit.*, pp. 48, 112.

*Gaṅgā-keśava*⁶⁴ (temple) area, (21) *Māna* (or *Mānasa* ?)—*Sarovara*⁶⁵ (lake) area, (22) *Rāmeśvara* (temple)⁶⁶ area, in the *Pañcakośī*,⁶⁷ (23) *Lolārka-kunḍa*⁶⁸ area on the *Assighāṭa* (24) *Asi-saṅgama*⁶⁹ (now known as Assi-ghāṭa (25) *Varuṇā-saṅgama*⁷⁰ (*Barṇā-saṅgama*, where at present is the temple of Ādikeśvara). In the Bindu-Mādhava-ghāṭa area were also temples of *Pañca-Gaṅgeśvara*, *Lakṣmī-Nṛsimha*, *Ādi-Viśveśvara*, *Dakṣeśvara*, *Dugḍha-Vināyaka* and *Kāla-Bhairava*.

For a modern account of the different Ghāṭas of Benaras, see E. B. Havell's *Benares, the Sacred City* (Bombay & London, 1905), and *Bhāruta-bhramaṇa* (Hindi), Vol. I (Veṅkateśvara Press, Bombay, V.S. 1966).

Asi is a tolerably wide stream (about 40 ft.) in the rainy season, but is

^{64, 65} Not mentioned by Lakṣmīdhara.

⁶⁶ Rāma-liṅga mentioned by Lakṣmīdhara, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

⁶⁷ Pañcakośī or Pañcakrośī. The now famous via sacra of Benaras, the fifty miles long Pañcakrośī and the obligation to make its perambulation annually are not mentioned at all by Lakṣmīdhara. The Pañcakrośī tradition seems to be later than the age of Lakṣmīdhara (*i.e.* later than c. 12th cent. A.D.). Also see, Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. IV, pp. 637 ff.

⁶⁸ Lolārka-kunḍa might have been near the shrine of Lolārka, referred to in the Liṅgapurāṇa quoted by Lakṣmīdhara (*op. cit.*, p. 34) :—

दिङ्गय नाम या नाडी आग्नेयी सा प्रकीर्तिता ।

शुभ्या सरिच्च सा देया लोलार्को यत्र तिष्ठति ॥

K. V. Rangasvamī Aiyangar, editor of *Tirthakāṇḍa*, (G. O. S. Vol. XCVIII), in his Intro. (p. lxxi) writes :—“ The Sun is worshipped at an ancient shrine named Lolārka near the confluence of Asī, and even now an annual *melā* draws worshippers to a well near it. Originally, the shrine was probably one of Śiva, and known as Lolārkeśvara. ” The shrine of Lolārka is ref. to in a grant of Govindacandra, dated in 1208 V.S.=1151 A.D. (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V. p. 117).

⁶⁹⁻⁷⁰ Asī is the same as the śuṣkā river mentioned by Liṅgapurāṇa, quoted above in ft. note 68. The southern boundary of Benaras once extended at least up to the confluence of Asī and Ganges (see, *Indian Culture*, Vol. II. p. 148). Vārāṇasī derived its name from the two rivers Varuṇā and Asi, being situated in the area between the two rivers. Cf :—

ब्रह्मपुराणे—

वरणा चाऽप्यसिश्चैव द्वे नद्यो सुखल्लभे ।

अन्तराले तयोः क्षेत्रं धरण्यां न विदेत् क्वचित् ॥

मत्स्यपुराणे—

XX वरणा च नदी यावद्यावच्छु कनदी भवेत् ।

एष क्षेत्रः य विस्तारः प्रोक्तो देवेन धीमता ॥

Quoted in *Tirthakāṇḍa*, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

dry at other times. "The shrine of Lolārka is situated at the confluence of Asi (the southern boundary of Banaras) with the Ganges."—*History of Dharmaśāstra*, IV., p. 634.

The shrine of Bindu-Mādhava or the ghāṭa of the name are not referred to by Lakṣmīdhara, nor does he mention Pañca-Gaṅgeśvara, Lakṣmī-Nṛsīmha, Dugdha-Vināyaka or Kāla-Bhairava shrines. However, a shrine of Vināyaka near Vināyaka-kuṇḍa is referred to by the Liṅgapurāṇa, quoted by Lakṣmīdhara, *op. cit.*, p. 53, so also the shrine of Dakṣeśvara, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

History of Banaras has been discussed by Altekar and others. By the twelfth century A.D. Vārāṇasī became the premier *kṣetra* of India. Alberuni in the early eleventh century noted that pilgrims in thousands from all over India were attracted to this holy site (Sachau, Alberuni's India, II, p. 146). The Gāhaḍwāla rulers took pride in calling themselves protectors of Kāśī, Kuśika, Indraprastha and Ayodhyā, even more than as kings of Kanauja (*vide*, Indian Antiquary, XVIII, pp. 9-14). Lakṣmīdhara, the author of Kṛtyakalpataru refers to his contemporary ruler and patron king Govindacandra as Kāśīpati. Many of the Gāhaḍwāla grants were issued from Kāśī. "Rājaghāṭ, now at the northern end of the city, was in all probability the ward in which kings of the dynasty dwelt. This would explain more convincingly than an assumption of Vaiṣṇava leanings of the eclectic kings of a city dedicated to Śiva, the circumstance that many of the gifts, recorded in the grants of not only Govindacandra, but of his father Madanapāla, and his grandfather Candradeva, and his grandson Jayacandra, were made at the ancient shrine of Keśava, at the confluence of Varāṇā and the Ganges, at the northern edge of the fort at Rājghaṭ." ⁷¹

Some of the grants show that they were made at shrines in Kāśī dedicated to Śiva, like Vedeśvara, Trilocaneśvara, Aghoreśvara, Kṛttivāseśvara, Indreśvara, Omkāreśvara, Svapneśvara or to Sūrya like Lolārka, at the confluence of the Asi and the Ganges at the south end of the city. About three hundred and forty shrines and holy kuṇḍas etc. are named at Kāśī by Lakṣmīdhara in his Tīrthakāṇḍa. He probably gave an exhaustive survey. Some of the names mentioned by him, mostly in passages quoted from the earlier Liṅgapurāṇa text used by him, could be found on the seals discovered from Rājaghāṭ, which, as I understand, are discussed by Dr. V. S. Agrawal in an illuminating paper yet to be published. A few are discussed by V. S. Pathak in JNSI, Vol. XIX, part 2 and Vol. XX, part 1. "Many shrines, which Lakṣmīdhara has not mentioned, came to view or were erected after his time, and are noticed in the works of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa and Mitra-Miśra." ⁷²

⁷¹ K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, *Intro. to Tīrthakāṇḍa*, p. lxvii. Also see *Bhandarkar's List of Northern Inscriptions*, No. 222.

⁷² K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, Intro. p. lxx. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's

A comparison of the accounts in the Liṅgapurāṇa (which Lakṣmīdhara uses) and in later purāṇas like the Kāśīkhaṇḍa and the Brahmavaivarta, which writers of the 16th century onwards use, shows that names of shrines, or the idols therein have changed, or new shrines have come into being while several older ones have been forgotten.⁷³ Lakṣmīdhara mentions (*op. cit.*, p. 126), on the authority of the Liṅgapurāṇa, five Vināyakas, in Kāśī. In the Kāśīkhaṇḍa their number has gone up to 56. It is possible that even the shrines in the Liṅgapurāṇa quotations could not be correctly located by Lakṣmīdhara in the 12th century. Mitra-miśra writing later omits a number of *liṅgas* of this earlier list.

Lakṣmīdhara generally refers to Banaras as Avimuktā or Vārāṇasī and only once as Kāśī. Śīve was worshipped as Avimukteśvara. In later accounts based on Kāśīkhaṇḍa, the chief shrine in Banaras is declared to be that of Viśveśvara.⁷⁴ The Ādi-Viśveśvara referred to in GPM. may be either this Viśveśvara or the Avimukteśvara. The Tīrthacintāmaṇi, p. 360, however, states: अविमुक्तमशानोभयसंज्ञके द्वेत्र शिवरथापितं अविमुक्तेश्वरं लिङ्गं विश्वनाथनाम्ना लोकप्रसिद्धम्। According to K. V. Rangasvamī Aiyangar, "in the twelfth century there was indeed a shrine of Viśveśvara, but judging from Lakṣmīdhara's allusions, it was only one of the many holy places in the sacred area, with no superior sanctity as compared with others. This preeminence is given to the svayambhū liṅga of Avimukteśvara, which had revealed itself by piercing its way through the ground (Tīrthakāṇḍa, p. 41). Of the three mentions of Viśveśvara in the Kṛtya-kalpataru (Tīrthakāṇḍa, p. 17), one is probably an interpolation, as it occurs in only one manuscript, the second (*op. cit.*, p. 27) merely refers to Śīva or Avimukteśvara descriptively as 'Lord of the Universe', and the third (*op. cit.*, p. 93) makes it an ordinary *liṅga*, whose *darśana* confers a lower benefit than *mukti*. Viśveśvara had, however, come into prominence before the fifteenth century, when Vācaspati Miśra wrote (Tīrthacintāmaṇi, p. 360), as he reconciled the new cult of Viśveśvara with the older of Avimukteśvara by identifying the two, as both were represented as the lords of Kāśī."⁷⁵ The shrine of Viśveśvara was destroyed at least twice before Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa induced Toḍarmal

Kāśī-rahasya-prakāśa (c. 1560 A.D.), probably extract from *Tri-sthalisetu*; and Mitra-Miśra's *Tīrtha-prakāśa* in his *Viramitrodaya*, composed in c. 1620 A.D.

⁷³ Also see, Mm. Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. IV., pp. 631 ff.

⁷⁴ Mm. P. V. Kane writes (*Hist. of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. IV, p. 633) "It appears that Vācaspati holds that Avimukteśvara liṅga is the same as Viśvarātha but both Tristhalī-setu (p. 296) and Tīrthaprakāśa (p. 187) reject the idea. The Skanda Purāṇa, Kāśī-khaṇḍa, 10.93, mentions Viśveśvara and Avimukteśvara as separate *liṅgas*."

⁷⁵ K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. lxxiii.

to reconstruct it in c. 1586 A.D.⁷⁶ Even this temple was desecrated before December, 1669, as shown by P. V. Kane, on the evidence of a passage from Ma-A'sir-i-A'lamgiri (Elliot and Dawson, History of India, Vol. VII, p. 184).⁷⁷ After Aurangzeb pulled down the temple of Viśvanātha, there was no shrine of Visvanātha for about a hundred years. The present temple of Viśvanātha was built in the last quarter of the 18th century by Shrimati Ahalyābāi Holkar.⁷⁸

Besides worshipping Viśvanātha, every pilgrim has to visit five Tīrthas or holy places (Pañca-tīrthī) at Banaras. According to Matsya-Purāna, the five essential tīrthas in the Ānandakānana of Viśveśvara are: Daśāśvamedha, Lolārka, Keśava, Bindu Mādhava and Maṇikarṇikā.⁷⁹ In modern times, according to the tradition of Skanda-Purāna, Kāśī-khaṇḍa (106, 110 and 114, quoted by Tristhalī-setu, p. 261), the Pañca-tīrthī comprises the confluence of the Asi with the Ganges, the Daśāśvamedha-ghāṭa, Maṇikarṇikā, the Pañca-gangā ghāṭa and the confluence of the river Varāṇā with the Ganges. The Lolārka temple is situated at the confluence of Asi with the Ganges. The Daśāśvamedha-ghāṭa, famous for several centuries, derived this name, according to K. P. Jayaswal, on account of its being the site of ceremonial baths taken by Bhāraśiva emperors at the end of ten Aśvamedha sacrifices.⁸⁰ The Maṇikarṇikā, also called Mukti-kṣetra, is the most holy among all Banaras tīrthas or ghāṭs.⁸¹ Near the Maṇikarṇikā pool is the temple of Tārakeśvara so named because it is believed that Lord Śiva whispers the *tāraka-mantra* in the ears of a dying man brought to the sacred pool. It is supposed that five rivers—Kiraṇā, Dhūta-pāpā, Gangā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī—meet here, four rivers being, of course,

⁷⁶ Kutubdin Aibak destroyed about 1,000 temples in 1194 A.D. (Elliot and Dawson's History of India, II, p. 222). Alauddin Khilji boasted that he had destroyed one thousand temples in Banaras alone. For reconstruction by Todar Mal, see, Altekar, A. S., *History of Banaras*, pp. 47-48.

⁷⁷ Mm. Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmasūtra*, IV. p. 632.

⁷⁸ Altekar, A. S., *History of Banaras*, p. 57.

⁷⁹ तीर्थानां पञ्चकं सारं विश्वेशानन्दकानने । दशाश्वमेधं लोलार्कः केशवो बिन्दुमाधवः । पञ्चमी तु महाश्रेष्ठा प्रोच्यते मणिकर्णिका । एभिस्तु तीर्थैर्वैश्वं वषते ह्यविमुक्तकम् ॥ *Matsya-Purāna*, 185. 68-69.

⁸⁰ Jayaswal, K. P., *History of India (150 A.D.-350 A.D.)*, p. 5. The Kāśīkhaṇḍa says that formerly this tīrtha was called Rudrasaras.

⁸¹ For different derivations of the name, cited from various sources, see, Mm. Kane, P. V., *op. cit.*, p. 635. *Maṇikarṇi-devī* and a *Maṇikarṇi-tīrtha* at Kāśī are referred to by Liṅgapurāṇa, quoted by Lakṣmīdhara, *op. cit.*, p. 103. It would indeed be worth while investigating whether the Maṇikarṇi-devī and Maṇikarṇi-tīrtha can be associated with the Maṇis or Mānis discussed by Shah, U. P., *Geographical Evidence in the Kāśyapa Saṁhitā*, Journ. of Oriental Institute, Vol. VII. no. 4, pp. 292-293.

invisible.⁸² It is said that this tīrtha was named variously as Dharmanada; Dhūtapātaka, Bindu-tīrtha and Pañcanada in the Kṛta and the following yugas respectively. The confluence of Ganges and the Varāṇā river marks the northern boundary of Vārāṇasī and its ghāṭas.

Several ghāṭas of Banaras have been referred to in different puranic accounts, in our texts (GPM. and GVM.) and in copperplate grants of the Gāhaḍwāla rulers of Kanauja (between c. 1097 and 1187 A.D.). Of these some have already been referred to before. Most of the Gāhaḍwāla rulers—Candradeva, Madanapāla, Govindacandra, and Jayacandra—have made land grants at the holy Ādi-keśava ghāṭa,⁸³ probably because they were Vaiṣṇavites. Vedeśvara-ghāṭa near the Ādikeśava-g., Trilocana-g. in Adampura, Aghoreśvara temple near the Viśvanātha temple, Svapneśvara ghāṭa near Kedāra-g., and Lolārka temple at the confluence of Asi and the Ganges, are among other holy places where the Gāhaḍwāla rulers have given grants to temples and Brāhmaṇas.⁸⁴ Kṛttivāseśvara temple mentioned in a grant of Jayacandra was in Daranagar,⁸⁵ it probably fell a victim to the wrath of Aurangzeb. The Kapālamocana-ghāṭa is also referred to in a grant of the 12th century.⁸⁶ Now a ghāṭa and a tank near the Rājaghāṭa station is known by that name. There exists a temple, near this tank dedicated to Kapālamocaneśvara. Koṭitīrtha is another place where king Govindacandra took his bath before making one of his grants.⁸⁷ Temples of Pañcomkāra, Aghoreśvara, Indramādhava, and Laudeśvara are mentioned in a grant of Govindacandra, but only the first two can be identified at present⁸⁸. As Dr. Altekar has noted it, even though scores of land grants made by Gāhaḍwāla princes in presence of different gods of Banaras have been discovered so far,

⁸² *Skanda Purāṇa, Kāśī-khaṇḍa*, Chp. 59 deals at length with this Pañcananda-tīrtha.

⁸³ Candradeva's grant of V. S. 1156 (*Ep. Ind.* XIV. p. 197); Madanapāla's grant of V.S. 1164 (*J.R.A.S.*, 1896, p. 787); Govindacandra's grants of V.S. 1181 and 1188 (*J.A.S.B.* LVI, pt. 1, p. 114 and *Ind. Ant.* XIX, p. 249); Kamauli grant of Vijayacandra No. O., *Ep. Ind.*, IV. p. 115; *Bhandarkar's List of Northern Inscriptions No. 222*.

⁸⁴ See, *Ep. Ind.*, IV. p. 114; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII. p. 114; *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. pp. 113, 114, 117. Also see Altekar, A. S., *op. cit.* p. 28.

⁸⁵ Altekar, A. S., *Op. cit.*, p. 128, *Ep. Ind.* IV. p. 125. Also referred to in *Liṅgapurāṇa*, quoted by Lakṣmīdhara, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

⁸⁶ *Ep. Ind.* IV. p. 110. Also in *Liṅgapurāṇa*, quoted by Lakṣmīdhara, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

⁸⁷ *Ep. Ind.* VII. p. 159, *Ep. Ind.* VIII. p. 149. Also ref. to in *Liṅgapurāṇa*, quoted by Lakṣmīdhara, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

⁸⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. p. 149, Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

only one is seen being made in presence and after the worship of Viśvanātha⁸⁹.

Dr. Altekar has discussed the sites of temples of Veṇī-Mādhava, Viśvanātha etc. in his History of Benares, which need not be repeated here. Whether Bindhu-Mādhava (of our texts) and Veṇī-Mādhava were identical or different is not known. We have already referred to the views of K. V. Rangaswamy Aiyangar and Mm. P. V. Kane on temples of Avimukteśvara and Viśveśvara. Incidentally we may refer to the remarks of A. S. Altekar who writes : " The Purāṇas describe the Cakrapuṣkariṇī or Maṇikarnikā tīrtha as situated on the bank of the river, but they do not refer to the temple of Viśvanātha by its side. Yuan Chwang also refers to the principal temple of Benares as having a huge image about a hundred feet in height, but he is silent as to its site and size."⁹⁰ He further refers to the present temple Ādi-Viśveśvara to the north-west of the Jñāna-vāpi mosque of Aurangzeb on the other side of the Lala Lajpatrai Road but does not agree with the inference that the original shrine of Viśvanātha of the Hindu period stood at this place, nor does he support the view that Ādi-Viśveśvara and Viśvanātha could have been identical.⁹¹ Altekar has further shown that the temple of Viśvanātha was very probably pulled down several times between 1194 and 1669 A.D. He further refers to the *Trīsthalī-setu*, of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (composed sometime about 1585 A.D.), which says, " it is true that according to the exigencies of the situation the *liṅga* of Viśvanātha is sometimes removed from the temple and then again brought back to it. If such is the case, the pilgrim should offer worship to whatever *liṅga* may be standing in its place. It may even happen that owing to the action of the intolerable Mlecchas there may be no *liṅga* whatsoever at the place ; one should in that case offer one's salutations etc. to its site. This will be sufficient for the completion of the pilgrimages. *Abhiṣeka* etc., which require an image, would of course not be possible."⁹² It is interesting to note that, even though both the GPM. and the GVM, refer to the Maṇikarnikā, and each state that the Brāhmaṇa host took his bath there, they are silent about the host worshipping Viśvanātha after bath. The argument from silence is not conclusive but it is just probable that the temple of Viśvanātha was already pulled down, or that the worship of the *liṅga* was not possible, when both the GPM. and the GVM. were composed. It may

⁸⁹ *J.A.S.B.*, XXXI, p. 123. Acc. to Dr. Altekar, the absence of references to Daśāśvamedha, Pañcagaṅgā-g., or temples of Bindu-Mādhava, Kāla-Bhairava and Durgā in Gāhaḍwāla grants may either be due to accident or because of these ghāṭas and shrines being not so popular there ; Altekar, *op. cit.* p. 29.

⁹⁰ *History of Benares*, p. 44.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁹² *Trīsthalī-setu*, p. 208. Altekar, A. S, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

also be noted that the GPM. refers to Ādi-Viśveśvara shrine near the Bindu-Mādhava-ghaṭṭa.

Incidentally, the reader may note that, in the age of Lakṣmīdhara and of the Liṅgapurāṇa extensively quoted by him, there were several *liṅga*-shrines at Kāśī, some of these liṅgas were *Mukha-liṅgas*, that a majority of the liṅga-shrines had *Kuṇḍas* (built tanks or reservoirs) in front of them, that besides Śiva and Nakulīśa, Viṇāyaka, Viṣṇu (as Keśava), the goddesses Lalitā, Carcikā, Matsyodarī, and others were also worshipped.⁹³ The names of some of the Śaiva sites referred to in the texts quoted by Lakṣmīdhara (in his Tīrthakāṇḍa) form an interesting study for students of development of Hindu Iconography, and also for students of Śaivism. The prevalence of Caṇḍī or Durgā worship at Banaras is very old and is attested to by a sixth century inscription which refers to the erection of a temple in her honour.⁹⁴

From ancient times Banaras has been a well known seat of learning as well as a famous centre of trade. *Kāśī* was one of the sixteen *Mahājanapadas*.⁹⁵ *Vārāṇasī*, the capital of the people of Kāśī was known by various other names, namely, Surundhana, Sudassana, Brahmavaḍḍhana, Pupphavatī, Ramma and Molinī.⁹⁶ It was an important town like Kampillapura, Palāsapura and Āḷabhī within the kingdom of Jiyasattu.⁹⁷ The earliest mention of Kāśīs as a tribal people however occurs in the Pippalāda recension of the Atharvaveda (V. 22-14). Pāṇini in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (4.2.116) and Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* (2.1.1., p. 32) mention Kāśī.

Kāśī is several times referred to in Vedic literature and the Epics.⁹⁸ There are numerous references to it in Purāṇas like Harivamśa, Vāyu, Matsya, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Bhāgavata, Skanda etc.

The Buddhist texts show that Banaras was a great centre of trade and commerce. Rich merchants of the city used to cross high seas with ships, laden

⁹³ K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar has listed all the kṣetras, kuṇḍas etc. at Kāśī in his Appendices to the Tīrthakāṇḍī of Kṛtyakalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara.

⁹⁴ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX. p. 69.

⁹⁵ *Āṅguttaranikāya*, I. 213 ; IV. 259, 256, 260.

⁹⁶ *Jātaka*, IV. pp. 15, 199 ; *Cariyāpiṭaka*, p. 7.

⁹⁷ *Uvāsagadasāo*, pp. 84-85, 90, 95, 105, 160, 163.

⁹⁸ *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, I. 4.1.10 ; XVII. 5. 4. 19 ; *Śāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra*, XVI. 29. 5, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, III. 8. 2 ; *Kauśītakī Up.*, IV. 1 ; *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra*, XVIII. 44 ; *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ādi., sarga 13, Uttara., 56, 25, 59, 19 ; *Kiṣkindhā*, sarga 40 ; *Mahābhārata*, Anuśāsanaparva, ch. 30, Udyoga, ch. 117, Ādi, 95, 105 etc.

with merchandise.^{98a} A wealthy merchant came to Banaras with the object of trade.⁹⁹ There existed trade relations between Banaras and Śrāvastī and between Banaras and Taxila.¹⁰⁰ The people of Banaras used to go to Taxila to learn arts and sciences.¹⁰¹

As noted by Dr. Altekar, "Then, as now, Banaras was famous for its soft and thin muslins, bewitching perfumes, scents and ointments. *Aṅguttaranikāya* describes Banaras cloth as pleasant to handle, and of good colour and great worth.¹⁰² It compares a monk confiding Dhamma doctrines to deserving hearers to a person laying Banaras cloth in a scented casket. Rich, fashionable, and luxurious people were accustomed to use this cloth all over the country.¹⁰³ . . . In one place, Buddha, . . . is described as giving Banaras cloth and perfumes even to his servants, in another place we find the Bodhisattva going to the court of the Videha king dressed in Kāśī robes worth a thousand pieces.¹⁰⁴ The Brāhmaṇas of the court of Janaka are described as dressed in Kāśī cloth, perfumed with sandal and decked with gems.¹⁰⁵ . . . Ivory work was another important industry at Banaras at this time"¹⁰⁶ Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* (Kielhorn's ed., II. p. 413) also refers to Kāśī cloth.

We now pass on to other geographical data in the GPM. It is said that in the south (*dakṣiṇa-deśa*) there are many rivers. Of these Trivikramāśrama, a sannyasin hailing from Karnāṭaka, names some (principal ones) as follows :— Kākānadī, Tāmraparṇī, Ghṛtamālī (or Ghṛtamālī), Kāverī, Payasvinī, Tuṅgabhadrā, Kṛṣṇaveṇī and Godāvārī. Of these the Ghṛtamālī may be Kṛtamālā (Ṛtumālā of Kūrmapurāṇa and Śatamālā of the Varāhapurāṇa) identified with Vaigai flowing past Madurā; Kāverī,¹⁰⁷ Tuṅgabhadrā,¹⁰⁸

^{98a} *Mahāvastu*, III. 286.

⁹⁹ *Mahāvastu*, II. 166-167.

¹⁰⁰ *Dhammapada Comm.*, III. 429; I. 123.

¹⁰¹ *Jātaka*, II. 47. Also see, Law, B. C., *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, pp. 46-47.

¹⁰² *History of Benaras*, pp. 15 ff.

¹⁰³ *Kāmacilāpa Jātaka*, no. 297.

¹⁰⁴ *Jātaka*, no. 80, and no. 546.

¹⁰⁵ *Jātaka*, no. 539.

¹⁰⁶ *Jātaka*, no. 72.

¹⁰⁷ Kāverī, starting from Coorg, passes through the districts of Coimbatore, Trichinopalli etc., and falls into the Bay of Bengal. Also see, Law, B. C. *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, pp. 162-63. For Kṛtamālā-Vaigai, *ibid.*, pp. 38-9.

¹⁰⁸ The two streams, Tuṅga and Bhadrā, originating from the Western Ghats on the Western border of Mysore, uniting and becoming Tuṅgabhadrā from the most important of the lower tributaries of the Kṛṣṇā. Tuṅgabhadrā meets Kṛṣṇā north of Nandikotur in the Kurnool district. Also see, *ibid.*, p. 196.

Kṛṣṇavenā¹⁰⁹ and Godāvarī¹¹⁰ are well-known.

Payasvinī, also called Candragiri, is a river in South Kanara district rising in the Western Ghats near Coorg and entering the sea at Kāsārgod.¹¹¹ Tāmraparṇī is a river in the Tinnevely district, Madras.¹¹² Kākānadī could not be identified.

The (more notable) places of pilgrimage in the south are then enumerated. Of these Setubandha-Rāmeśvara and Kanyākumārī are well-known. Ananta-senakṣetra is at Trivandrum (Tiruvankuru) in Travancore (now Kerala) State.¹¹³ Janārdana Kṣetra is also in the Kerala State. There is a Janārdana temple at Varakkallai, old Travancore State,¹¹⁴ modern Kerala. Gokarṇa-kṣetra is an old famous tīrtha in North Kārṇāṭaka, referred to in the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, Padmapurāṇa, etc.¹¹⁵ Mahābaleśvara may be Mahābaleshwar temple, Gokarṇa, north Kārṇāṭaka(*Imp. Gaz.* xii 307). Puṇḍarika-kṣetra is the famous old tīrtha of Paṇḍharpur. Nāsik and Tryambaka are well-known holy places in Mahārāṣṭra (Bombay State), while Dharmapurī-kṣetra is in Andhra, on the banks of the Godāvarī. Rāmānujācārya, the author of Tantrarahasya, a primer of the Prabhākara school of Pūrvamīmāṃsā, was a native of this place. Whenever a holy river meets the ocean, the place (saṅgama-kṣetra) is venerated as a holy place. Thus confluences of Godāvarī, Kṛṣṇā or Kāverī etc. are marked as tīrthas. Śrī-Śaila, like the Tryambaka-kṣetra is known amongst the twelve principal Śaiva-kṣetras with the worship of Jyotirlingas. Incidentally, I may suggest that originally the Jyotirlingas may be liṅgas with flames shown issuing from two sides, as we find flaming pillars in some of the Buddhist reliefs. Mallikārjuna-Śiva is worshipped at Śrī-Śaila, in the Kurnool district, Madras,¹¹⁶ and is the same as the Śrī-parvata referred to in the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa, Agni-purāṇa, Harṣacarita, etc.¹¹⁷

¹⁰⁹ Kṛṣṇavenvā in the Purāṇas, Kaṇhapennā in Jātakas and Kaṇhapennā in the Hāthigumphā inscription, the modern Kṛṣṇā river is also referred to in the Rāmāyaṇa (Kiṣkindhā, XLI. 9) as Kṛṣṇavenī or Kṛṣṇavenā. Also see, Law, B. C., *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, p. 168.

¹¹⁰ Godāvarī is referred to in the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, Matsya Purāṇa, etc., see, Law, B. C., *op. cit.*, pp. 152-53.

¹¹¹ See, *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. X. p. 168.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 406 ; Vol. XXIII, pp. 215-16. Dey, *Geo. Dict.*, p. 203.

¹¹³ Same as the shrine of Ananta-Padmanābha at Trivandrum, see, *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 50 ; Vol. XXIII, p. 399 ; Vol. XXIV, p. 49.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV. p. 300.

¹¹⁵ Law, B. C., *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, p. 153, for references to different texts.

¹¹⁶ *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 110.

¹¹⁷ Law, B. C., *op. cit.*, p. 189.

Kāñci-kṣetra, an important holy site from ancient times, is modern Conjeevaram in Madras State.¹¹⁸ There are a number of temples of Subrahmaṇya in the South. There is a Subrahmaṇya tīrtha in South Karṇāṭaka, about 40 miles from Manglore.¹¹⁹ There are Subrahmaṇya temples at Cheyūr, Chingleput (*Imp. Gaz.*, X. 195), Kālūgumalai, Tinnevely (*ibid.*, xiv. 321), Palni, Madurā (*ibid.*, xix. 373), Tanjore (*ibid.*, ii. 173), Tiruttani, North Arcot distr. (*ibid.*, xxiii. 397), Vaḍakku Valiyūr, Tinnevely (*ibid.*, xxiv. 291) and so on. There are again many temples of Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa (Hari-Hara) in the South, the one between Udipi and Kundapur in South Karṇāṭaka might have been intended here by the author.¹²⁰ Veṅkaṭācala-kṣetra is the famous Bālājī temple of Tirupati, Andhra State.¹²¹ Kālahasti, one of the five very holy Śaiva shrines in the South, is about 18 miles from Tirupati in Andhra.¹²²

In the GPM., sannyāsin Trivikramāśrama asks his host, the brāhmaṇa Vājapeyī, about the latter's native country which is said to be the Kānyakubja-deśa, *i.e.* the Kanauja district. It is further said to be the Madhyadeśa (of Hindu traditions). According to Manu, II. 21, Madhyadeśa is defined as the country between the Himalaya and the Vindhya mountains, which is to the east of Vinaśana, (the site of the disappearance of the river Sarasvatī) and west of Prayāga. This would be a very extensive region. The tīrthas in this region enumerated by Vājapeyī (GPM., p. 13) support the above view. The areas in which these holy places are situated were, according to Vājapeyī, all included in the Madyadeśa. Actually, Vājapeyī's list covers sites east of Prayāga also. Of these Kurukṣetra or Thāṇeśvara, an ancient city and the area around it, is well-known to Taittiriya Āraṇyaka (V. 1. 1), Mahābhārata, (III. 83-4; etc.), Rāmāyaṇa (Ayodhyā., 70. 12), Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī (4. 1. 172-176; 4. 2. 130) and Purāṇas and later literature.¹²³ Kuru was known to Pāṇini as a janapada and a kingdom. He also mentions Hastināpur which was its capital. According to Dr. Agrawal, "The region between the triangle of Thāṇeśvar, Hisār and

¹¹⁸ Law, B. C., *op. cit.*, pp. 161 f., 148 f.

¹¹⁹ Also see, *Imp. Gaz.*, vol. XXIII. pp. 114-115, Also see Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

¹²⁰ Information of this shrine kindly supplied by Pandit B. L. Shanbhogue of the Oriental Institute, Baroda.

¹²¹ Formerly in North Arcot Distr., Madras. Also see, *Imp. Gaz.*, vol. XIV. p. 296.

¹²² *Imp. Gaz.*, p. 296. Law, B. C., *op. cit.*, p. 161.

¹²³ See, Shah, U. P., *Geographical Evidence in the Kāśyapa Samhitā*, Journ. of the Oriental Institute, Vol. VII. no. 4, pp. 278, 292. Law, B. C., *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 101 f., and Law, B. C., *Kurukṣetra in Ancient India*, Journal of Indian History, vol. XXXV, part III, pp. 308 ff.

Hastināpur was distinguished by three different names: Kurukṣetra proper between Gaṅgā and Yamunā with its capital at Hastināpur, Kurujāngala equal to Rohtak, Hānsi and Hisār, and Kurukṣetra to the north with its centre at Thāṇeśvara, Kaithal and Karnāl. ”¹²⁴

Sannihatyātīrtha, a big lake near Kurukṣetra is not identified, but should be located near Thāṇeśvara-tīrtha.^{124a} Pṛthūdakatīrtha is modern Pehōā, 14 miles to the west of Thāṇeśvara, where the celebrated Brahma-Yonitīrtha is situated.¹²⁵

Indraprasthapura near old Delhi, variously known as Indraprastha, Khāṇḍavaprastha, Bṛhatsthala in the Mahābhārata, is the modern Indrapat near Delhi, and was the famous capital of Yudhisthira. According to Dey, “The city of Indraprastha was built on the banks of the Jamunā, between the modern Kotilla of Firoz Shah and Humayun’s tomb, about 2 miles south of modern Delhi. The river has now shifted its course more than a mile eastwards. The Nigambod Ghat on the banks of the Jamuna near the Nigambod Gate of Shah Jahan’s Delhi, just outside the fort close to Selimgad, and the temple of Nilachatri said to have been erected by Yudhiṣṭhira...are believed to have formed part of the ancient capital.”¹²⁶ This Nigambod must be the Nigamagocara-tīrtha.

Mathurā is well-known,¹²⁷ so also Gokula,¹²⁸ Govardhana¹²⁰ and Vṛndāvana.¹³⁰ According to Dey, the ancient Vṛndāvana cannot be identified with modern Vṛndāvana since the ancient Vṛndāvana and Mathurā seem to have been on the opposite sides of the Yamunā (cf. Viṣṇupurāṇa, part V. chp. 18, v. 13, Bhāgavata, X, ch. 39, v. 34). The Vṛndāvana of the age of GPM. may however be the modern Vṛndāvana.

Puṣkara-tīrtha, an ancient holy site, 6 or 7 miles from Ajmer,¹³¹ is one of

¹²⁴ Agrawala, V. S., *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 54.

^{124a} However, see, Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. IV. p. 686, and p. 801.

¹²⁵ Dey, Nundo Lal, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, (2nd ed.), p. 252.

¹²⁶ Dey, N. L., *op. cit.*, p. 230 and p. 77.

¹²⁷ Dey, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-8; Law, B. C., *Historical Geography*, pp. 106-110.

¹²⁸ Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 70; Law, B. C., *ibid.*, p. 79. Gokula is the same as Vraja or Mahāvana, see, Dey, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.

¹²⁹ Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 72. Law, *op. cit.*, p. 80. Mt. Govardhana is about 18 miles from Vṛndāvana.

¹³⁰ Dey, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42., Law, B. C., *op. cit.*, p. 135.

¹³¹ Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 163. Pushkara referred to in Bṛhat-Samhitā, XVI. 31 etc.

ancient tīrthas of Brahmā worship. There is also another place known as Buḍhā-Puṣkara in the Ajmere district, both the sites deserve exploration. A few antiquities from Buḍhā-Puṣkara, collected by the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Gaurishankara Ozha are now in the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmere.

The river Narmadā is well-known, but the particular holy site meant by Narmadā-tīrtha cannot be ascertained. The Amarkaṇṭaka-kṣetra¹³² must be on or near the hill of the same name, which latter is a part of the Mekhala hills in Gondawana, Nāgpur, in which the Narmadā and the Son have their source.¹³² Hence Narmadā is called Mekhala-sutā in Padmapurāṇa, Chp. VI. "According to some, it (Amarakaṇṭaka) is in the (old) Rewah State on the easternmost extremity of the Maikal range, 25 miles by the country road from Sahdol railway station, 3,000 ft. above the sea-level."¹³³ Omkāreśvara is the famous Jyotirlinga of Omkāranātha at Mandhātā, on the left bank of the Narmadā. It is 32 miles north-west of Khaṇḍvā, 7 miles north-east of the Mortakā railway station and 6 miles east of Baḍvāh.¹³⁴

Carmaṇvatī is the river Cambal rising from the Aravalli range in Rājasthan, and is associated with Pāriyātra in Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa (57. 19-20).¹³⁵

Avanti¹³⁶ or western Mālvā is called Avantikā in Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, IV, 40.91. Avantikākṣetra refers to Mahākalavana, one yojana in extent around the area in which the shrine of Mahākāleśvara is situated, *i. e.* around Ujjain. Mahākāleśvara is mentioned separately in our text.

Narmadāsaṅgama is where the river Narmadā meets the ocean. Bhāra-bhūta or Bhāḍabhūta is a Śaiva tīrtha between Broach and the ocean, on the Narmadā. There are a number of tīrthas on the banks of the Narmadā, mentioned in the Puṛāṇas and it is difficult to say which particular shrine was meant. Probably the site of the saṅgama itself is meant. Gupta-Prayāga, mentioned next, and before the Prabhāsa-kṣetra cannot be the tīrtha of the same name in the Himalayas. At many tīrthas in India, the local people imagine that there is secret confluence of three rivers, one of which is Sarasvatī.

¹³² Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 4. The first fall of the Narmadā from Amarkaṇṭaka is called Kapiladhārā in the Skandapurāṇa.

¹³³ Law, B. C., *op. cit.*, p. 302. Also see, Law, B. C., Holy Places of India, p. 34.

¹³⁴ Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 142. Law, B. C., *Hist. Geo.*, p. 323.

¹³⁵ Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

¹³⁶ For Avanti, see, Law, B. C., *op. cit.*, pp. 304 ff; *Avantikṣetra Māhātmya* in Skanda-purāṇa, Avanti-khaṇḍa. Also see, Umashankara Joshi, *Purāṇomān Gujarāta* (in Gujarati, Ahmedabad, 1946) pp. 21-34 for a list of tīrthas in Avanti-kṣetra and for different references to Avanti etc.

Gupta-Prayāga might, therefore, have been a sacred spot round about Prabhāsa itself. Prabhāsa-kṣetra¹³⁷ is the same as Deva-pattana or Somnātha-Pattana near Verāvaḷ in South Saurāṣṭra and is famous as the site of one of the Jyotirlingas. The Sarasvatī at Prabhāsa is the river Raunākshī referred to as Prāchī-Sarasvatī in Skandapurāṇa, Prabhāsakhaṇḍa, chps. 35-36.

Gomatī and Pañca-Dvārakās mentioned next should also be located in Saurāṣṭra. Dvārika-tīrtha in western Saurāṣṭra is situated on the river Gomatī.¹³⁸ It is difficult to identify the five Dvārakās mentioned by our text. At least three Dvārakās are known in Saurāṣṭra, Dvārakā, Beṭ-Dvārakā (Śankhodhāra-beṭ, island near Dvārakā), and the Mūla-Dvārakā about three miles from Koḍināra in Saurāṣṭra, where an old ruined Viṣṇu temple also exists. Besides these local traditions also place the site of Dvārakā near Śrīnagara between Porabandar and Miyāṇī as also ascribe it to a place called Mādhavapur (of old Porabandar State) as mentioned by the late Shri Durgāshankar Shastri.¹³⁹

Sindhusaṅgama is the meeting of the river Sindu with the Ocean. Hiṅgulā-devīkṣetra¹⁴⁰ is in Baluchistan. Worshipped also as Hiṅglāja Mātā in Gujarat, the original shrine of the goddess of the name is in Baluchistan and is one of the famous Śakti-pīṭhas of India. Hiṅglāja is situated at the extremity of the range of mountains in Baluchistan, called by the name of Hiṅgula or Hiṅgulā, about 20 miles from the sea-coast on the bank of the Aghor or the Hiṅgula river. N. L. Dey *op. cit.*, pp. 75-76, writes: "The goddess Durgā is known here by the name of Mahāmāyā or Koṭṭarī.....Sir T. Holdich considers that the shrine had been in existence before the days of Alexander, 'for the shrine is sacred to the Goddess Nana.....which, Asurbanipal, king of Assyria, removed from Susa in 645 B.C. to the original sanctuary at Urakh.....(Journal of the Society of Arts, vol. XLIX).....The Ziarat is so ancient that both Hindu and

¹³⁷ Dey, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-158 and p. 181. Umāshankar Joshi, *Purāṇo-mān Gujarāt (Gujarāti)*, pp. 132 ff.

¹³⁸ Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 70, and pp. 58-59. Umashankar Joshi, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-108. Law, B. C., *op. cit.*, p. 282.

¹³⁹ Durgashankar K. Shastri, *Gujarātanā Tīrthasthāno* (Ahmedabad, 1954), p. 90. Umashankar Joshi, *op. cit.*, has discussed all the theories about identification of the original Dvārakā.

¹⁴⁰ *Devī-Bhāgavata*, vii. 38 Acc. to Captain Hark, who visited the temple, it is situated in a narrow gorge, the mountains on each side of which rise perpendicularly to nearly a thousand feet. It was a low mud edifice, built at one end of a natural cave of small dimensions, and contained a tomb-shaped stone called the goddess Mātā or Mahāmāyā (Account of a Journey from Karachi to Hiṅglaj, JASB., IX (1840), p. 134.).

Muhammadans claim it without recognizing its prehistoric origin. The goddess is known to the Muhammadans by the name of Nani (*Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. xiii p. 142) ". It is thus suggested that the ancient worship of Hiṅglāj, a form of Durgā, is based upon that of the ancient Iranian goddess Nānā or Nanaia. It would be interesting to note that Durgā is also called Nandā which latter name seems to have been possibly based upon Nānā.¹⁴¹

Sindhunada is the river Indus. Candrabhāgā, the river Cenāb or Cīnāb, the Asiknī of Ṛgveda, Arrian's Akesines and Sandabaga or Sandabal of Ptolemy, appears to flow just above Kishtwar, as a confluence of two hill streams, to Rishtwar in southerly course and then flows past Jammu in a south-westerly direction forming a doab between it and the Vitastā or Jhelum.¹⁴² Kāśmīra Someśvara is not identified (is it another name of Amarnātha?), the river Sandhyāvarddhini mentioned next is also not identified. There is a Vyāsa river near the Gurudāsapur district, it is said to separate the Hoshiyārapur district and the old Kapurathalā state from the Gurudāsapur district,¹⁴³ and another river Vyāsa-Gaṅgā near Devaprayāga in the Gaḍhwāl district. The latter identification is tempting since Vasiṣṭhāśrama is mentioned immediately after Vyāsagaṅgā and since there is a Vasiṣṭha-kuṇḍa near Devaprayāga and Vyāsagaṅgā.¹⁴⁴ Kālidāsa in his Raghuvamśa (II. 26) locates the hermitage of Vasiṣṭha in the Himalayas. There is a Vasiṣṭhāśrama, near Jyeṣṭheśvara in Kāśmīra (Kalhaṇa's Rājatarangīnī, I. 107 and Sir A. Stein's note in vol. I. pp. 20-21), which is probably the tīrtha referred to in our text. The Maṇimahaśa-parvata is a celebrated place of pilgrimage at Baramwar, the ancient capital of Chambā on the bank of the Rāvī near its source.¹⁴⁵ Triloknātha-kṣetra is a celebrated place of pilgrimage situated in Lahul in the Kullu subdivision on the left bank of the Chandrabhāgā river, about 32 miles below the junction of the Candra and Bhāgā. The image worshipped as Mahādeva, is, in fact, of Avalokiteśvara, (JASB., 1902, p. 35).¹⁴⁶ Sarovaratīrtha cannot be identified Tapta-Maṇikarṇikā may be Manikarṇa,¹⁴⁷ a place of pilgrimage also known as Maṇi-

¹⁴¹ Also see, Shah, U. P., *Foreign Elements in Jaina Literature, Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXIX. no. 3 (Sept., 1953), p. 262.

¹⁴² Law, B. C., *op. cit.*, 29-30, 72-73.

¹⁴³ *Bhārata Paribhramāṇa* (Hindi, Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, V. S. 1969) Vol. II, p. 485.

¹⁴⁴ *Bhārata-Paribhramāṇa*, vol. V. pp. 1360 ff. Also see, *Imp. Gaz.*, vol. XI. p. 274, Kane, P.V., *Hist. of Dharmasāstra*, vol. IV, p. 818.

¹⁴⁵ Cunnigham, *Arch. Survey Rep.*, vol. XIV. p. 109 and Dey, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-26. A Maṇiparvata in the Himalayan region is mentioned in *Jātakas*, II. p. 92, see Law, B.C., *op. cit.*, p. 106.

¹⁴⁶ Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

¹⁴⁷ Law, B.C., *op. cit.*, p. 106.

karan, on the Pārvati a tributary of the Beas in the Kullu valley (JASB. 1902, p. 36).

Nagarakoṭa-kṣetra, mentioned next, is the old town of Kangrā in the Punjab. The old temple of Vajreśvarī in the city, one of the ancient Śakti-pīṭhas, was desecrated by Mahmud of Ghazni. Nagarkoṭ or Koṭ Kāngrā, at the junction of the Mānjhi and Bāṅ-Gaṅgā rivers in the Kohistan of the Jalandhara Doab, was the old capital of Kuluta or Trigartta (Dr. Stein's ed. of Rājatarāṅgiṇī, I. p. 204, ft. note).¹⁴⁸ Jvālāmukhī is an ancient site in the Dera Gopipur tahsil of the Kangra district in Punjab, situated on the road from Kangra town to Nadaun. It is famous for the temple of the goddess Jvālāmukhī, which lies in the Beas Valley,¹⁴⁹ about 22 miles south of Kangrā and of 10 miles north-west of Nadaun. It is one of the 52 śakti-pīṭhas.

Irāvati is the modern Rāvī, the Greek Hydraotis or Adris or Rhonadis, rising in the rock-basin of Bāṅahal. Flowing through Chamba and past Lahore it meets the Chenab between Ahmadpur and Saraisidhu.¹⁵⁰

Śarāvati was identified by Wilford with Bāṅagaṅgā passing through the district of Budaon in Rohilkhaṇḍ (Asiatic Researches, vol. xiv. p. 409, Padma-purāṇa, Ādi, ch. 3), and with the river Rāptī near Śrāvastī (Sahet-Mahet) by N. L. Dey.¹⁵¹

Puṣhyabhadrā, meeting the Yamunā, is not identified. Yamunā itself is known to Vedic and later literature.¹⁵² It takes its rise in the Himalayan range below Mount Kamet. The Yamunottrī which is eight miles from Kursoli is considered to be the source of this river.¹⁵³ Puṣpabhadrā is however mentioned as a river on the northern slopes of the Himalayas in ancient literature.¹⁵⁴

Gaṅgottarā is the northern Gaṅgā, the Gangotri from where the Ganges takes its rise as Bhāgīrathī in the Ghadhwal territory.¹⁵⁵ At Devaprayāga it is joined by Alakanandā. The Mandākinī is one of the tributaries of the Alaka-

¹⁴⁸ Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

¹⁴⁹ Law, B. C., *Holy Places of India*, p. 24; Law, B. C., *Hist. Geo. of Ancient India*, p. 86. Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 82; Cunnigham, *Archaeological Survey Report*, vol. V, p. 171. Jvālāmukhī is mentioned in the *Devī-Bhāgavata*, vii. 38.

¹⁵⁰ Law, B. C., *Rivers of India*, p. 13; *Hist. Geo.*, p. 86.

¹⁵¹ Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

¹⁵² For detailed references, see, Law, B.C., *op. cit.*, pp. 135-36.

¹⁵³ Also see, Law, B.C., *op. cit.*, p. 33, Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

¹⁵⁴ *Varāha-purāṇa*, 51.2, 98.5; *Bhāgavata*, XII. 8.17, XII. 9.10; and *Nṛsīṃha-purāṇa* quoted by *Kṛtyakalpataru-Tīrthakāṇḍa*, p. 253. See, Kaṇe, P.V., *Hist. of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. IV. p. 794.

¹⁵⁵ Law, B.C., *op. cit.*, p. 31.

nandā, and is called Kālīgaṅgā or Mandākinī rising in the mountains of Kedāra in Ghadhwal. In the famous shrine of Kedāreśvara is worshipped one of the twelve Jyotirlingas.¹⁵⁶

Badrikāśrama well-known to Mahābhārata, Śāntiparvan, etc., is the famous holy site where Nārāyaṇa is worshipped. It is, like Kedāra, Rāmeśvara, Jagannātha-Purī, Dvarikā, Kāśī, etc., one of the principal Hindu tīrthas, on the Alakanandā river in the Gaḍhwāl territory, Alakanandā represents one of the upper courses of the Ganges, and her course is traced from the Gandhamādāna mountain (Bhāgavata, IV, 6.24, Brahmāṇḍa purāṇa, III, 41.21; Viṣṇu purāṇa, II. 2.34.36, Vāyu, 41.18, etc.). The Badrināth peak of the Himālayas is about 55 miles north-east of Śrīnagara in Gaḍhwāl. Near the source of the Alakanandā the temple of Nara-Nārāyaṇa was built on the west bank. The original temple is said to have been built or at least the present idol of Nārāyaṇa installed by Śrī Śaṅkārācārya in c. 7th-8th century A. D.¹⁵⁷

Rudraprayāga, on the confluence of the Mandākinī and the Alakanandā, and Devaprayāga on the confluence of the Bhāgirathī and the Alakanandā are in the Gaḍhwāl territory on the way to Badarikāśrama from Hṛṣikeśa.¹⁵⁸ Skanda-Prayāga on the confluence of Dhavala-Gaṅgā and Alakanandā, not identified, should also be located in the Gaḍhwāl territory, possibly on the same route.¹⁵⁹

Haridvāra, is one of the seven principal Hindu tīrthas.¹⁶⁰ According to the Mahābhārata it is called Gaṅgādvāra and according to Vaiṣṇava literature it is known as Māyāpurī. It is in the Saharanpur district, U. P., a few miles from Dehra Dun. Hṛṣikeśa on the road to Badrinātha from Haradvāra is about 24 miles north of Haradvāra¹⁶¹ while Kaṅkhala or Kanakhala is about two miles east of Haradvāra on the junction of the Ganges and the Niladhārā. It was the site of Dakṣa-Yajña according to purāṇās.¹⁶² Alakanandā-kṣetra mentioned next may be the valley of the Alakanandā. Or it may refer to some spot near

¹⁵⁶ Also see, Kaṇe, P.V., *Hist. of Dharmasāstra*, IV. p. 768, Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

¹⁵⁷ Law, B. C., *op. cit.*, p. 70, p. 64. Also, Law, B. C. *Holy Rivers of India*, p. 18. Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 15. Kane, P. V. *Hist. of Dharmasāstra*, IV., pp. 731, 736.

¹⁵⁸ Law, B. C., *Hist. Geo.*, p. 64, *Holy Rivers of India*, p. 19. Kane, P. V., *op. cit.*, p. 746, 797. *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XXII. 80-81; Vol. XI, 273-74.

¹⁵⁹ For detailed information of the different places on this route, and for the different Prayāgas in the Garhwāl area, see, *Bhārata Paribhramāṇa* (Hindi), Vol. V.

¹⁶⁰ Cf., :—अयोध्या मथुरा माया काशी काञ्ची अर्वात्तका । पुरी द्वारावती चैव ससैता मोक्षदायिकाः ॥

¹⁶¹ Law, B. C., *Hist. Geo.*, pp. 81, 85.

¹⁶² Law, B. C., *op. cit.*, p. 89.

Haradvāra on the Ganges since it is mentioned in our text after Kanakhala and before Kuśāvarta. Kuśāvartta, according to Dey, is a sacred ghāṭa in Haradvāra.¹⁶³ It is south of the site known as Hara-ki-peḍi at Haradvāra.

Ghaṭamuktesvara or Gaḍhamuktesvara is in the Meerut (Meraṭha) district, U. P., about 26 miles south-east of Meerut, on an old mound, and is supposed to have been a suburb of Hastināpura according to local traditions. There is a big Śaiva shrine here where an annual fair is held in the month of Kārttika.¹⁶⁴

Hastināpura, of Mahābhārata fame, was the ancient capital of the Kurus, situated on the Ganges in the Meerut district, and is traditionally identified with an old town in Mawānā tahsil, Meraṭha. This city is also called Gajāhvaya according to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, I. 9. 48; I. 15. 38; IX. 22. 40; X. 68. 16, etc. Rṣabhanātha, the first Jain Tīrthaṅkara is said to have been an inhabitant of Hastināpura.¹⁶⁵

Sambhalāgrāma is a village near Moradabad in the district of Rohillakhaṇḍa, 80 miles to the east of Delhi, where Viṣṇu would incarnate as *Kalkin* (*Bhāg. Pu.* XII. 2. 18). According to Dey it is the Sambalaka of Ptolemy.¹⁶⁶

Sūkara-kṣetra, according to Dey, is Soron on the Ganges, about twenty-seven miles north-east of Itah, where Hiranyākṣa is said to have been slain by Viṣṇu in his incarnation as Varāha (*Varāha Pu.* ch. 137). There is a temple of Varāha-Lakṣmī at Soron.¹⁶⁷

Naimiṣāranya is one of the nine sacred forests mentioned in Devīpurāṇa, chap. 74. Many Purāṇas were written here. It is the modern Nimsar, 20 miles from Sitapur and 45 miles to the north-west of Lucknow. It is an important place of pilgrimage for the Hindus.¹⁶⁸

Uttara-Gokarṇa is differentiated from Southern-Gokarṇa, which latter is the famous Gokarṇa in South-Karṇāṭaka, Karwar district, about thirty miles from Goa between Karwar and Kumta. According to Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, ch. 42, v. 12, Bagīratha performed austerities at Gokarṇa to bring down the Ganges. This might be the northern-Gokarṇa. N. L. Dey identifies it with

¹⁶³ Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 111. Also see, *Bhārata-Paribhramāṇa*, Vol. II, p. 365.

¹⁶⁴ *Bhārata-Paribhramāṇa*, II, p. 383. *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. XII, p. 163.

¹⁶⁵ Law, B. C., *Op. cit.*, p. 81; Dey, N. L., *Op. cit.*, p. 74. Also see, Lal, B. B., *Excavations at Hastināpur, Ancient India*, Nos. 10 and 11, pp. 1-5.

¹⁶⁶ Dey, N. L., *Op. cit.*, p. 176

¹⁶⁷ Dey, N. L., *Op. cit.*, pp. 195-96; Law, B. C. *Op. cit.*, p. 128.

¹⁶⁸ For references from ancient texts see, Law, B. C., *Op. cit.*, p. 113 and p. 41. Also, Dey, N. L., *Op. cit.*, p. 135.

modern Gomukhī, two miles beyond Gangotrī.¹⁶⁹ According to the Varāha Purāṇa, ch. 170, Gokarṇa is situated on the Sarasvatī-saṅgama or confluence of the river Sarasvatī.

River Sarayū is well known. Rāmāyaṇa (Ādikāṇḍa, 14 sarga, vv. 1-2), shows that King Daśaratha performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice on the bank of this river. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are said to have visited the confluence of this river with the Ganges (Rāmāyaṇa, Ādikāṇḍa, 23.5). Sarayū is referred to in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī (VI. 4. 174). According to Milindapañha (p. 114), Sarayū issued forth from the Himalayas. Sarayū is mentioned in Ṛgveda (IV. 30. 18; X. 64. 9; V. 53. 9). Citraratha and Arṇa are said to have been defeated by the Turvaśas and Yadus who crossed this river. According to Law, "it was the Ghagrā or Gogrā, a tributary of the Ganges, on which stood the city of Ayodhyā. It is the Sarabos of Ptolemy and is one of the five great rivers mentioned in early Buddhist texts. This river joins the Ganges in the district of Chapra, Bihar. At the north-west corner of the district of Bahraich it receives a tributary from the north-east which goes by the name of Saryū. . . . According to Rāmāyaṇa (Uttara., 123. 1), the Sarayū river is situated at a distance of half a yojana from the city of Ayodhyā." ¹⁷⁰

Ayodhyā is one of the seven principal holy places of the Hindus.¹⁷¹ It is referred to as Vinītā in Jaina canonical texts,¹⁷² as the birth-place of the first and the fourth Tīrthaṅkaras. Also known as Sāketa or Ikṣvākubhūmi in the Āvaśyakā Niryukti, it is called Sha-che by Fa-Hien and according to Ptolemy it is Sogeda. In the Brāhmaṇa Literature, it is described as a village.¹⁷³ It is mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa as the (earlier) capital of Kośala Janapada, where it is said to be of the shape of *Aṣṭāpada* in plan.¹⁷⁴ Some think that Sāketa and Ayodhyā were identical but Rhys Davids has pointed out that both the cities existed in Buddha's time.¹⁷⁵ Ayodhyā is important in the history of Jainism and Buddhism. Hiuen-Tsang says that Ayodhyā was the temporary residence of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu.¹⁷⁶

¹⁶⁹ N. L. Dey, *Op. cit.* p. 70. Also see B. C. Law, *Op. cit.*, p. 79.

¹⁷⁰ Law, B. C., *Op. cit.*, pp. 120-121. Also see, Law, B. C., *Rivers of India*, p. 22.

¹⁷¹ See foot note no. 160 above.

¹⁷² *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, 382.

¹⁷³ Law, B. C., *Hist. Geo. of Ancient India*, p. 67. *Aitareya Brāh.*, VII. 3ff.; *Sāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, XV. 17-25; cf. *J.R.A.S.* 1917, 52 note.

¹⁷⁴ cf. चित्रामष्टापदाकारम् etc. Rāmā., Bālakāṇḍa, 5.16.

¹⁷⁵ Law, B.C., *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 5.

¹⁷⁶ Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, pp. 354-9.

Nandigrāma is Nundgāon in Oudh, close to the Bharata-kunḍa, eight or nine miles to the south of Fyzabad. Bharata is said to have resided at this place during the exile of Śrī Rāmacandra (Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyā., ch. 115)¹⁷⁷.

Vaṭa-prayāga on the confluence of the Ganges and the Yamunā is the famous Prayāga-tīrtha near Allahabad, where there is the celebrated *akṣaya-vaṭa* (undecaying bunyan tree, now-preserved in the fort of Allahabad built by Akbar in 1581. Hiuen-Tsang in the seventh century also refers to a sacred tree being venerated at Prayāga.¹⁷⁸ Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyā, 54, 6-7, 34, refer to Bharadvāja's hermitage at Prayāga near the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā. According to Mahābhārata, it is the holiest of all places. According to Harivamśa, 26.9, it is highly spoken of by the sages. Prayāga is also referred to in early Buddhist texts as a holy place on the Ganges¹⁷⁹. It is believed that at this site there is the confluence of the Sarasvatī also. As noted by Hiuen-Tsang, there were many Deva-temples here and the people were gentle, compliant in disposition and fond of learning¹⁸⁰.

Kāśī is Banaras (Vārāṇasī) where is (worshipped) the Overlord, Viśveśvara. Banaras and its ghāṭs etc. have been discussed above.

At Gayā-tīrtha is worshipped the God Gadādhara. The river Falgu flows nearby. Gayā is situated between Rāmaśilā hill on the north and the Brahma-yoni hill on the south on the bank of the river Falgu. The town comprises the modern town of Sahabganj on the northern side and the ancient town of Gayā on the southern side. In the southern part of the town, called *Cakrabeḍa* in the Caitanya-Bhāgavata (ch. 12), is situated the celebrated temple of Viṣṇu-pada, erected about 225 years ago by Ahalyābāi, on the site of an older shrine. The Viṣṇu-pada had been set up prior to Fa-Hien's visit.¹⁸¹ According to Fa-Hien, who visited Gayā in the fifth century A.D., all was emptiness and desolation inside the city¹⁸². According to Hiuen-Tsang, Gayā had few inhabitants and more than a thousand Brāhmaṇa families. Above 30 li to the north of the city there was a clear spring whose waters were regarded sacred. Five or six li to the north-west of the city was the Gayā mountain (Gayāśiras) with dark

¹⁷⁷ Dey, N. L., *Op. cit.*, p. 138.

¹⁷⁸ See also, Dey, N. L., *Op. cit.*, 160 for references to Prayāga in Kūrma Purāṇa, Rājataranḡinī, Vikramorvaśīyam, etc.

¹⁷⁹ *Majjhima Nikāya*, I. 39; *Papañcasūdanī*, I. p. 178.

¹⁸⁰ Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I. 361, Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, I. 230. Also see, Law, B. C., *Hist. Geo. of Ancient India*, pp. 117-118.

¹⁸¹ Day, N. L., *Op. cit.*, p. 64.

¹⁸² Legge, *Travels of Fa-Hien*, p. 87.

gorges and inaccessible cliffs, and, having, on its top, a stūpa more than 100 ft. high built by Aśoka. Gayāsīsa, the principal hill of Gayā,¹⁸³ is modern Brahmyoni and is identical with Gayāsira of the Mahābhārata (III. 95.9) and the Purāṇas.¹⁸⁴ According to Vāyu Purāṇa, (II. 105.45 ; 109. 16) Gayā also had an *akṣayavata* or undying sacred bunyan-tree. Gayātīrtha is a holy place where Gayāsura performed penance and a sacrifice. Brahmā performed a religious sacrifice on a slab of stone placed on the head of Gayāsura (Vāyu., II. 105.4-5). The Buddha once stayed at Gayā where he met the yakkha Suciloma.¹⁸⁵ Buddha-Gayā (Uruvilva or Uruvela) is about six miles to the south of Gayā. The Buddha, just after his enlightenment, lived at Uruvelā, at the foot of the Ajapāla bunyan tree on the bank of the Nerañjanā.¹⁸⁶

Jagannātha Kṣetra, in Orissa, is one of the principal holy places of the Hindus. It is also known as Puruṣottamakṣetra.¹⁸⁷ The temple of Jagannātha lies on the shores of the Bay of Bengal, and extends from the Lokanātha temple on the west to Baleśvara temple on the east and from Svargadvāra on the south to the Matia stream on the north-east.¹⁸⁸

The river Punā may be the river Punaḥpunā, modern Punpun, a tributary of the Ganges in the Patna district.¹⁸⁹ It is, however, noteworthy that this river is mentioned after Jagannātha kṣetra in our text. However since the next references are to Śroṇabhadrā etc. we need not necessarily look for Punā river in Orissa or further south.

¹⁸³ *Vinaya Piṭaka*, I. 34 ff ; II. 199 ; Law, B. C., *A study of the Mahāvastu*, p. 81.

¹⁸⁴ Barua, B. M., *Gayā and Buddha-Gayā*, I. 11. The city of Gayā is referred to in *Brahma Purāṇa*, 67.10 ; *Kūrma Purāṇa*, 67.10 ; *Agni Purāṇa* 109 ; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, II. 105. ff. ; *Yoginītantra*, I. 11. 62-63, II. 2.5.141 ff. etc.

¹⁸⁵ *Suttanipāta*, p. 47.

¹⁸⁶ Law, B. C., *Hist. Geo. of Ancient India*, p. 219 for Gayā and Gayāsīsa ; pp. 264-65 for Uruvelā, and pp. 251-252 for Falgu ; Dey, N. L., *Op. cit.*, pp. 64-65. Also see, *Bhārata Bhramāṇa*, III. pp. 626-652.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. *Yoginītantra*, 2.9. 214 ff ; *Kālikāpurāṇa*, 58. 35. Also see, *Bhārata Bhramāṇa*, Vol. III. pp. 806 ff ; *Padmapurāṇa*, Chps. 83-86 ; *Agni Purāṇa*, Ch. 80 ; *Brahma.*, Chps. 41-58 refer to festivities etc., of the Lord at Puri. Also see, *Brahmavaivarta*, Kṛṣṇa Khaṇḍa, Ch. 37, *Narasimha Purāṇa*, Ch. 10.

¹⁸⁸ For the history of the shrine and the images, see, Dey, N. L., *Op. cit.*, pp. 162-163, O'Malley, *Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers : Puri*, (1929) pp. 326 ff. ; Stirling's *Orissa*, etc.

¹⁸⁹ Dey, N. L., *Op. cit.*, p. 161 Punaḥpunā is referred to in *Vāyu Pu.*, Ch. 108 ; *Padma Pu.*, Sṛṣṭi., Ch. 11. Also see, Law, B. C., *Rivers of India*, p. 26.

Śroṇabhadrā or Śoṇabhadrā is the famous river Son or Śoṇa, Arrian's Sona, a lower tributary of the Ganges, rising in the Maikala (Mekala) range in the Jabalpur district, and flowing north-east through Bāghelkhaṇḍ, Mirzāpur and Shāhbād districts, joining the Ganges near Patna. At the time of the Rāmāyaṇa (Ādikāṇḍa, 32. 8-9) this beautiful (*ramyā*) river flowed through the five hills encircling Girivraja.¹⁹⁰

Cyavanāśrama, the hermitage of Cyavana, referred to here after Son, and before Rājagṛha forest must be located somewhere in this area. Nand Lal Dey has noted the following four places associated with the hermitage of the sage Cyavana :—(1) Causā in the Shahbad district, (2) a Cyavanāśrama situated on the Sātpurā mountains, near the river Payoṣṇī, (3) Dhosī, six miles south of Narnol in the Jaipur territory, and (4) Cilnla on the Ganges in the Rai Barelli district.¹⁹¹ The first identification best suits our context.

Rājagṛha-vana or the forest of Rājagṛha obviously refers to Rājagṛha (modern Rājgir in Bihar) and its surrounding area. In the age of our text Rājgir area seems to have been more or less desolate and forested. Rājagṛha of course continues to be venerated and visited by the Jainas from ancient times.¹⁹² Rājagṛha was the ancient capital of Magadha and was known also as Kuśāgrapura and Girivraja.¹⁹³ It was called Girivraja as it was guarded by a cluster of close-set five hills.¹⁹⁴ The Rāmāyaṇa (I. 32. 7) refers to it as Vasumati and the Mahābhārata (II. 24. 44) also calls it Bārhadhrathapura. As capital of Jarāsandha it was known as Girivraja. Hiuen-Tsang points out that when Kuśāgrapura was afflicted by fires, the king went to the cemetery and built the new city of Rājagṛha. Fa-Hien however says that it was Ajātaśatru, and not Bimbisāra, who built the new city. There were several forest-groves and parks in the Rājagṛha area in ancient times, e.g., the Veluvana, Yaśṭivana, etc.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁰ Law, B. C., *Rivers of India*, p. 26; *Hist. Geo. of Ancient India*, p. 128; Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Report*, vol. VIII. p. 15; Dey, N. L., *Op. cit.*, p. 188. The Purāṇas count it as one of the important rivers that rise from the Rkṣa range.

¹⁹¹ Dey, N. L., *Op. cit.*, p. 51.

¹⁹² Cf., for example, Jinaprabhasūri's *Vividha-Tīrtha-kalpa*, Vaibhāra giri-kalpa.

¹⁹³ *Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa*, paṭala lxiii; *Mahābhārata*, Sabhāparva, 21. 3; Vanaparva, 6. 82-104; *Sutta-Nipāta*, p. 72; *Śāratthappakāsinī*, II. p. 159.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. *MBH.*, Sabhā., 21. 2-3, 24-44.

¹⁹⁵ Law, B.C., *Hist. Geo. of Ancient India* pp. 45, 254-55. For further references, see, Law, B. C., *Rājagṛha in Ancient Literature*, Memoir of the Archæological Survey of India, no. 58; and Kuraishi, M. H., *Rājgir* (5th ed., New Delhi, 1958).

Vaidyanātha-kṣetra is Baijanātha or Baidyanātha or Deogarh in the Santal Paragana of Bihar, containing the temple of Vaidyanātha, one of the twelve Jyotirlingas of Śiva. The place also contains a temple of Pārvatī which is one of the fifty-two Śakti-pīthas of India,¹⁹⁰ the Hārddapītha; it is said that Satis's heart fell at this place. Baidyanātha is a small town about four miles to the south of the Jasidih Junction station of the East Indian Railway and about 200 miles due west of Calcutta. Baidyanātha is referred to in the Baidyanātha-māhātmya of the Śiva Purāṇa and the Baidyanātha-māhātmya of the Padma Purāṇa¹⁹⁷.

Next is mentioned the Gaṅgāsāgara-tīrtha. This is a celebrated place of pilgrimage, still known by that name, and is said to have been the site of the hermitage of the sage Kapila. N. L. Dey notes that "the temple in honour of Kapila Muni in Sāgara Island was erected in 430 A.D., but it was washed away by the sea in 1842."¹⁹⁸ The Yoginītantra, 2.9, pp. 214 ff. and Bṛhat-Dharmapurāṇa, ch. 22 refer to the Kāpilāśrama. The GVM. (text p. 31) also refers to the Gaṅgāsāgaratīrtha in the Gauḍadeśa.

The GPM. refers to the Gaṅḍakī river after the Gaṅgāsāgaratīrtha. Thus the author again takes us back northwards. The modern Gaṅḍaka was called Gaṅḍakī and Cakranandī according to Bhāgavatapurāṇa (X. 79, 11; V. 7.10). The Padmapurāṇa (chp. 21) considers it as holy. Gaṅḍakī¹⁹⁹ is a great upper

Varāhapurāṇa, chp. 144 explains the origin of the name Gaṅḍakī and says that the river was formed from the sweat of the cheeks (*ganḍa*) of Viṣṇu. The source of the river is not far from Śālāgrāma, which was the hermitage of Bharata and Pulaha. On the south of Śālāgrāma is the celebrated temple of Muktinātha with the image of Nārāyaṇa worshipped in it.²⁰⁰ Gaṅḍakī is famous for the sacred stones called śālāgrāma found from its bed, and worshipped as different forms of Viṣṇu. It is, therefore, also called Śālāgrāmī and Nārāyaṇī.

Cakratīrtha and Muktikṣetra mentioned next must be on the Nepal border,

¹⁹⁰ Dey, N. L., *Op. cit.*, p. 50 under Citābhūmi.

¹⁹⁷ Law, B. C., *Hist. Geo. of Ancient India*, p. 211. Also see, Mitra Rajendralal, *On the Temples of Deoghar*, J.A.S.B., 1883, pp. 164 ff.

¹⁹⁸ Dey, N. L., *Op. cit.*, p. 171; Law, B. C., *Op. cit.*, p. 224.

¹⁹⁹ For Gaṅḍakī, see, Law, B. C., *Rivers of India*, pp. 23 ff.

tributary of the Ganges, having its origin in the hills in south Tibet. Passing through Nepal, it receives six tributaries. Its mainstream flows into the Ganges between Sonpur in the Sara district and Hajipur in the district of Muzaffarpur, while its lesser stream bifurcating at Basarh flows down into another river.

²⁰⁰ For Muktinātha, see, Dey, N. L., *Op. cit.*, p. 133 and for Śālāgrāma, *ibid.*, p. 174. *Illustrated Weekly of India* (Bombay), March, 4, 1956, p. 40.

on or near Gaṇḍakī. Mukti-kṣetra should be identified with Muktinātha noted above. The Cakarātīrtha is probably the spot from which Śālagrāma stones are recovered. It must be remembered that Gaṇḍakī is also called Cakranadī in Paurāṇika-tradition. There are several Cakra-tīrthas in India and Nand Lal Dey²⁰¹ has noted the following five—(1) in Kurukṣetra, the same as Rāma-hrada, (2) in Prabhāsa in Saurāshṭra, on the river Gomatī, (3) six miles from Tryambaka, near the source of the Godāvarī, (4) in Banaras, a kuṇḍa or reservoir of this name near the Maṇikarṇikāghaṭ, and (5) in Rāmeśvara. Obviously none of the above five are intended by the author of the GPM. who mentions Cakarātīrtha along with the Gaṇḍakī, Muktinātha and the Nīlakaṇṭha in Nepal.²⁰²

Nīlakaṇṭha is a celebrated place of pilgrimage in Nepal containing the temple of Nīlakaṇṭha Mahādeva, at the foot of the Sheopuri peak, five miles north of Kāṭmaṇḍu.²⁰³

At Mukti-kṣetra is the celebrated temple of Nārāyaṇa, worshipped as Muktinātha. The temple is situated on the border of Nepal, on the river Kālī-Gaṇḍakī, in the Sapta-Gaṇḍakī range of the Himalayas, not far from the source of the Gaṇḍakī. It is about fifteen days' journey from Pālpā in Nepal, and four days' journey to the north of Bani-sahar, within half a mile of which the Gaṇḍakī takes the name of Śālagrāmī.²⁰⁴

Next is mentioned the Kāmākhyādevī in Kāmarūpa or Assam. According to Purāṇas, the capital of Kāmarūpa was Prāggyotiṣ which has been identified with Kāmākhyā or Gauhati (JRAS., 1900, p. 25). Kāmākhyā is one of the Śakti-pīṭhas, a famous centre of Śakti-worship, containing the temple of Kāmākhyā-devī on the Nīlakūṭa-parvata, about two miles from Gauhati.²⁰⁵ Kāmākhyā was a great centre of the sensual form of worship, the Vāma-mārga of the tantras. It is said that the genitals of the Śakti fell here when her body was cut into pieces by Viṣṇu.

According to the Brāhmaṇa Vājapeyin, of GPM., there were many more places of pilgrimage in the kingdom in which he lived.

In the GVM., the Sannyāsīn asks his host about the different tīrthas in the Gauḍa-deśa, or Bengal. The host replies that in the Gauḍadeśa are situated the Gaṅgāsāgaratīrtha, the Kūmārikā-kṣetra, the river Brahma-putrā, the

²⁰¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 43 and 227.

²⁰² Also see, *Bhārata-Bhramāṇa*, Vol. III, pp. 671.

²⁰³ Dey, N. L., *Op. cit.*, p. 141.

²⁰⁴ Dey, N. L., *Op. cit.*, p. 133.

²⁰⁵ For Kāmākhyā, see *Bṛhat-Dharma-purāṇa*, I, 14; *Kālikā-purāṇa*, chp. 62. Dey, N. L., *op. cit.*, p. 87. Also see, Kakati, Banikanta, *The Mother Kāmākhyā*.

Kāmarūpeśvara and the goddess Kāmākṣī. The Gaṅgāsāgaratīrtha is already noted above.

The Kumārikā-kṣetra may be in the valley of the Kumārī river, which may be identified with the modern Kumārī river which waters the Dalma Hills in Manbhum.²⁰⁶ The identification is, however, tentative. A Kumāra-deśa is mentioned in Mahābhārata, Śabhāparvan, adh. 29. Kumāravartanī is referred to in the Kāśyapa Samhitā, chp. 25, v. 7, along with Kaṭivarṣa²⁰⁷ which latter is Koṭivarṣa, *i.e.*, Devakoṭ or Devikoṭ in the Pauṇḍravardhanabhukti.

There is a Kumārakhāli in Nadia District of Bengal (Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. XVI. 18), and a Kumārahālā, an ancient town, now known as Halisahar in Barackpore subdivison of 24 paragaṇas, Bengal, situated on the east bank of the Hooghly (Imp. Gaz., XIII. 11). It would be advisable to find out old Bengali traditions about Kumārahātā and about Kumārikākṣetra or Kumārikā-tīrtha. Is Kumārikākṣetra the same as Pārvatīpura in Bengal?

Brahmaputra of GVP. obviously refers to the river Brahmaputrā and the Brahmaputratīrtha. There is a deep pool in the Brahmaputrā known by the name of Brahmakuṇḍa on the eastern border of the Lakmīpur district of Assam. Pasaśurāma, one of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, is said to have surrendered his axe at this pool, with which he destroyed the kṣatriyas.²⁰⁸ The pool is situated at the place where the river emerges from the mountains and is surrounded on every side by hills. It is frequently visited by Hindu pilgrims from various parts of India.

Kāmākṣī is the same as Kāmākhyā in Assam, discussed above. Kāmarūpeśvara must refer to some well-known temple of Śiva in Kāmarūpa or Assam. According to the Imperial Gazetteer (Vol. XIV. p. 325), one of the most important festivals connected with the temple of Kāmākhyā is the "Pous Bia, about Christmas time, when Kāmākhyā is married to Kāmeśvar." Very likely, the Kāmarupeśvara of our text is the Kāmeśvara referred to above.

Both the GPM. and the GVM. refer to the *durācāras* of various countries. Incidentally these lists refer to the various regions of India, which include Āndhradeśa, Karṇāṭaka, Draviḍa and Kerala-deśa, Koṅkaṇa, Gurjara-deśa, Uttara-deśa, Parvata-deśa, Mithilā, Gauḍa country, Kānyakubja-deśa, Utkala, Magadha, Candrāvati, Kāśmīra, and Maharāṣṭra.

²⁰⁶ Law, B. C., *Rivers of India*, p. 45.

²⁰⁷ Shah, U. P., *Geographical And Ethnic Data From The Kāśyapa Samhitā*, Journal of The Oriental Institute, Vol. VII. no. 4, June, 1958, pp. 279 ff.

²⁰⁸ Law, B.C., *Hist. Geo. of Ancient India*, pp. 213-14. Also see, *Bhārata-Paribhramaṇa*, Vol. III. p. 710.

Candrāvati in the above list may refer to either the Candrāvati in the district of Banaras on the left bank of the Gaṅgā²⁰⁹ or the Candrāvati in the old Zālāvāḍ State near Morak, or the Candrāvati, near Mt. Abu, which was an ancient capital of the Paramāras of Abu, on the left bank of the western Banās.²¹⁰

Parvata-deśa, known to Pāṇini and the Mudrārākṣasa is a region in the Punjab to the north-west of Multan between the Ravi and the Sutlej.²¹¹ The Pārvaṭiḃa Samghas of Pāṇini are inhabitants of the country of Mountaineers extending from Kashmir to Afghanistan.²¹²

Bijāpura or Vidyānagara and Cañjīgrāma mentioned in the GPM. have already been referred to before.

Food and Drinks etc.

Both the GPM. and the GVM. contain interesting descriptions of the dinners given to Sannyāsins and Brāhmaṇas on auspicious days. The different items served require special treatment and were therefore not included in our discussion of the Social and Economic Data.

It may be remembered that both the GPM. and the GVM. were intended for beginners in Sanskrit who should learn words which would be useful in daily conversation. Thus we have long lists of birds, animals, fruits, flowers, trees, vegetables, etc. The different preparations used in eating and drinking are cleverly introduced in teaching by arranging a dinner on an auspicious day. Such lists of *Anna-Pāna*, *Flora and Fauna*, peoples and countries, etc., have invested these two texts with the character of a Varṇaka-grantha, typical examples of which are the Varṇaratnākara of Jyotirīśvara, or the Sabhāśṛṅgāra and different *Varṇaka*-texts edited and discussed by Dr. B. J. Sandesara in *Varṇakasamuccaya*, Vols. I and II.

We will first begin with the description of the Dinner-party (*Pañkti-bhojana*) of the Brāhmaṇas as detailed in the GPM. (text, pp. 16 ff. giving references similar to dishes from the GVM.

Food was served on broad and long leaves of the plaintain-trees and cups made of leaves (*patra-putāni*) were also given to each guest for receiving liquid-foods.

Service began with *lavaṇa-sākas*. Service was done by *suwāsini*s or married ladies. In the GPM., in reply to the query about the *lavaṇa-sākas* served, the

²⁰⁹ Law, B. C. *op. cit.*, p. 73.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 312.

²¹¹ Dey, N. L., *Op. cit.*, p. 150.

²¹² Also see, Agrawala, V. S., *India as Known to Pāṇini*, pp. 434, 436.

Sannyāsin gives a list of several *śalāṭus*. It is then said that, after these, *śalāṭu-śākas* were served, and then a bigger list of *śalāṭuśākas* is given. Thus obviously the *śalāṭus* mentioned in the first list were actually *lavāṇa-śākas* and not *śalāṭus*. Since all the mss. utilised by us do not list them individually as *lavāṇaśākas*, it is difficult to say definitely whether originally the items in the first list were mentioned as आम्रलवणशाक, तित्तिणीलवणशाक etc., rather than as आम्रशलाटु, तित्तिणीशलाटु etc. In the GVM. (text, p. 25) we are told that salt was served first, then the *lavāṇa-śākas*. Then follows a list of *upadamśas*, which latter is followed by a list of several *śalāṭus*. After this follows a list of some *lavāṇa-śākas*, which includes, the *lavāṇa-śākas* of *kāravellas*, *śāla-falas*, and *garjaras*. These names would suggest that *lavāṇa-śākas* were *śākas* which were cut into pieces and salted. Probably they were not cooked or fried and were as it were seasoned with salt alone. It would be interesting to note that such preparations are called सालगुं (= सलवण) in Gujarati.²¹³ This inference is supported by the fact that in the GVM., after the list of above-mentioned three *lavāṇa-śākas*, we are told :— ततः परं नानाविधशाकान्परिविधिषु । These latter might be the different *śākas*, potherbs, vegetables, etc. which were cooked and fried.

According to Amarakośa, 679—आमे फले शलाटुः स्याच्छुष्के वानमुभे त्रिषु ।—, *śalāṭu* is a preparation of fresh, unripe and undried fruits, while *vāna* is a preparation of dry fruits. Hemacandra (Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi, 4.1130) gives a similar explanation—फले तु सस्यं तच्छुष्कं वानमामं शलाटु च ।

The *lavāṇa-śākas* of GPM. (text, p. 16—आम्रशलाटुः । etc.) are prepared from *āmra* (mango), *tintīṇi* (tamarind), *kavaka* (mushroom),²¹⁴ *nimbū* (common

²¹³ Sandesara, B. J. and Mehta, R. N., *Varṇaka-Samuccaya*, Vol. II, p. 18. In the *Bhojana-Bhakti*, a *Varṇaka* text publ. in *Varṇakasamuccaya*, I, p. 193 we find—पछी चारु पुरसिया सालणां, ते कीसा कीसा ? मुंगिया केरडा बाहलोल, काचा केला, चोलानि फली, नीला चिणां, अंयोल काचली, बावलीया, करेला—। Also in the *Jīmaṇavāra—Paridhāna-Vidhi* in *Varṇakasamuccaya*, I, p. 178 we find—पछइं मिरि मांजरि, लिंबुआ, पारां, बीली, पारी मुंठि, खारी कइरी, कोहलानां खारा सेक्या, खारां कयर, खारी हलद्र, खारा वासेटा, एवंविध सालणां.

In the *Gurjararāsāvali* (G.O. Series Vol. 128), is published *Vidyāvilāsa-pavāḍau* of Hīrānanda (end of 15th cent. V.S.), where we find (on p. 101) the following :—

मूक्यां नव नव परि सालणां मूक्यां सरहा घी अतिघणां ।

मूकी मांडी मुरकी सेव मूकी खीर खांड घृत हेव ॥ ८३ ॥

Modi writing notes on it (p. 331) derives सालणां from Skt. सारणक > Ap. सालणअ and interprets it as 'a kind of liquid food' but the references in GPM. favour our explanation.

²¹⁴ This figures in the list of prohibited plants and vegetables in Manu, and in Gautama and Āpastamba Dharma sūtras, cf. Sen Gupta, S., *Food Prohibition in Smṛti texts*, Journ. of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters, Vol. XXII. no. 2, 1956, p. 188.

lemon, Citrus Acida), *jamvīra* (a kind of citron),²¹⁵ *nāraṅgī* (oranges), *bilva* (Bengal quince), *āmalakī* (Emblic Myrobalan), *karkaṭī* (cucumber), *audumbara* (= Gular in Hindi, Umbar in Marathi, Umbarḍo in Gujarati, Cluster fig or Gular fig), *śivā* (Chebulic myrobalan, *haritakī*).

It is then said that *lavāṇa-sākas* of *karīra* (bamboo-shoot) and *ārdraka* (ginger) were also served.

Śalāṭus are well-known to Gṛhyasūtras. *Udumbara-śalāṭu* is referred to in Śāṅkhā. Gṛhya-sū. 1.22. *Śalāṭu-grapsa* (bunch of unripe fruits) is mentioned in Āśvalāyana Gṛ. sū. 1. 14. 4, Pāraskara Gṛ. sū. 1. 15. 4, etc. *Bilva-śalāṭu* and *Jambū-śalāṭu* are referred to in Suśruta, 1. 377. 3, 2.431. 18, 2. 434. 14 etc.

The list of *śalāṭu-sākas* in the GPM. is noteworthy. These are preparations of unripe fruits, and potherbs or vegetables, which must have been cooked and served as *sākas*. These *śalāṭu-sākas* were prepared from fresh *vṛutāka* (brinjals), *kaliṅga* (watermelon, Mar., Kāliṅgaḍa, Guj., Kāliṅgaḍu or Taḍabūca, called kharbūja in Bhāvaprakāśa), *kāravella* (Momordica Charantina, Hindi, Karelā, Guj. Kārelā), *kuṣmāṇḍu* (Ash-gourd, Benincasa hispida²¹⁶ or Benincasa cerifera, a kind of pumpkin-gourd, Hindi, Kumhaḍā, Kohaḍā, Bengali, Kumāḍā-gācha, Guj., Bhuru-kohaḷu), *alābū* (or *alābu*, bottle-gourd, Bengali, lāu, Lagenaria leucantha, Hindi, Kaddu, Tombī, Lambā Lauā, Grahā Lauā, Rāmatorāi, Marathi, Dudhyā Bhonpaḷā Guj., Dudhiu, Dudhalu, Dudhī, white gourd), *kadalī*, (plaintains, Hindi, Guj., Keḷā), *śimvī* (any pulse or grain growing in pods, a legume, Dolichos lablab, Śiṅga in Guj., there are several varieties in Sanskrit, such as, asiśimbī, khaḍgaśimbī, nīlaśimbikā, kolaśimbī, Guj., tuvara, choḷā, maga, maṭha, aḍada etc., would come under this class, Hindi sema = Guj. Śiṅga), *ghṛta-kośatakī* (Luffaprntaundra, is a variety of kośatakī, known as mahākośatakī in Sanskrit, Ghiyātorāi in Hindi, Gosālī in Marathi, and Galakān in Gujarati; *Kośatakī* generally signifies torāi in Hindi, Turiyān in Guj., and Śīralī or Doḍakī in Marathī, and Dhārvī torāi in Kanarese), *panasa* (Jack-fruit, Artocarpus integrifolia, Hindi, Kaṭahara or Kaṭahala or Faṭaila, Bengali, Kāmṭāla, Guj. & Marathi, Faṇasa), *śigru* (Drumstick, Moringa oleifera, M. pterygospermum, *Śigru* or Śobhāñjana is of two types, Śvetaśigru, and Raktaśigru as shown in Śāligrāma—Nighaṇṭu, pp. 326 ff. *Śigru* = Hindi, sainjinā, Guj.,

²¹⁵ cf. : रसुजम्बीरे दन्तशठजम्भजम्बीरजम्भलाः । *Amarakośa*, 697. It is a variety of lemon, *citrus limonium*, Nadkarṇi, K. M., *Indian Materia Medica* (3rd ed.), pp. 346 ff. Caraka mentions it in *Harita-varga*, hence *Jambīra* may not be a fruit. Its identification is uncertain. However see Bhānuji Dikṣit's comm. on Amara., 697 and 807 (*i.e.* Amara., II. 4. 24 & 79.)

²¹⁶ Also see, *Bhāvaprakāśa*, Vol. I (Kāśī Skt. Series, Banaras, V.S. 1985), pp. 524 ff.

saragavo, Mar., Śegaṭa or Śevagā, Bengali, sajinā), *paṭolī* (may be same as *paṭola* = *Trichosanthes Cucumerina*, or *Trichosanthes Dioica*, *paḍavaḷa* or *paḍavara* in Mar., *paravaḷa* in Guj.), *bimbikā* (may be the same as *Tiktatuṇḍī* or *Tiktabimbī* or *tuṇḍī*, *Cephalandra indica*, which, according to *Nighaṇṭu-Ādarśa*, Vol. I, p. 572, is sometimes used as a *śāka*. In *Bhāvaprakāśa* (with Hindi notes), Vol. I (Kāśī Skt. Series), p. 529, *bimbī* = Hindi *kundurū*, Mar. *tonḍalī*, Guj. *ṭiṇḍorā*, *Coccinia Indica*), *urvāraka* (is a species of cucumber, *Cucumis Usitatissimus*, its fruit might have been used in *śalāṭu-śāka*, *Mrgervāru*, according to *Śāligrāma-Nighaṇṭu-bhūṣaṇa*, p. 898, is Pubescent Cucumber, *Cucumis Pubescens* = *cibūḍa* in Mar., *Kacariā* in Hindi, *Cibhaḍā* in Gujarati, the text also identifies it with Guj. *koḷhimbā*), *tindiśa* (according to *Indian Materia Medica*, p. 1, it is the same as *karaṣarnaphala* (Sanskrit), *Bhiṇḍā* (Gujarati), *Bheṇḍe* (Marathi), *Edible Hibiscus* or *ladies' fingers*, *Hibiscus esculentus*), *rājamāṣa* (cow-pea, asparagus bean, *Vigna sinensis*, V. catjang, Beng., *varvaḷī*, Guj., *colā*, Mar., *camvḷyā*, Hindi, *loviyā*), *karkarī* (v. l. *karkaṭī*, may be *Cucumis sativus* or *Cucumis utilissimus*, Sanskrit, *cirbhiṭa*; ²¹⁷ *karkaṭis* are of several varieties and the *Śāligrāma-Nighaṇṭu-Bhūṣaṇa*, pp. 895 ff., mentions varieties of *karkaṭī* such as *araṇya-karkaṭī*, *tikta-karkaṭī* *Cimāka-karkaṭī*, etc. Our text also mentions a *gorakṣa-karkaṭī-śalāṭu-śāka* ²¹⁸), *rājadanta-phala* (is unidentified, if, like *rājakadalī*, a variety of *kadalī*, and *rājajambū*, a variety of *jambū*, it is to be treated as a variety of *danta*-or *dantī-phala*, then it would be difficult to imagine that it was used as a *śāka*, since, *dantī* acts as a very strong purgative. If the original reading was *rāja-phala* and not *rājadanta-phala*, then *rāja-phala* = *jambu* fruit, *Jambul* or *Black plum*, Hindi, *Jāman*, *Jāmoon*, Guj., *jāmbū*, Mar., *Jambul*, *Engenia Jambolana*), *Gorakṣakarkaṭī* (mentioned next, is difficult to identify, *Cakrapāṇi* identifies it with *Mrgervāru* and *Gavākṣī*, while *Śrīkanṭha*, the commentator of *Vṛnda*, identifies it with *Indrasurā* and *Nirguṇḍī*, see, *Nighaṇṭu-Ādarśa*, I. p. 570 for a discussion on this), *sukhāvāsa* (unidentified, if the original reading were *śukanāsā*, then it would be *śyonāka* or *arlu*, *Colosanthus indica*, it is however difficult to suggest any definite emendation), *kulaka* (acc. to commentaries on *Caraka*, it is either *kāravellakam* or a *paṭola-bheda*,²¹⁹ but since *kāravella* and *paṭola* are already occurring separately in our list, we might take it as a variety of *paṭola*. *Kulakam* is identified as *Nux-Vomica* or *Strychnine tree* in *Indian Materia Medica*, Vol. I.

²¹⁷ Acc. to Sen Gupta, S., *op. cit.*, p. 195. Also see, *Śāligrāma-Nighaṇṭu-Bhūṣaṇa*, p. 893.

²¹⁸ For different varieties of *karkaṭī*, see, Vaidya, B. G., *Nighaṇṭu-Ādarśa*, I. p. 562 ff.

²¹⁹ *Nighaṇṭu-Ādarśa*, II. p. 663. Also see *Nighaṇṭu-Ratnākara* (Bombay, 1936), Vol. I, Index, p. 40.

p. 1175), *karkoṭakī* (Mormodica Dioica, Hindi, kamkoḍā, Mar., kāmkaḍī or karṭolī, Guj. kamṭoli or kamkoḍā), *rājāvu* or *rājābu* (V. L. rājālābu is preferable, rājālābu is Marathi, Dūḍhabhompālā, Guj., Dudhī, Sanskrit, Madhurālābu, white gourd, Cucurbeta lagenaria²²⁰), *bārhata* (may be *brhati-phala*, Solenum Xanthocarpum, its use as śalāṭu-śāka in India is not known to me, but *Bhojanakutūhala*, I. p. 86 renders it as Marathi *ḍoralī* and describes as a *śāka*, a variety of brinjals), *kaṭhillaka* (is rendered as *kāravella* in Amarakośa, 957, generally the word is used for parṇāsa, varṣābhū and *kāravella*. B. G. Vaidya in his *Nighaṇṭu-Ādarśa*, II, p. 658 prefers to take it as *punarnavā*, Boerhavia repens), *karkārū* (according to Amara., 959 is *kūṣmāṇḍaka*, but *kūṣmāṇḍaka* is already referred to before, so we must take *karkārū* as a variety of *kūṣmāṇḍa*, which, according to Śāligrāma-Nighaṇṭu-Bhūṣaṇa, pp. 890 f., quoting *Bhāvaprakāśa*, is called *kūṣmāṇḍī*), *citrā* (acc. to Amara., 823, *citrā*, *upacitrā*, *nyagrodhī*, *dravantī*, *śambarī*, *vṛṣū*, etc. are names of *mūṣakaparnī*, and acc. to Amara., 961, *citrā* = *gavākṣī* or *goḍumbā*, which is known as *kavamḍala* in Marathi; possibly *mūṣakaparnī*, *Ipomaea Reniformis* is intended here), *śreyasī* (may be *gajapippalī* or *kapivallī*, *Scindapsus officinalis*.²²¹ According to *Cakrapāṇidatta*, *śreyasī* = *rāsnā*, but identification of *rāsnā* is uncertain, see, Vaidya, B. G., *Nighaṇṭu-Ādarśa*, II, pp. 648-49).

The above analysis of the list of *śalāṭu-śākas* will show that probably *śalāṭu* was loosely used in the general sense of any undried or unripe fruit or potherb or vegetable and not necessarily in the sense of unripe or undried fruits alone. This is inferred because in cases like *kaṭhillaka* = *punarnavā*, which is a *patra-śāka*, the sense of *śalāṭu* = *apakva-fala* alone will not do. Or was *kaṭhillaka* used here in some other sense?

Śalāṭu-śāka of *kadalī* or plaintains is referred to above. It is interesting to note that several varieties of *kadalī*²²¹ are noted in *Bhojanakutūhala*, I, pp. 87-89. Being interesting and less known, I quote the relevant verses:—

महारम्भाफलं शीतं तुष्टिपुष्टिकरं गुरु ।
रक्तपित्तहरं वृष्यं तीव्राग्नीनां प्रशस्यते ॥

महाकदली ।

²²⁰ The reading might as well have been *rājālu*. For *rājālu*, see *Nighaṇṭu-Ratnākara*, I. p. 5, according to which it is राजाळु in Mar. (a variety of अळुची in Guj.). Since most of the *śalāṭu-śākas* noted above are fruits, we might take *rājālu* as Bokhara Plum, *Prunus Communis*.

²²¹ *Nighaṇṭu-Ādarśa*, II. 570, and App. B, p. 678. The *Bhāvaprakāśa*, *Miśraprakaraṇa*, *Haritakyādivarga*, Verse 68, identifies *śreyasī* as *kapivallī* = *gajapippalī*, *Scindapsus officinalis*, see, *Bhāvaprakāśa* with Hindi notes, Vol. I (Kaśī Skt. Series), p. 214.

स्यात्काष्ठकदली रुच्या रक्तपित्तहरा हिमा ।
गुरुर्मन्दाग्निजनर्गा दुर्जरा मधुरा परा ॥
कटकदली ।

सुवर्णमोत्रा मधुरा हिमा च बल्याऽशने दीपनकारिणी च ।
तृषापहा दाहविमोचनी च कफापहा वृष्यकरी गुरुश्च ॥

तथा—

क्षुद्रं रम्भाफलं शीतं स्वादुपाकरसं गुरु ।
पित्तप्रदरदाहघ्नं वृष्यं नात्यर्थदीपनम् ॥
सोनकेद्वी ।

गिरिकदली हिममधुरा बलवीर्यविवृद्धिदायिनी रुचिरा ।
तृप्तिदाहशोषप्रशमनकरा दुर्जरा च गुरुः ॥
वनकदली ।

कृष्णं रम्भाफलं रुच्यं कषायमधुरं तथा ।
मेहं पित्तं तृषां हन्ति बृंहणं वातलं लघु ॥
काळकेद्वि ।

सुगन्धा कृष्णरम्भा च शैलरम्भा यथोत्तरम् ।
निन्दिताः फलमासां तु कषायं मधुरं गुरु ॥
रम्भाफलत्वक्कुटुका तित्ता पित्तहरा लघुः ।

The Nighaṅṭa-ratnākara, I. pp. 50 ff., (composed in c. 1867 A.D.) gives properties of कोमल-कदलं, मध्यम-कदलं, अपक्वकदलं, पक्वकदलं; सामान्यकदलं, of the flowers of the plaintain tree, of the कदलीसार, of the कदलीकन्द, of the कदलीजल and then describes properties of अरण्यकदली (Mar. वनकदली or रानकेळ), काष्ठकदली (Mar. लोखंडीकेळ), सुवर्णकदली (सोनकेळ in Mar., सोनेर्ग केळां in Guj.), मलिपीकदली (Mar. म्हशीकेळ), and कृष्णकदली (Mar. वाळी केळ).²²²

The Varṇaka-samuccaya, I, speaks of कुंकर्णां केल्यां (p. 172) and कुंकपीआं केल्यां (p. 199) both of which may be those specially grown in the Konkan, the राजेल्यां केल्यां (pp. 172, 199) still known as राजली केल्यां are available in Bombay, and are used by the Deccan people in several preparations, including a kind of मोदकस (sweet-balls) made of these plaintains, coconut, sugar etc. The Varṇaka-samuccaya, also refers to नाथसिधेल्यां केल्यां (p. 172), वाघेल्यां केल्यां (p. 172) सुटेल्यां केल्यां (p. 172) and सोनेल्यां केल्यां (p. 172).

The different texts in the Varṇakasamuccaya show that slices of plaintains and mangoes were served.

²²² काष्ठकदली, गिरिकदली and सुवर्णकदली are noted in धन्वन्तरीयनिघण्टु (Ānandāśrama series no. 33), p. 149. The *Bhāvaprakāśa*, pūrvakhaṇḍa, āmrādivarga, says that there are several varieties of कदली such as माणिस्यक०, मर्त्यक०, अमृतक०, चम्पककदली etc. चम्पककदली is possibly the सोनकदली noted above.

The Dhanvantari-Nighaṅṭu and the Rāja-Nighaṅṭu refer to two varieties of *Āmra*, the *kṣudrāmra* or the *koṣāmra* and the *rājāmra*.²²³ The Bhāvaprakāśa, Miśraprakaraṇa, Āmrāphalādi varga, describes the properties of *āmra-khaṇḍa*, the slices of mangoes, referred to as *आंबानी कातली* in the *Varṇakasamuccaya*, Vol. I. pp. 172, 184, 189, 199. The Bhāvaprakāśa incidentally refers to *दुग्धान्न* which may be a mixture of milk and mangoes.

Incidentally it may be noted that the Bhāvaprakāśa, composed in the 16th century A.D., gives in the above chapter, another preparation of mangoes, called *आम्नावर्त्त*, prepared as under—

पकस्य सहकारस्य पटे विस्तारितो रसः ।
 धर्मशुष्को मुहुर्दत्त आम्नावर्त्त इति स्मृतः ॥ १५ ॥
 आम्नावर्त्तस्तृपाच्छर्दिवातपित्तहरः सरः ।
 रुच्यः सूर्याशुभिः पाकाल्लघुश्च स हि कीर्त्तितः ॥ १६ ॥

The preparation is known as *अमावट*, *आमावट* or *आम का सत्त* in Hindi, and *आंब्याचे साट* or *आंब्याची पोळी* in Marathi.

Kṣemakutūhala, an interesting work on dietetics, composed at Akolā in V.S. 1605 = 1548 A.D., gives another preparation called *आम्नपानकम्*²²⁴—

आम्नममं परिस्विन्नं मर्दितं मुष्टिना वृद्धम् ।
 पयसाऽर्धयुते तोये शर्करामरिचान्विते ॥ ५२ ॥
 अपकाग्ररसोद्भूतं पानकं वातनाशनम् ।
 कफपित्तवरं किञ्चित्प्रत्यहं यदि सेवितम् ॥ ५३ ॥

Such preparations of unripe mangoes, often without milk, are still used in summer in many parts of India, and are known as *बाफलो* in Gujarati, *पन्हें* in Marathi.

Kṣemakutūhala gives the following drink prepared from ripe mangoes²²⁵—

सुपकमाग्रस्य फलं सुमुष्टिना संमर्दितं शर्करया समन्वितम् ।
 एलालवङ्गाद्रिकवासवासितं वर्णान्वितं कस्य न रोचकप्रदम् ॥ ५४ ॥
 पानकं त्वाश्रसंभूतं स्वाद्वल्लं गुरु पित्तजित् ।
 मुहुर्दत्तं श्रेयमकुर्वत्य वर्ष्यं वृष्यं रुचिप्रदम् ॥ ५५ ॥

²²³ *Dhanvantarinighaṅṭu* and *Rājanighaṅṭu* (Ānandāśrama series), pp. 170-171.

The राजाम्न are the superior varieties of कलमी आम (Hindi) including such varieties as हाफूस etc. The कोशाम्न are the smaller fruits of mangoes, often growing in hilly parts.

²²⁴ *Kṣemakutūhala*, ed. by Yādavañi Trikamñi Ācārya (Nirṇayasāgar Press, Bombay, 1920), p. 106.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 107. The text further gives drinks (पानक) prepared from अम्लिकाफल, जम्बूफल, बीजपूर, निम्बूफल, कारमर्द, नारङ्गफल, जम्बीर, बदरफल and चारवृक्षफल.

रसाला or शिखरीणि (modern Guj. श्रीखंड) was also prepared by addition of fruits in दधि. The Kṣemakutūhala, pp. 105 ff. describes such preparations of मोचाफल (कदली), खार्वुज (water-melon) and आम्र.

Fruits were not only used in *śalāṭṭu-śākas* or in drinks (as noted above), but also in preparations of certain sweets. The Kṣemakutūhala (p. 92) describes a preparation of घृतपूर (modern बेवर, बेबर in Hindi, Guj.) with ripe mangoes—

पक्वाम्रस्य घृते तृप्ते रसस्तलनपिण्डितः ।
 शुद्धशर्करया योज्यो घृतपूरो यदृच्छया ॥ ९५ ॥
 क्षीरमात्मानुरूपं हि खण्डचूर्णं ततः स्मृतम् ।
 योजितो यो विभेयोऽत्र तदाख्यापूर्णसंज्ञितः ॥ ९६ ॥
 घृतपूरो गुरुर्वृथो हृद्यः पित्तानिलापहः ।
 सद्यः प्राणप्रदो बल्यः सुरुच्योऽग्निप्रदीपनः ॥ ९७ ॥
 शृङ्गाटकमखाणानामप्येवं घृतपूरकाः ।
 विचार्य वस्तुसंयोगं तद्गुणानपि चावदेत् ॥ ९८ ॥

The Kṣemakutūhala (pp. 53 ff) describes preparations of various *śākas*, namely, पत्रशाकस, पुष्पशाकस, नालशाकस, कन्दशाकस and मूलशाकस. The work is interesting in as much as it describes the actual preparation of these *śākās*, and not merely gives a list with properties as in other Vaidyaka works.

The GVM. merely refers to *śalāṭṭus* of *bṛhatī-fala*, *alābu*, *kadalikusuma*, and *kadaligarbha* and does not specify whether they were *lavaṇaśākas* or *śalāṭṭuśākas*. Possibly they were *śalāṭṭuśākas*, and not mere *śalāṭṭus*, for the GVM. further refers to *lavaṇa-śākas* of *kāravella*, *śāla-fala* (*Shorea robusta*), *garjarās* (= *gājar* in Guj. and Mar., *gṛñjanaka* in Sanskrit, Carrot root) and other *śākas*.

The GPM. specifies the *kandaśākas* and the *patraśākas*. It would, therefore, be natural to suppose that all *śalāṭṭu-śākas* of the GPM. are *fala-śākas*. The *kandaśākas* of the GPM. are made of the bulbous roots (*kanda*) of *sūraṇa* (*Amorphophallus campanulatus*, *sūraṇa* in Guj., *śūraṇa* or *jimikanda* in Hindi, *sūraṇa* in Kanarese), *āluka* (may be either potatoes or another root known as अड्डु in Mar. and अळवी in Gujarati, here it possibly means potatoes since later in the text we find अर्वीमूलकन्द which is a Sanskritization of अळवी-अड्डु), *mūlaka* (= *hastidantaka*, a variety of raddish), *raktamūlakakanda*, *raktālukanda* (may be modern Guj. *ratāṭṭu*, Mar. *rātāṭṭe*, Hindi, *ratāṭṭu* or *śakarhandī*, *Batatas Esculatus* or *Batatas Edulis*), *piṇḍaka* (= *gṛñjanaka*, carrot root), *arvimūla* (may be Mar. अड्डु, great leaved caledium, *Erum Indicum*), and *pothikā* (? This may be *Potikā* or *Pantikā*, Fever-nut, Bengali *Nāṭākarañja*, *Caesalpinia crista*; C. *bonducella*.²²⁰).

²²⁰ Sen Gupta, S., *Op. cit.*, p. 197. Since *Pothikā* is here mentioned as a *kanda-śāka* and not a *patra-śāka*, we cannot take it as Guj. *Puini-Bhāji*, Skt. *Upodakī*, Indian spinach, *Basella rubra*.

The GPM. next gives a list of *patra-śāka*s, they are:—*śākinī* (? does this refer to करीर or Capparis aphylla ?), *vāstu* (may be the same as *vāstūka*=*kṣāra*-*patra*, Guj. *cīlanī bhāji*, Mar. *cākravata*, Hindi, *batluā*, white goose-foot, *Chenopodium album* ?), *upodakī* (Indian spinach, *Basella rubra*, Guj. *poi*, Mar. *mayāl*, Hindi, *poi*), *cakravarta* (? is it *cakramardda* = *prapunnāta* ? In that case it is Guj. *kunvāḍio*, Mar. *ṭākalā* or *taravaṭā*, Hindi, *cakundā* or *pamāḍa*, *Cassia tora*²²⁷) *mūlaka* (leaves of raddish), *āluka* (may refer to leaves *āluka* or अंजी, Mar. *alun*, Guj. *alavī*²²⁸), *agastya* (may be the same as *agastī* = *munidrūma*, *dirghaśimbī*, *vakrapuṣpi*, Guj. *agathio*, Mar. *agastā*, Hindi, *hatiā*, large-flowered *agati*, *Sesbania Grandiflora*. Its properties are described in *Bhāvaprakāśa* *Suśruta*, etc. If the identification is correct, then its use as a *patra-śāka* is interesting²²⁹), *śigru* (drumstick, Beng. *sajinā*, *Moringa oleifera*, Skt., *Sau-bhāñjana*²³⁰), *somavallī* (the identification of this creeper is doubtful²³¹) *kāṇḍira*²³² (?), *kusumbha* (safflower, *Carthamus tinctorius*, the *Rājanighaṅṭu* notes the properties of *kausumbha-śāka*, Gujarati *kasumbo*²³³), *kuṛaṅṭaka*

²²⁷ However, it does not seem to be same as *cakramardda*. The *Brhadyogatarāṅgiṇī* of Trimallabhaṭṭa, (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series no. 71, Poona, 1913), Vol. I. p. 156 gives the following properties of *Cakravartī-śāka* and *Cakramardam*.— अथ चक्रवर्तीशाकम् ।

चक्रवर्त्यमिश्रं शाकं गुणैर्वास्तूकवन्मतम् ॥ ३० ॥

सरं शीतं त्रिदोषघ्नं लघु दीपनपाचनम् ।

× × × अथ चक्रमर्दम्—

दद्रुघ्नं लघु स्वादु शाकं वातहरं मनम् ॥ ४२ ॥

²²⁸ For *āluka* as a *mūlaśāka*, see *Brhadyogatarāṅgiṇī*, I. p. 161, for *ālukī*, p. 160.

²²⁹ *Nighaṅṭu-Ādarśa*, I. pp. 332 ff.

²³⁰ *Brhadyogatarāṅgiṇī*, I. p. 159; Sen Gupta, S., *Op. cit.*, p. 199.

²³¹ For references to some of the identifications of Soma and for its notices in Vaidyaka works, see, *Nighaṅṭu-Ādarśa*, II. pp. 65-79. It is, however, interesting to note that a *somavallī* was used as a *patra-śāka* in the age of the GPM.

²³² Cf. *Dhanvantariya-Nighaṅṭu* (Ānandāśrama S. Series, no. 33) p. 146—

काण्डीरः काण्डकटुको नासासंवेदनः पटुः ।

उग्रकाण्डस्तोयवह्नी कारवह्नी सुकाण्डकः ॥

The *Śāligrāma-Nighaṅṭu-bhūṣana* gives *Kāravella* = *Ugrakāṇḍa*. Thus if *kāṇḍira* = *kāravella*, then it is Mar. *kārale*, Guj. *kārelā*, Hindi, *karelā*, Hairly *Mordica*, *Memor-dica* *Choratia*. It may be noted that here the reference is to a *patra-śāka*, and not to the fruits of *kāravella*.

²³³ *Nighaṅṭu-Ādarśa*, I. 644 ff. Also see, *Śāligrāma-Nighaṅṭu-Bhūṣana*, p. 883.

(= *kimkirāta* or *pitapuṣpa-saireyaka* is Guj. *kāṭāseriyo*, Barleria Prionitis²³⁴), *miśreyā* (= *miśi*, *brhayālī*, *madhurāmiśi* in Skt, Guj. *variālī*, *valiyārī* or *variyālī*, Hindi, Saunfa, Bengali, Maurī, Fenel seed, Foeniculum vulgare²³⁵), *samaṣṭhilā* (= *gaṇḍira* acc. to Amarakośa, 4.157²³⁶), *dadrughna* (= *cakramardaka*, *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi*, 1158, the same as *praṣunnāta* in Skt., *kunvāḍio* in Guj., *ṭakalā* or *taravaṭā* in Mar., *caḡundā* in Hindi, Cassia tora. *Dadrughna* as a *patra-śāka* is ref. to in *Śāligrāma-Nighaṇṭu-bhūṣaṇa* p. 882.), *vr̥ddhadāru* (= *antāhkoṣṭarapuṣpī*, *chagalāntrī*; *vardhāro* or *samudraśoṣa* in Guj., *samudrasokha* in Hindi, *Argyrea speciosa*) *śrīhastinī* (acc. to *Nighaṇṭu-ratnākara* (I, Index, p. 197), it is Mar. *thora kuraṇḍikā*, on *ibid.*, p. 219, *hastinī* is explained as Mar. *thora karañja*, *thora indrāvāṇī*, and also as *karaṇḍaka*, thus *hastinī* has three senses, and *śrī-hastinī* is probably = *hastinī*. For Mar. *thora kuraṇḍikā*, = Guj. *nāno āgio*, *Ammania Vesicatoria*, see, *Śāligrāma-Nighaṇṭu-bhūṣaṇa*, p. 1229 and for Mar. *thora karañja* = Guj. *karañja*, *ibid.*, pp. 335 ff.),²³⁷ *hilasā* (may be *hīlamocikā* = Beng. *helencā*, Hindi, *hurahuc* or *hurahula*, referred to in *Bhāvaprakāśa*, *Śodhala*, etc., *Enhydra fluctuanus*²³⁸), *tandulīyaka* (= *alpamāriṣa*, *meghanāda*, *paṇyaśāka* (Skt.), Guj. *tāndalajo*, Mar. *tāndulajā*, Hindi, *Caulāi kā śāka*, *Amaranthus Poligamous*), and *kadalī-stambha* (from plaintain tree).

The GPM. now refers to *puṣpa-śākas* of *kadalī* (banana), *agastya* (= *muni-druma*, ref. to above), and *ghṛtakumārī* (?). Thus four types of *śākas*, namely, *fala-śāka*, *kanda-śāka*, *patra-śāka* and *puṣpa-śāka*, were served to the sannyāsin in the GPM. Different Āyurvedic texts give properties of different *śākas* coming under the above classes. A comparison of such lists from Caraka, Suśruta, Vāgbhaṭa, Dhanvantari-Nighaṇṭu and still later works would give us an idea of the different *śākas* used in different times. *Śāka* is generally of six kinds as defined by Trimallabhaṭṭa in his *Bṛhadyogatarāṅgiṇī* (p. 153)—

पत्रं पुष्पं फलं कन्दं नालं भूस्वेदजं तथा ।
शाकं षड्विधमुद्दिष्टं गुरु विद्याद्यथोत्तरम् ॥

²³⁴ *Ibid*, II. pp. 219 ff. Its use as a *patra-śāka* is interesting, if the identification is correct.

²³⁵ See also, *Nighaṇṭu-Ādarśa*, I. pp. 600 ff.

²³⁶ Acc. to *Rājanighaṇṭu* it is *nadyāmra*, acc. to *Dhanvantariya-Nighaṇṭu*, p. 334,—समष्टिलश्च भण्डीरो नद्याम्रश्चाप्रगन्धकृत् । काकाप्र कण्टकिफलोऽप्युपदंशो मुनिह्वयः ॥ There is a V.L. *गण्डीर* for *भण्डीर*. Amarakośa gives *गण्डीर* = *समष्टिल* acc. to *Rāmāśramī* comm. on above, it is *गण्डरद्वी*, an *अनूपजशाकमेद*, called *गडिनी* in भाषा.

²³⁷ *Rājanighaṇṭu* (*Ānandāśrama* S. Series), p. 432 gives, for *hastinī*,—*गवादनी चैव दूर्वा गण्डदूर्वा च हस्तिनी ।*

²³⁸ *Nighaṇṭu-Ādarśa*, I. pp. 656-657 notes its use as a *patra-śāka*. *Hīlamocikā* is not ref. to in Caraka, Suśruta or Vāgbhaṭa, but is known to Amarakośa, 3.157. The *Rāmāśramī* comm. on above notes एकं 'हिलसाल' इति ख्यातस्य ।

The Bhāvaprakāśa, in the tenth varga entitled śāka-varga, gives the above verse and reads संस्वेदजं for भूस्वेदजं. It seems that only five principal divisions of śākas were commonly used in the age of the Carakasamhitā, compare—

सकपायं च सर्वं हि खादु शाकमुदाहृतम् ।
पुष्पं पत्रं फलं नालं कन्दाश्च गुरवः क्रमात् ॥

च. सं., सूत्रस्थान, अ. ४६, श्लो. २९६.

It will be interesting to note here a milk-preparation described as क्षीरशाक by Kṣemakutūhala —

चिनिष्ठदुग्धं खण्डं च तलयेत्तप्तसर्पिर्पि ।
तन्निद्रं वै खण्डसमं क्षीरशाकमिद्रं स्मृतम् ॥

श्लो. कु., १०.६९, पृ. ८९

The eighth chapter of the Kṣemakutūhala (pp. 53 ff.) gives in the general the method of preparation of different śākas and then describes how the different śākas are prepared.²³⁹

The GVM. (text, p. 25) says that first salt was served, then the *lavāṇa-śākas*. It then names several *upadamśas*, *Upadamśa* is here used, not in the sense of a (venereal) disease, but in the sense of a ' relish '.²⁴⁰ V. S. Agrawal, in his India as known to Pāṇini, p. 110, refers to the " practice of munching with food such digestive roots as radish and ginger, called *upadamśa*." I am afraid *upadamśa*, did not mean a ' spice ' as Monier-Williams Dictionary suggests, though spices like ginger and pepper could be used as *upadamśas* to be munched with food. These *upadamśas* of raddish, ginger etc., were either used without any salt etc., or possibly raddish, ginger, cucumber etc. were

²³⁹ The lists of the different śākas from Kṣemakutūhala, Bhojanakutūhala and the GPM. and the GVM. should be compared, for these will give an idea of the different śākas eaten in the 16th and 17th centuries A.D. On p. 66, the Kṣemakutūhala gives an interesting dialogue amongst three śākas, namely, *ṣoyikā*, *śatapušpā* and *methikā*.

Both the Kṣemakutūhala and the Bhojanakutūhala (Vol. I) are further noteworthy in as much as the local names are given therein along with Sanskrit classical names of the different śākas.

²⁴⁰ cf. *Monier-Williams Dict.*, (1956 ed.), p. 198, where *upa-damśam*, (ind. p.) = having taken an additional bit or morsel of, Pāṇini, iii, 4, 47 ; Kāśikā Ṛtti on Pāṇ., ii, 2, 21. *Upadamśa*, m., = anything eaten in addition (to excite thirst or appetite), a relish, spice.

Also cf. मूलकेनोपदंशं भुङ्क्ते, *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇ., iv. 1. 48 ; द्वित्रानुपदंशानुपपाद्य, *Daśakumāracarita* (Bombay), 133 ; माषान्मरिचोपदंशान्, *Suśruta*, 2. 441, 16 ; 2. 448, 14 ; 2. 487, 16 ; मांसोपदंशम्, *Suśruta*, 2. 514. 21 ; 2. 526. 4. Acc. to Nārāyaṇa Bedarkar's Comm. on Naiṣadhīyacaritam, 22. 149, even पर्वट is an उपदंश.

(cut into pieces and) salted. The GVM. mentions *upadamśas* of the following —*āmra* (mangoes), *nimbūfala* (lemon), *śṛṅguvera* (= *ārdraka*, *viśvabhaiṣajya*, Skt.; *ādu* in Guj., ginger), *sūraṇa* (noted before in *kanda-śākas*, *Amorphophallus campanulatus*), *dhātrifala* (= *āmalaḥī*, Emblic Myrobalans, *Phyllanthus emblica*, *āmbaḷān* in Guj., *āmvaḷe* in Mar., *āmbaḷā* in Hindi), *badarīfala* (= Guj. bora, Mar. bora or bahera, Hindi, ber or beri, Bengali kulabarui, jujub, *Zyziphus jujuba*), *vṛntāka* (brinjals), *karavanda* (= *karamardaka*, *kṣīrafalam*, *kañṭakī* in Skt., *karmadā* in Guj., *karavandī*, *karandā*, or *kāranda* in Mar., *karondī* in Hindi; Jasmine flowered Carissa, Carissa Carandas. Karmarda is known to *Bhāvaprakāśa*, *Vāgbhaṭa*, *Suśruta*, and others, but here since *karavanda* is used for skt. *karamardaka*, the author of the GVM. seems to have hailed from Mahārāṣṭra), *mūlaka* (raddish), *kīcakāñkura* (bamboo sprouts)²⁴¹, and *urvārūka* (also noted above in *śalāṭu-śākas* of GPM., a species of cucumber, *Cucumis Usitatissimus*).

It will be seen from the above list that *karavanda*, *kīcakāñkura* etc. would not be tasteful if munched without addition of salt. So it is not unlikely that *upadamśas* were used optionally with or without addition of salt.

The *Bojanakutūhala* of Raghunātha (c. 1650-1700 A.D.) gives a long list of *upadamśas*,²⁴² which is indeed interesting, but since it gives another list of *harītakas* in the *Harīta-prakarana*²⁴³ a confusion might arise about the original use of *śalāṭus*, *upadamśas* and *harītakas*. *Śalāṭus* are unripe fruits, *harītakas* are fresh, green, undried fruits, pot-herbs, roots etc., which are edible, while *upadamśas* may be ripe or unripe and are munched while taking meals. The *harītakas* would be *upadamśas* when munched during dinner. They can be

²⁴¹ Cf. *karīra-lavaṇa-śāham* of GPM. (text, p. 16).

²⁴² *Bhojanakutūhala*, I. pp. 110-114. The list includes नारङ्गम्, जाम्बीरम्, मधुजम्बीर, निम्बू, मातुलुङ्ग (महातुलुङ्ग), बालाम्र, क्षुद्राम्र, लवणाम्रफल, भाविका (आवडें), कटुकीफल (सोडेकार्ड), कटुकिकाफल (पकसोडेकार्ड), अलर्क (मूलसोडेकार्ड, गोरखिरिंगणी), अक्षीर or अक्षीव (व्याहडे), कतक (त्रिल्लीज), बिल्वफल, धात्री (आवडें), सल्लकीफल (सालफडें), पफण (फांपटें), महाशेलुफल (भोंकरें); वंशकरीरक (वंशजुर), माकन्द्री (मायणीमूल), भ्रमरी (भोंवरिसालि). The names in brackets are Mar. or local equivalents given in the text itself.

²⁴³ *Bhojanakutūhala*, I. pp. 108-110. The *harītas* enumerated here are :— आम्रहरितकम्, or आम्रहारीतम्, वैम्बं हरितं (तोडल्याचें हरितक), मूलकहरित, कारवेलकम् ह० (कारल्यांचे), रम्भाकाण्डज-ह०, कैड्यपत्रज-ह० (कृष्णनिम्बस्य), शृङ्गवेरस्य ह० (बालार्द्रकस्य), प्रौढार्द्रकस्य, गजकर्णाकिन्दभवं ह०, कूश्माण्डलण्डसम्भूतं सूक्ष्मं हरितकम्, असिसिम्बिफलकम् (खरशिबीकृतम्), वृन्ताकस्य, बालवृन्ताकस्य, माकन्दिकायाः (माइणीमूलजम्), पारेवतफल-ह० (उत्तमीभवम्), तोयमागधिका-ह० (जलधिपलीभवम्), कदलीफलच्छलि-ह० (कादळछल्लीजम्), सारिवाहरितमूल-ह० (वनमाइणमूलजम्), त्रपुस-ह० (सर्ववालुकानाम्), महाबदरजं ह०, बोशातकी-ह० (दोडव्याचें), पटोलभवम्.

eaten like fruits etc., even before or after meals and are not cooked or baked.²⁴⁴ This does not exclude the use of *haritas* during meals. *Haritas* were sometimes mixed with salt and spices as can be seen from the following *hārīta* of brinjals :—

वृन्ताकं खण्डितं सूक्ष्मं शृङ्गवेराम्लमिश्रितम् ।
भावितं हिङ्गुमरिचैः पट्टयुग्वातदोषनुत् ॥

—Bhojanakutūhala, p. 109.

The GPM. after referring to *puṣpa-śākas*, notes the *śalāṭuvānas* or *vānas* served in the feast. The term *śalāṭuvānas* would be puzzling since in the list only *vānas*, e.g., *kāravellavānah*, etc. (text, p. 17), are given. Possibly the author intended to say that both *śalāṭus* and *vānas* cooked in ghee were served. Since all the mss. used by us read *ghṛtapācītaśalāṭuvānāḥ*, we cannot omit the word *śalāṭu* from the text. *Vānam* is dry fruit. So dried *vānas* of *kāravella*, *bhaṅṭākī*, *kaṭhillaka*, *niṣpāva*, *rājamāṣa*, *kaṅṭakāri*, *bṛhatī*, *śimbī*, and *vandhyā*, cooked in ghee, were served. Of the above, *bhaṅṭākī* is generally taken to be the same as *kaṅṭakāri* = Guj. *bonyariṅgaṇī*, *Solanum Xanthocarpum*. But *kaṅṭakāri* also figures separately in the above list. Hence *bhaṅṭākī* must be a variety of *bonyariṅgaṇī*, so also the *bṛhatī*.²⁴⁵ *Niṣpāva* is a kind of beans, *Dolichos lablab*, and seems to be the same as *valla* = Guj. *vāla*. *Vandhyā* is not identified, does it refer to *vandhyākarkoṭakī*? The rest of the names have already been discussed before.

Now if these 'śalāṭuvānas' were cooked or fried in ghee then we might conclude that *śalāṭus* fried or cooked in ghee were similar to *fala-śākas*, but with or without addition of salt and spices whereas *vānas* fried in ghee were just like modern Gujarati *kācalī* or *sukavaṇī*, the same as *karcarīs* mentioned by the Bhojanakutūhala, Vol. I, pp. 114-115. This list of *karcarīs* includes *cirbhiṭa* (*cibhaṭa*)²⁴⁶, *kāsarā-fala* (*kadhonci*), *kāravallī*, *bṛhatī* (*ḍoralī*, *riṅgaṇī*), *vārtāka-fala*, *śamī-fala* (*śamīcyāśeṅgā*) *śvetārīfala* (*limvaracyāśeṅgā*).²⁴⁷ It will be seen

²⁴⁴ Caraka gives *haritavarga* in *Sūtrasthāna*, *adhyāya* 27. Cakrapāṇi in his comm. on above, writes: हरितानामप्यार्द्रकादीनां फलवदग्निपाकमन्तरेण भोजनस्य प्राक् पश्चाच्चोपयोगात् फलमनु हरितकथनं, फलेभ्यस्तु पश्चादभिधानं हरितस्यतृप्त्यनाधायकत्वात् ।—*Caraka-Samhitā* with comm. of Cakrapāṇi, ed. by J. T. Ācārya (3rd. ed., Bombay, 1941), p. 162.

Caraka includes आर्द्रक, जम्बीर, मूलक, सुरस, यवानी, आर्जक, शिमु, शालेय, गण्डीर, जलपिप्पली, तुम्बरु, शृङ्गवेरिका, भूरतुण, खराह, धान्यक, अजगन्धा, सुमुख, सुगन्धा, गृञ्जनक, पलाण्डु and लशुन.

²⁴⁵ See *Nighaṅṭu-Ādarśa*, II. p. 129.

²⁴⁶ Names in brackets are Marāṭhī equivalents in the text of the Bhojanakutūhala.

²⁴⁷ At the end of the list we find in the Bhojanakutūhala :—

परिशुष्कं सर्वशार्कं कार्श्यविष्टम्भवातकृत् ।

that these *karcaris* were either cooked or fried, compare—

कासराख्यफलं शुष्कं भृष्टं वा पकमेव वा ।
दीपनं रोचनं तिक्तं कट्वम्लं पित्तलं विदुः ॥ कर्षेची ।

—Bhojanakutūhala, p. 114.

Thus it will be obvious that the *karcaris* of Bhojanakutūhala are similar to the *ghṛtapācita-vānas* of the GPM.

Next were served the *kṛsarānnas* in the feast described by the GPM. It is also called *miśraudanam* and *khicaḍī* in the Bhojanakutūhala which describes it as follows :—

तण्डुला दाडिसंयुक्ता लवणाद्रकहिङ्गुभिः ।
युक्ताश्च सलिले सिद्धाः कृसराः कथिता बुधै ॥
कृसरा शुक्रला बल्या गुरुपित्तकफप्रदा ।
दुर्जरा बहुविष्टम्भमलमूत्रकरी स्मृता ॥²⁴⁸ खिचडी, मिश्रौदनम् ।

—Bhojanakutūhala, I, p. 27.

About *Miśraudana*, the same text further states—‘मिश्रैश्शुक्रशिम्बीधान्यैरोदनो मिश्रको मतः ।’ इत्यभिधानात् । *Kṛsarānna* is *Khicaḍī* in Guj. and Mar., *Khicari* in Hindi. *Kṛsarā* in Vaidyaka works is classified under *Kṛtānnavarga*.²⁴⁹ Caraka does not mention it under *Kṛtānnavarga* but *Suśruta* does so. Bhojanakutūhala describes it in the *Odanaprakarāṇa*. The latter text also gives the following description of *Kṛsarānna*—

तण्डुलार्धं मुद्गभिन्नं वारिणा सह सम्पचेत् ।
युक्तं मरीचचूर्णेन तिलचूर्णं विनिक्षिपेत् ॥
इदं कृसरनामात्रमित्याख्यातं मुनीश्वरैः ॥

The *Kṣemakutūhala*, 6.45-47, p. 33 describes it as under :—

तन्दुलैः षष्टिसम्भूतैः कण्डितैर्न च खण्डितैः ।
अष्टभागयुतैर्मुद्गैः संयुक्तैर्द्वादशांशकैः ॥ ४५ ॥
सार्द्रा नार्द्रा सुसन्धाना सबाह्वीका वराग्विता ।
सस्नेहा कामिनीवेयं कृशरा शिशिरे हिता ॥ ४६ ॥
कृशरा दुर्जरा बल्या गुर्भां वातविनाशिनी ।
बलपुष्टिमलश्लेष्मपित्तविष्टम्भकृत्सरा ॥ ४७ ॥

The *Kṣemakutūhala* describes *कर्चरी* as under :—

क्षाराभ्रकृतसंस्कारा शुष्का स्नेहविपाचिता ।
अरोचकादिरोगाणां कर्चरी कण्ठकर्तरी ॥ ४८ ॥
कर्चरी रुचिकृद्बल्या सुस्वादी त्वतिलेखनी ।

उष्णा पित्तकरा प्रोक्ता कफकृत्सारका स्मृता ॥ ४९ ॥ क्षे. कु. पृ. ३३.

²⁴⁸ The verses occur in *Bhāvaprakāśa*, *Miśraprakarāṇa*, *kṛtānnavarga*.

²⁴⁹ Cf. *Suśrutasaṃhitā* (ed. by J. T. Acharya, Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay, 1945. Text only), I. 46.346.

The Bṛhadyogatarāṅgī of Trimallabhaṭṭa, 16. 64-67, describes माषतण्डुलकृशरा and मुद्गतण्डुलकृशरा. The verses are almost the same, but Trimallabhaṭṭa writes तण्डुलैर्मोक्तिकाकारैः for तण्डुलैर्वैष्टिसम्भूतैः and चतुर्थभगैर्माषस्य for अष्टभागयुतैर्भुद्रेः above.

Kṛsarāna or Kṛsarāna is a very old dish in India, known to Mahābhārata, XII. 36.33, Manusmṛti, 5.7; Buddhacarita, 2.36, etc. It is also known to Uṇādi, 3.72 and Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini, 8.3.59, Ṣaḍvimsā Brāhmaṇa, V. 2 and Gṛhya-sūtras like Āśvalāyana Gṛh. sū., 2.4.5, etc.²⁵⁰ The Gobhila Gṛh. sū. II. 7. 9-11 says that the wife should eat *kṛsarā* mixed with ghee at the time of the Sīmantonnayana ceremony. But possibly this was a dish of rice cooked with sesamum seeds and milk.²⁵¹ Thus Kṛsarā could be grouped under *Odanas*. In fact, as will be seen from the list of *kṛsarānnas* given by the GPM. (text, p. 17), दध्यन्नम्, माषपर्पटपिष्टान्नम्, अम्लान्नम्, घृतान्नम् etc., did not necessarily include pulses (दालिवैदलस) in cooked rice, with दधि, घृत or माषपर्पटपिष्टम् etc., but might have been rice cooked with curds, ghee, māṣaparpaṭapīṣṭam etc. These have been called *kṛsarānnas* in the general sense of an *odana* or in the sense of rice cooked with sesamum seeds etc. Viewed in this light we can explain दध्यन्नम् = rice cooked with curds, माषपर्पटपिष्टान्नम् = rice cooked along with a paste of *parpaṭas* (dried cakes) of beans, अम्लान्नम् = rice cooked with tamarind or any such sour ingredient, घृतान्नम् = rice cooked with ghee, सिद्धार्थपिष्टान्नम् = rice cooked with paste of rapeseeds (Guj. *sarasava*) तिलपिष्टान्नम् = rice cooked paste of sesamum, and so on. Now these could also be prepared by adding घृत or तिल or माषपर्पटपिष्टम् or माषपिष्टम् in the ingredients of a modern खिचड़ी, but the addition of further माषपिष्टम् in खिचड़ी would not only be not especially tasteful but would be rather superfluous. So the sense suggested before would be more appropriate.

Viewed in this light, the माषपिष्टान्नम् of GPM. can be compared with तापहरी,²⁵²

²⁵⁰ For further references, see, Bothlingk and Roth, *Sanskrit Worterbuch*, I. p. 422. *Kṛsarā* is spelt also as *Kṛśarā* which is not allowed according to Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini, 8.3.49.

²⁵¹ Cf :—कृसरापि तिलौदने ।—*Hārāvalī-Kośa* (Calcutta ed.), 169.

तुल्यौ तिलान्ने कृसरत्रिसरौ ।—Hemacandra's *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi*, 398.

According to *Vedic Index*, I. p. 185, Kṛsara, a term denoting a mess of rice and sesamum often mentioned in the Sūtras, occurs in the Ṣaḍvimsā Brāhmaṇa. Ram Gopal, in *India of the Vedic Kalpasūtras*, pp. 164-65 suggests that Kṛsara was a dish of rice with sesamum seeds and milk and refers to Gobhila Gṛh. sū. II. 9.5 for his explanation. But the text of the Gobhila Gṛh. sū., though it refers to Kṛsara, does not explain its ingredients, nor the mode of preparation. Also see *Apte's Skt. Eng. Dict.* (Rev. ed. Poona, 1957), p. 600.

²⁵² According to the Hindi commentary of Bhāvaprakāśa in the Kaśī Sanskrit Series ed. (Benares, 1938) this is known as ताताहरी in Hindi.

a preparation included in कृतान्नवर्ग by Bhāvaprakāśa and also given by Bhojanakutūhala in the ओदनवर्ग,²⁵³ along with कृसरान्न. It is as follows :—

घृते हरिद्रासंयुक्ते माषजां भर्जयेद्वटीम् ॥ ११ ॥
 तण्डुलांश्चापि निर्धौतान्सहैव परिभर्जयेत् ।
 सिद्धयोग्यं जलं तत्र प्रक्षिप्य कुशलः पचेत् ॥ १२ ॥
 लवणार्द्रकहिङ्गानि मात्रया तत्र निक्षिपेत् ।
 एषा सिद्धिं समायाता प्रोक्ता तापहरी बुधैः ॥ १३ ॥

भावप्रकाश, मिश्रप्रकरण, १२.११-१३.

In the ओदनप्रकरण, the Bhojanakutūhala, (pp. 26-29) describes the *bhakta*, *māmsodana*, *rasodana*, *mudgodana*, *kṛsarā* or *miśraudana*, *tāpaharī*, and quotes from a work Kriyāsāra which describes the following six varieties of *odanas*—*paramānna* of rice, milk and molasses, *haridrānna* of rice, *mathita* and *haridrā*, *dadhodyodana* of rice, curds, pepper, salt and ginger, *kṛsarānna* of rice, mudga, pepper and sessamum seeds, *guḍānna* of rice, milk and *guḍa* (molasses), and *bhūtodana* of rice, curds, *saktu*, *tila*, etc. These may be compared with the GPM. list of *kṛsarānnas*. The GVM. only refers to *odana* of the best small rice (*śālitaṇḍula*).

After this the *śāli-anna* was served and then were served the different *sūpas* (GPM., text, p. 17). According to V. S. Agrawala, Śāli is ' a kind of rice growing in winter which is replanted and called *jaḍahana*.'²⁵⁴ According to Vedic Index, p. 376, Śāli is a later word for rice. It is not known in the Samhitās. Vrihi, in the sense of rice is also absent in the Ṛgveda, but is frequently alluded to in the Atharvaveda and later.²⁵⁵ Carāka-Samhitā, Sūtra-sthāna, adhy. 27, Śūkadhānyavarga, gives a long list of different varieties of rice, which includes रक्तशालि, महाशालि, कलम, शकुनाह्न, सुगन्धिकर, etc.²⁵⁶ A variety called षष्टिक was so called because it grew in sixty days, it was of both white and dark

²⁵³ For *odana*, see, Agrawala, V. S., *India as known to Pāṇini*, pp. 104 f. Puri, B. N., *India in the time of Patañjali*, pp. 95-96 for *odana* and *kṛsara*.

For *Odana*, also see, *Vedic Index*, I. (London, 1912), p. 124. क्षीरौदन, दध्यौदन, तिलौदन, मुद्गौदन etc. are known to Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣadas, etc.

²⁵⁴ *India as known to Pāṇini*, pp. 102-103. Śāli is referred to in Pāṇini, V. 2. 2.

²⁵⁵ For references, see *Vedic Index*, II. p. 345.

²⁵⁶ Also see Suśruta, I. chp. 46 for different varieties of Śāli and Vrihi. For some of the later varieties of rice, see *supra*, foot note 38. षष्टिक is the same as साठी referred to in *Varnakasamuccaya* (ed. by B. J. Sandesara), I. pp. 5, 176, 185. Some of the varieties noted in the various texts published in the above volume are—कनडी, कमोद, करडीयो, कलम, बुकणी, कौमुदी, जीरा, राधभोग, वागडी, मुग्ध, राजान्न, सुवर्ण etc.

varieties. According to Caraka, पथिक was obtained in the following varieties—वरक, उद्लक, चीन, शारद, उज्ज्वल, दर्दुर, गन्धक and कुरुविन्द. Caraka also refers to vrihi as a special variety. Suśruta (Sūtra-sthāna, 46.7) mentions Mahāśāli, which was perhaps a kindred variety of Mahāvrihi referred to in Pāṇini, VI. 2.38. Patañjali praises the śāli rice grown in Magadha (Mahābhāṣya, I. 19). Hiuen-tsang referred to an unusual sort of rice grown in Magadha, the grains of which were large, fragrant and of exquisite taste.²⁵⁷

The GPM then refers to *sūpas*. The GVM. (text, p. 27) also refers to *śuddha-ādhakī-sūpa*. *Sūpas* or soups (like modern Guj. दाळ) are well-known from ancient times.²⁵⁸ *Sūpa* is prepared by boiling pulses like *mudga*, *māṣa*, etc. Incidentally it may be noted that *Yūṣa* (broth) occurring in the description of horse-sacrifice in RV. YV. etc., denotes broth made from flesh of animals, and was used as food.²⁵⁹ But Suśruta, sūtrasthāna, 46. 367-381 seems to refer to vegetarian *Yūṣas* when it refers to *mudgayūṣa*, *paṭola-yūṣa*, *nimbayūṣa*, *mūlaka-yūṣa*, *kulattha-yūṣa* etc.²⁶⁰ Preparations of different *sūpas* are described in *Pākadarpaṇa* ascribed to Nala.²⁶¹ The *Kṣemakutūhala*, utsava 6, vv. 24 ff. (p. 31) also describes the different *sūpas*. For preparations of various vegetarian *Yūṣas*, see, *Nighaṇṭa-Ratnākara*, I. pp. 21 ff., and for different *sūpas*, *Bhojanakutūhala*, I. pp. 31-33; and *Bṛhadyogataraṅgiṇī*, 16. 41-59, pp. 68 ff.

Next were served the *pāyasa-annas*. These included different *pāyasānnas* prepared with various wheat-preparations, *pāyasānna* of rice and *pāyasānna* of *priyaṅgu*. Thus wheat, rice or *priyaṅgu* were boiled in milk and served. *Pāyasānna* is like modern *Kṣīra* (*Khīra*) or like the *Dūdhapāka*. The *Bhojanakutūhala*, I. p. 30 describes *Kṣīri* and *Nārikerakṣīri*. Milk of cows, buffaloes, goats, camels etc. was used in diet and for medicinal purposes. Properties of all these are described in various *Vaidyaka* works. The *Bhojanakutūhala*, I. pp. 125-135 has a chapter called *kṣīra-prakarāṇa*. The *Nighaṇṭa-Ratnākara*, I. p. 26 refers to *kṣīrikā*, *pāvāsa*, *nārikelā-kṣīri* and *godhūma-kṣīrikā*. The GVM. (text, p. 26) says that seven types of *pāyasānnas* prepared from different preparations of wheat were served, as also *pāyasānnas* of only *māṣa*,

²⁵⁷ Beal, *Siyuki*, II. 82. Also see, *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 103.

²⁵⁸ *Sūpa* is also used in the sense of a sauce or condiment, see, *Apte's Skt. Eng. Dict.* (Rev. ed.), p. 1699.

²⁵⁹ *Vedic Index*, II. p. 195.

²⁶⁰ *Suśruta-Samhitā* (text only, Nirṇayasāgar Press ed., Bombay, 1945), pp. 245-246. See also, *Aṣṭāṅgahydaya*, I. 6. 31 ff. and comm. of Aruṇadatta.

²⁶¹ *Pāka-Darpaṇa*, by Mahārāja Nala, (Kāshī Sanskrit Series, No. 1, Benares, 1915), pp. 11-12.

or *taṇḍula* or *priyaṅgu* were served. *Pāyasa* is an ancient preparation known to *Gṛhyasūtras*.²⁶²

Trimallabhaṭṭa describes preparation of *pāyasa* in the following manner—

अर्धावशिष्टे कथनाद् दुग्धेऽष्टांशान्मुतण्डुलान् ॥ ६८ ॥
पचेन्नातिद्रवघनं परमान्नमिदं स्मृतम् ।
पायसं दुर्जरं बल्यं धातुपुष्टिप्रदं गुरु ॥ ६९ ॥
विष्टम्भि पित्तरक्ताग्निमास्तान्निर्दरेत्कमात् ।

—*Bṛhadhyogatarāṅgiṇī*, 16, 68-70, p. 71.²⁶³

Incidentally one may note here several other dishes prepared from or with milk described in later texts. The *Bṛhadhyogatarāṅgiṇī* describes स्नेहदुग्धसक्तुः, क्षीरवटी, क्षीरमोदक, स्वादुलङ्कुः, दुग्धमण्डक, दुग्धकरञ्जिका and क्षीरशाकम्.²⁶⁴

The *Kṣemakutūhala*, 12.5-6 describes a नारङ्गक्षीरिणी, and in verses 7-10 it describes a नालिकेरक्षीरिका. The same text, in utsava 10, verses 56-72, pp. 88-89, describes preparations of निस्नेहसक्तुः, क्षीरसक्तुः, क्षीरवटकवटी, क्षीरलङ्कुः, स्वादुलङ्कुः, रोचकदुग्धगोलकः, क्षीरकासारः, क्षीरतिलावनम्, कुशारागर्भकम्, क्षीरदलम्, क्षीरशाकम्, and नृपयोग्यक्षीरशाकम्. A thick variety of क्षीर called जाडरि is referred to in the *Padmāvata* of *Jāyasī*.²⁶⁵

²⁶² *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya sūtra*, 2.3.4; *Pāraskara Gṛh. sū.*, 2.15; 3.19. *Pāyasa* and *Kṣīra* were sometimes taken loosely to denote the same dish, cf. पायसं परमान्नं च क्षैरेयी । *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi*, 406, and Hemacandra's comm. on it. क्षीरपाकमोदनम् is mentioned in the *RV*. VIII. 77.10.

²⁶³ Some interesting *pāyasa* preparations are given in *Nalāpākadarpoṇa*, [pp. 45 ff. The *Kṣemakutūhala*, describes a चन्द्रप्रभा-क्षीरिका as under—

शुभेऽर्धकथिते दुग्धे घृताक्तान्तण्डुलान्यसेत् ।
संसिद्धा मधुसंसिक्ता क्षीरी चन्द्रप्रभा भवेत् ॥ १ ॥
कुङ्कुमं च विनिक्षिप्य पचेत्पीतत्वहेतुना ।
चंद्रप्रभाकृतिः क्षीरी रक्तपित्तविनाशिनी ॥
विष्टम्भजननी बल्या धातुपुष्टिप्रदायिनी ।

—*Kṣemakutūhala*, 12.1-3, p. 100

and राजपायसम्—

निर्नारपाचितपयः प्रहिताष्टभागं
त्रयामाकृतण्डुलनवं निभृतान्तरोष्मा । .
तत्पायसं सरसमावसथं सुधायाः
को लेढि भूपतिमृते घृतखण्डसाकम् ॥ ३ ॥
पायसं दुर्जरं बल्यं धातुपुष्टिविवर्धनं ।
विष्टम्भजननं हन्ति रक्तपित्ताग्निमास्तान् ॥ ४ ॥

—*Kṣemakutūhala*, 12.3-4, p. 100.

²⁶⁴ *Bṛhadhyogatarāṅgiṇī*, 16.82-95.

²⁶⁵ *Padmāvata*, ed. with notes by V. S. Agrawala, 284.7, pp. 270-71.

The same text also refers to मोरंडा which are sweet-balls prepared with milk and curds.²⁶⁶

In the GPM.—feast were served two *parpaṭikās* fried in the ghee. The *parpaṭikās* are crisp cakes prepared from rice, *mudga* or *māṣa* pastes and then sun-dried. The pastes are generally prepared by adding water to the flour, and oil is used in preparing cakes from pastes. Known as *pāpaḍa* or *pāpaḍī* in Guj. Mar. and Hindi, the *parpaṭas* are at least as old as Caraka, they are referred to in *Naiṣadhīyacaritam* of Śrīharṣa²⁶⁷. The *Bhāvaprakāśa*, 12.44-47 describes the preparations of *parpaṭas* as follows :—

मायाणां दालयस्तोये स्थापितास्त्यक्तकञ्चुकाः ।
 आतपे शोपिता यन्त्रे पिष्टस्ता धूमसी स्मृता ॥ ३७ ॥
 धूमसीरचिता हिङ्गुहरिद्रालवणैर्युक्ताः ।
 जीरकस्वजिकाम्ब्यां च तनूकृत्य च वेहिताः ॥ ४४ ॥
 पर्पटास्ते सदाङ्गारभृष्टाः परमरोचकाः ।
 दीपनाः प्राचना रूक्षा गुरवः किञ्चिदीरिताः ॥ ४५ ॥
 मोद्गाश्च तद्गुणाः प्रोक्ता विशेषालवणे हिताः ॥ ४६ ॥
 चगकस्य गुणैर्युक्ताः पर्पटाश्चणकौद्भवाः ।
 स्नेहभृष्टास्तु ते सर्वे भवेयुर्मध्यमा गुणैः ॥ ४७ ॥

The *Kṣemakutūhala*, 6. 39-40, p. 32 refers to preparation of *parpaṭas* of *mudga* and says that they were either baked on fire or fried in oil. *Trimallabhaṭṭa* refers to *parpaṭas* of *mudga*, *māṣa* and *lauḍula*.²⁶⁸

After *parpaṭas* were served the various *śākinī-rasas* followed by *kvathikās*. Probably these *śākinī-rasas* were like the *mūlaka-yūṣa* etc. described by *Suśruta*, referred to above. *Vaidyaka* works seem to take *sūpa*, *yūṣa* and *rasa* all differently.²⁶⁹ *Sūpa* seems to have been like modern *dāla* (of various pulses)

²⁶⁶ Acc. to V. S. Agrawala, see, *ibid.*, pp. 270-71.

²⁶⁷ *Caraka-Samhitā*, I. 27.271. Also cf. तिलतिलकितपर्पटाभमिन्दुम् । *Naiṣadhīyacaritam*, 22.149. *Nārāyaṇa Bedarkar* commenting writes :

तिलैः संजाततिलकः तिलैरेव तिलकवान्कृते वा यः पर्पटः ।
 शालितण्डुलपिष्टरचितश्चिपिटस्तिलसंकुलीसंज्ञ उपदंशविशेषः ॥

N.C. (*Nirnaya Sagar Press*, Bombay, 4th ed., 1912), p. 526. The शालिपर्पट्स are at present known as सालेवडा or पापड़ी in Guj. Also see, *Varnākasamuccaya*, Vol. II, p. 18. For preparations of पर्पट्स, मुद्गपर्पट्स and तण्डुलपर्पट्स see *Bṛhadyogatarāṅgiṇī*, 16.60-63, pp. 70-71.

²⁶⁸ *Bṛhadyogatarāṅgiṇī*, 16. 60-63, pp. 70-71.

²⁶⁹ cf. Comm. on *Arunadatta* on *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* (*Nirnayasagar Press*, Bombay, 1891), 6. 31., p. 46—विद्याद्यै रसे सूपे शाके चैवोत्तरोत्तरम् । गौरवं तनुसान्द्राम्लस्वादुष्वेपु पृथक्तया ।

which is thick, *yāṣa* like broth (something like modern Guj. *Osāmaṇa*) and *rasa* meaning juice or extract.²⁷⁰

Kvathikā is a stew or decoction, various *kvāthas* of medicinal use are prescribed in Vaidyaka texts. Here *kvathikā* is modern Guj. Mar. and Hindi *kaḍhī*, usually gram-flour boiled in water with curds or butter-milk and salt, spices etc. added. The Manusmṛti, 6. 20 says—पक्षान्तयोर्वाऽप्यश्रीयाचवागूं कथितां सकृत् । *Kvathikās* were prepared not only from gram-flour but possibly from flours of other pulses or grains, and various condiments and spices added. The Nighanta-Ratnākara, I. p. 24, calls it *Kathikā* and describes three varieties. The Bhāva-prakāśa, 6. 12. 69-70, calls it *kvathitā* and describes the preparation. Suṣeṇa in his *Annapānavidhi* refers to two other varieties of *kvathikā*.²⁷¹ The GVM. (text, p. 26) refers to *kvāthi* flavoured with *vyāñjanas*.

It may be remembered that *Kvāthi* may also refer to a preparation of salt, *jīraka*, dried ginger and tamarind dissolved in water, and boiled. Some more spices can be added according to taste. *Kvathikās* need not necessarily contain gram-flour as one of the ingredients as in modern usual Gujarati *kaḍhī*. In the GPM. we find that *kvathikās* with *takra*, *āmalakī*, *tintiṇī*, *dāḍimarasa*, or *marīcasāra* as a principal ingredient were served. Then the butter-milk prepared from buffalo-milk was served. Then were served various sweet-meats cooked and prepared with ghee (*ghṛtapācitapakvānnāni*).

To this a question is asked: 'What were the *bhaksyās* served?' In reply the Sannyāsin refers to different *vaṭakās*, *maṇḍakās*, *laḍukās*, *śaṣkulīs*, *modakas*, *apūpas*, *piṣṭakās* and *atirasas*. It would thus be obvious that the different sweets cooked in ghee and other cooked preparations like *vaṭakas*, *apūpas*, *modakas* etc. all came under the classification of *bhaksya*.

In the GVM. the order of reference or service is different. After *lavāṇa-śākās* were served in order, the *māṣavaṭakas*, the different *vaṭikās*, then the *parpaṭas*, the *dadhivaṭakas*, etc., the *methikūṭa*, the *odana* of rice, the soup of *āḍhaki* followed by different kinds of *bhaksyas*. Some of the noteworthy varieties of these *bhaksyas* included *pūrṇagarbhas*, *maṇḍakas*, *laḍukas*, *ghṛtapācitamāṣavaṭakas*, *anārisās*, *śaṣkulīdadhikās*, *pūrikās*, *apūpas*, etc. These were followed by another type of food known as *lehyās*. These were further followed by *parpa-*

²⁷⁰ But acc. to Hemacandra, सूपः स्यात्प्रहितं सूदः । *Abhi. Cin.* 397 and अथ यूयूषो रसः । *Abhi. Cin.* (ed. by Vijayakastura sūri, Ahmedabad, 1956), 404. Hemcandra in his own comm. (Bhavnagara ed. of *Abhi. Cin.*, vol. I., p. 167) quotes वैजयन्ती—“यूषोऽस्ती यूः पुमान् रसे ।” and writes रस्यन्ते रसो मुद्रादीनाम् । Thus यूष and रस sometimes denoted similar preparations.

²⁷¹ Suṣeṇa's *Āyurveda Mahodadhi—Annapānavidhi* (Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Series, Tanjore, 1950), pp. 84-85.

tikās and sugar-coated *pūrikās*, *laḍukās* and *petakās*. Really speaking these items mentioned after *lehyās* should precede them. I would therefore suggest an emendation that the expression जिह्वालेह्याः परिविधिषे (text p. 25) should rather be read after अत ऊर्ध्वं नानाविधानि भक्ष्याणि परिविधिषे, on text p. 26.

Now what are *bhakṣyas*? A controversy about what is *bhakṣya* and what is *bhojya* continues. Earlier texts like the Caraka-Samhitā, the Suśruta-Samhitā, or the Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha, etc., do not describe dishes separately under *bhakṣya*, *bhojya*, *coṣya*, *lehya*, etc. They refer to *śāka-varga*, *fala-varga* *dhānya-varga* etc., and to *kṛtānavarga* (cooked foods). *Bhaktam* is often used in the sense of *annam* (food) as in भिस्ता स्त्री भक्तमन्वोऽन्नमोदनोऽञ्जी स दीदिविः i Amarakośa, 2. 9. 48 (Nirṇayasagara ed., 1944, with Rāmāśramī comm.), ²⁷² and *Bhojanam* is explained as....जग्धिस्तु भोजनम् । जेमनं लेह आहारो निघसो न्याद इत्यपि । ²⁷³.

Suśruta however gives a *bhakṣyavarga* (Suśruta., I. 46. 392ff) after *kṛtānavarga*. In Suśruta I. 46. 493 we find पेयलेह्याद्यभक्ष्यणां गुरु विद्याद्यथोत्तरम् । which the commentary of Dalhaṇa explains as पेयं पानीयादि, लेह्यं मध्वादि, अद्यं भक्तादि, भक्ष्यं मोदकादि । ²⁷⁴ Here possibly अद्यं or भक्तादि refers *Bhojyas*. In another context, Suśruta writes— आदौ फलानि भुञ्जीत दाडिमादीनि बुद्धिमान् । ततः पेयांस्ततो भोज्यान्मध्वाश्चित्रांस्ततः परम् । Here Dalhaṇa says भोज्यं रक्तशाल्यादि । ²⁷⁵. Thus it seems that भोज्य referred to principal ancient Indian dish like भक्तम् or boiled rice. Bhāvaprakāśa, 6. 12. 5-6, uses *bhaktam* in the same sense of *bhāta* (Guj. Mar. Hindi) or cooked rice. This sense of cooked rice for *bhakta* is seen in Pāṇini, sūtra IV. 4. 100 which prescribes a suffix to denote a thing that is good for *bhakta* (Bhaktāṅ-ṅah). Kāśikā's examples *bhāktah sālih* and *bhāktastanḍulah* show that bhakta here stands for boiled rice.

V. S. Agrawala has shown that in the Jātakas (*yāgubhattādīni*, *Takkula Jāt.* IV. 43) and in the Arthaśāstra II. 24, the word primarily denoted *anna* as in Pāṇini, VI. 2. 71. ²⁷⁶

Pāṇini VII. 3.69 shows that *bhojya* is irregularly derived in the sense of *bhakṣya*. A controversy arose on this point which V. S. Agrawala has summarised as follows ²⁷⁷ :—

Kātyāyana raises an objection that *bhakṣya* is not to be taken as a synonym of *bhojya*, since *bhojya* includes all articles of diet, both solid and liquid, while *bhakṣya* denotes only solid food....Patañjali disagrees with

²⁷² Hemacandra also writes भक्तमन्त्रे च तत्परि । *Abhi. Cin.* 395.

²⁷³ Amara., 2. 9. 55.

²⁷⁴ *Suśruta Samhitā* with comm. of Dalhaṇa, (Nirṇayasāgar ed., Bombay, 1915), p. 212.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, I. 46. 461, p. 210.

²⁷⁶ *India As Known To Pāṇini*, p. 99.

²⁷⁷ *India As Known To Pāṇini*, pp. 100 f.

Kātyāyana and defends Pāṇini by saying that in such older examples as *ab-bhakṣa* and *vāyu-bhakṣa* even non-solid substances occur as the object of *bhakṣaṇa*, and hence Pāṇini's idiom in equating *bhojya* with *bhakṣya* is unobjectionable. All subsequent commentators have accepted Patañjali's liberal interpretation of *bhakṣya* in this sūtra, namely, that it stands for both solid and liquid food. Dr. Goldstücker, however, raised his voice of dissent against Patañjali and maintained that 'in Pāṇini's time, which preceded the classical epoch, *bhakṣya* must have been used as convertible term for *bhojya*; while at Kātyāyana's period his rendering became incorrect, and the the sūtra needed correction' (Pāṇini and his place in Sanskrit Lit., p. 97). Dr. Goldstücker's statement, however, does not hold good for the whole of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, since in Pāṇini's own sūtra II. 1.35 (*bhakṣyeṇa miśrīkaraṇam*) as read with IV. 2.16 (*Samskr̥tam bhakṣāh*), *bhakṣya* denotes solid food only and not liquids, as is evident from the illustration in the *Bhāṣya* (I. 387) which is accepted by all subsequent commentators (cf. *Kāśikā*, IV. 1.16—*khara-viśadam abhyavahāryam bhakṣyam ityuchyate*; also II. 1.35). Here *bhakṣya* cannot be said to be strictly synonymous with *bhojya*, if, as rightly argued, *bhojya* included both liquid and solid diets.

Agrawala further writes—"The correct view, we submit, is that *bhakṣya* has a two-fold sense in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, a more general sense in sūtra VII. 3.69 and a restricted one elsewhere. As for the contention of Dr. Goldstücker (*ibid.*, p. 97) that in the classical language *bhakṣya* is different from *bhojya* and applies to solid food only, we submit the following three examples from Kauṣilya, where exactly as in Pāṇini both meanings prevail side by side;

- (a) *Māmsa-surā-bhakṣya-bhojana* (*Arthaśāstra* text, p. 214), *i.e.* eating of meat and other solid foods and drinking of liquors;
- (b) *Sūdo bhakṣakāro vā bhakṣa-bhojanam yāceta* (*ibid.*; p. 239), *i.e.*, the cook or one who prepares food may ask for some *bhakṣa* and *bhojana*.
- (c) *Bhakṣyeṣu smarati* (p. 252), *i.e.*, the king at meals remembers (his courtier).

In the above examples (a) and (b) distinguish between the meanings of *bhakṣya* and *bhojya* while (c) uses *bhakṣya* as synonymous with food in general. It is this latter sense that holds good in Pāṇini's sūtra VII. 3.69".²⁷⁸

Agrawala further writes, "For the rest of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* Pāṇini has distinguished *bhakṣya* (II. 1. 35) from *anna* (food in general, II. 1. 34), and it is, therefore, right to take it as denoting *khādyā* (eatable or solid) articles only. Pāṇini's own examples of *bhakṣyas* as given in sūtra VI. 2. 128 are (1) *palala*

²⁷⁸ *India As Known To Pāṇini*, p. 101.

(meat), (2) *sūpa* (pulses) and (3) *śāka* (vegetables), which are compounded with words denoting relish-giving articles of diet like *ghṛta*, *gūḍa*, etc." ²⁷⁹

We might add that while *bhojana* has the sense of a full dinner, complete meal, satisfying hunger, *bhakṣaṇa* has the general sense of eating, not necessarily fully satisfying hunger. Hence the feeding of Brāhmins in śrāddha etc., would be enjoined with the words '*brāhmaṇān bhojayet*' and not '*brāhmaṇān bhakṣayet*.' So it may be suggested that while "bhojya" could be used for "bhakṣya" the converse was not always possible. ²⁸⁰ Further investigation into the problem is necessary. None of the earlier Vaidyaka writers have given a list of bhojyas though they believe in the classification of all articles of food into four groups, namely, *bhakṣya*, *bhojya* or *adya*, *peya* and *lehya*. The fifth group, viz., *coṣya* seems to be a later addition.

Śuśruta has treated *bhakṣya-varga* separately from *kṛtānavarga*. In the former class Śuśruta includes the following—क्षीरकृतभक्ष्य, (including घृतपूर), गुडकृतभक्ष्य, मधुपस्तक (मधुशीर्षक), संयाव (Hindi, Guj. Mar. हलवा or हलुवा), पूष (fried cakes, e. g., मालपुवा, मालपुडा), मोदक, सट्टक (like श्रीखण्ड), विष्यन्दन, सामित-पदार्थ, (फेनक etc.), पूर्णा, पालक शकुली (cakes), पैष्टिक-पदार्थ, वैदल preparations, कुत्रिकाविकृतभक्ष्य (e.g. रसगुल्ले, गुलाब जामुन etc.), विरूढधान्यकृतभक्ष्य (both घृतपाचित and तैलपाचित), फल-मांस-दधु-मापादि-उपरकृतभक्ष्य, किलाटकृतभक्ष्य, कुलमाष, वाख्य, धान, and उलुम्ब, सक्तु, लाजा, पृथुका, and ताण्डुलं विष्टम्. ²⁸¹

Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya, II. 3. 66 says भोज्यधातूनां परिवृत्तिस्तु चक्रवत्। Commenting on the word भोज्य here, Arunadatta writers—भोज्यशब्देनेह यस्य धातोर्थे आहारस्तस्य सर्वस्य ग्रहणम्। Bhojya is thus a compatible thing, an edible which is the usual or principle dish of a people, possibly the staple food. In this sense possibly *bhojya* was equated with *bhaktam* or cooked rich which was and still is the staple dish of some people.

Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha, ²⁸² sūtrasthāna, 10. 44. 46, says—दक्षिणपार्श्वे भक्ष्यं स्थापयेत्। सन्ध्ये पेयं लेह्यं मुखोद्वर्षणापिण्डी च। मध्ये भोज्यमिति। This suggests that by *bhojyam* cooked rice is possibly intended, for even to day, in many places in India, rice is served in the centre of the dish.

²⁷⁹ Agrawala, *Ibid.*, p. 101.

²⁸⁰ I am thankful to my colleague Shri J. S. Pade-Shastri for this suggestion.

²⁸¹ For an explanation of these items with identifications of some along with quotations from sanskrit texts, see, *Śuśruta-Samihitā*, with Hindi Comm. of Kavirāja Dr. Ambikādatta Shastri (Kashi Sanskrit series, vol. 156, Banaras, (1954), vol. I. pp. 214-216.

²⁸² *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha*, ed. by Ramcandra Shastri Kinjavadekar, (Chitraśālā Press, Poona, 1940), *Sūtrasthāna*, p. 118.

This interpretation of *bhojya* is further corroborated by the comm. on Suśruta, I. 46, 46r, in which Dalhaṇa explains *bhojyam* = *raktaśāli-ādi*.

Pāṇini, Dhātupāṭha, 1568, भुज-पालनाभ्यवहारयोः shows that √bhuj had the general sense of *abhyavahāra* or eating and, therefore, *bhojya* can be anything that is eatable. Thus *bhojya* included both solids and liquids. Now, Pāṇini, Dhātupāṭha, no. 959, भक्ष-अदने (1 conj.), and no. 1667, भक्ष-अदने (10 conj.) shows that possibly Pāṇini had in his mind some finer distinction between *abhyavahāra* and *adana*. *Abhyavahāra* possibly had the sense of *bhojana*.

A study of all the references to Pāṇini given by V. S. Agrawala, and referred to above, shows, however, that in none of these sūtras, Pāṇini has unequivocally taken *bhakṣyam* in the sense of solid food only and in the sūtra VI. 2. 128 (also referred to by Agrawala) actually Pāṇini includes *sūpa* in *bhakṣya* but *sūpa* is not solid. Agrawala's remarks, therefore, that " *bhakṣya* has a two-fold sense in the Aṣṭādhyāyī, and a more general sense in sūtra VII. 3. 69, and a restricted sense elsewhere " have to be reconsidered. We hope students of grammar will throw more light on the subject. It may however be noted that at least Kātyāyana as interpreted by Patañjali took *bhakṣya* in the sense of *khara-viṣada* or solid food only.

It might have been an accident that the example of *guḍa-samsṛṣṭa-dhānā* given by Patañjali, on Pāṇini, II. 1.35, is an example of solid food, but it is well known that liquid food is capable of *miśrikarāṇa*. Patañjali has nowhere suggested that *bhakṣyam* according to him meant solid food only. Nor does he suggest anywhere that Pāṇini at any place took *bhakṣyam* in the sense of solid food. It is possibly the later commentators of Pāṇini who have also taken *bhakṣyam* in the sense of *khara-viṣadam* but Pāṇini himself does not seem to have conveyed the sense clearly anywhere.

The *bhakṣyas* of GVM. include in general *ghṛtapācitapakvānnāni*, i. e. all the sweet-meats and other preparations prepared and cooked in ghee. *Pakvānna* today is generally used in the sense of sweet preparations, cf. *pakvān* in Gujarati. The Bhāvaprakāśa, Miśraprakaraṇa, 12.108-142 has a special section of *pachyānna* which is the same as *pakvānna*.²⁸³ The text describes preparations of मण्ड (Hindi, मठरी, माड़), सम्पाव (Hindi, गुजिया), कूरनालिका, फेनिका, (Hindi, Guj., फेनी, फेणी), शङ्कुली (Hindi, खस्तापूरी, Guj., सुंवाळी), सेविकामोदकाः (Hindi, सेव के लड्डु, Guj., सेवना लाड्डु), मुक्तामोदक or मुद्गमोदक (Hindi, Guj., मोतीचूर, मुंग के लड्डु), वेसनमोदकाः (मोतीचूर, बूंदी के

²⁸³ *Bhāvaprakāśa* (Kāśī Sanskrit Series no. 130, referred above), pp. 567ff., for Hindi equivalents of some of these preparations. Some editions of the text do not call this a *pachyānna-varga*.

लड्डू), दुग्धकूपिका, and कुण्डलिनी (जलेबी).²⁸¹ Some editions of the text do not give a separate sub-division and seem to include these in the general *kṛtānavarga*.

The Bhojanakutūhala, Chp. 5 (Siddhānnaprakaraṇa) has a sub-chapter entitled *bhakṣyaprakaraṇa*, on pp. 33ff., in which first the preparation of समिता: (Hindi, मैदा) or fine powder of wheat, watered and dried, is explained, then the kneading and preparation of paste, called लोप्त्री is described. A broad cake made of the above and cooked slowly on an inverted clay pot is called मण्डक (Hindi, मांड). Maṇḍaka is referred to in the Padmāvata of Jyāyāsī.²⁸⁵ The Mānasollāsa describes another preparation of Maṇḍaka or Māṇḍā.²⁸⁶ Maṇḍa or Māṇḍā is an ancient preparation.²⁸⁷ In Gujarat *Khāṇḍa-Māṇḍā* (Sugar and Māṇḍā) is a common menu in caste-dinners to this date. In the *Varṇakasamuccaya*, the different varieties of Māṇḍā are given. They are आकाश or आकासीमा मां०, आछा-मां०, करकरा, कुरुकुरा, खांड-मां० पडसूदीना मां०, गहुंना मां०, पत्रवेटीया, पूरण-मां०, मिरिचना-मां०, मांडी.²⁸⁸

The other preparations described as *bhakṣyas* by the Bhojanakutūhala include, पोळिका, लम्बिका (लापसी), रोटिका (रोटी), अङ्गारपोळिका and अङ्गारकर्कटी, यवरोटिका, मापरोटी, झंझेरिका, चणकरोटी, वेढणिका (वेढमिका, वेढमी), वडोरी (वेडारी), पर्पट (पापड), शुष्कवटक, तक्रवटक, काञ्जिवटक, अम्बिकाराजीवटक, मापवटी, कूम्भाण्डवटक, निम्बपुष्पवटक, वज्रवल्लीवटक (काण्डवेलीवडे), सूरणवटक, आमलकवटक, कदलीपुष्पवटक, दधिवटक, मुद्गचणकादिवटी, अलीकमच्छ, कथिका, मुद्गाद्रवटक, चुबुकवटी, मण्ड (माठ), शङ्करपाल (Guj. and Hindi, सक्करपारा), संयाव (करञ्जी), कपूरनालिका (साखररोटी in Mar.), फेनिका, शकटः (साटा), गोधूमफेणी, मापफेणी, पूरिका (पूरी), चण्डारिका (इडली), धृतपूर (वेऊर, वेवर), दोषका (धिरडी in Mar.), शकुली (कचोरी), पिष्टापूपा (Mar. घारवे), मुद्गमोदक (मोतीलाडु, मोतीचूर), रत्नमोदक (made of माप), कुण्डलिनी (जलेबी), कूखटा: (कूर्वडी; करकरवडी in Guj.), शाण्डाकी (साण्डयी), समितामोदका (पल्लुदीपा in Guj. according to author of Bhojanakutūhala), द्रावक (a variety of मोदक, known to Gujarat, द्रावालाडु, according to the author of the text), चुमालाडु (still known to Gujarat, Rājasthan etc.), पूर्णगर्भा पोळिका (पूर्णगोली), सुधापरः, अनरसा (अनारसे a favourite dish of Mahārāṣṭra), घारिका (घार्या in Mar., घारी in Guj.), चक्राणि (चक्रस्या in Mar, चकली in Guj.), and अतिरस (अपाल).

It is interesting to note that most of the above preparations are known to Bhāvaprakāśa²⁸⁹ where they are included in the *kṛtānavarga*. The Bhojana-

²⁸¹ P. K. Gode has contributed an interesting paper about the antiquity of Jalebi in India, *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI. pp. 169-181. *Jalebi* is from Arabic *Jhallābiyā*.

²⁸⁵ *Padmāvata*, ed. by V. S. Agrawal, 284.2. pp. 270-71.

²⁸⁶ *Mānasollāsa*, (Vol. II), Adh. 13, vv. 1375-80.

²⁸⁷ Cf. for example, *Matsya Purāṇa*, 63.19. *Naiṣadhīyacarita*, XVI. 107. Also see, Jani, A. N., *A Critical Study of Śrīharṣa's Naiṣadhīyacharitam*, p. 218, Monier-Williams, Dict., *Op. cit.*, p. 775.

²⁸⁸ *Varṇaka-samuccaya*, I. p. 5.

²⁸⁹ *Bhāvaprakāśa*, *op. cit.*, pp. 562-568.

kutūhala has taken almost all the descriptions from the above text, most of the verses are common to both the texts. It is thus quite clear that items referred to in the kṛtānavarga were sometimes regarded as bhakṣyas.

The Madanapālanighaṇṭu, composed in c. 14th century A.D., refers to घृतपूर, संयाव, मधुशीषिका, अपूप (Guj. मालपूआ or मालपूडा), दधिपूप, विस्यन्द, लप्सिका, फेनिका, मोदक, लडुक्क, वटिका and वटक, सोमालिका (सुहाली), कुण्डालिका (जलेवी), कुल्माष (Guj. कंसार?) etc. in the Dhānyakṛtāna-varga.

The Varṇakasamuccaya refers to several preparations like, खाजां, लाडु, खलखंड, भलखंड, मरकी, सुहाली, दहीथरां, घारी, साकुली, माडा, पानोली, चुरिमउ, वेढमी, लपनश्री, खाजली, दोठा, घारां, घेवर, घारडी, घृधरी, गुलपापडी, गुंदपाक, कोहलापाक, नालियेरपाक, इन्द्ररसा, सेवदळ, हेसमी, जलेवी, फीणी, खरंगा etc.; for a discussion on all such items, see *Varṇakasamuccaya*, II. pp. 9-19.

The Nighaṇṭaratnākara, I, pp. 17ff refers to several preparations, some additional sweet preparations being described on pp. 31ff, including मोहनभोग, चंद्रहासा, different varieties of घृतपूर, शालिपूप (अनारसे), गुडोरी (गुब्बोळी in Mar.), different varieties of लडुक्क and पूरिका, घावन (आयते in Mar.), चिरोटे, शर्कराभक्त (साखरभात, केसरीभात in Mar.) etc.

The Kṣemakutūhala, chp. 10, pp. 82 ff, is devoted to *paḥvānnas* which include फेनिका, varieties of लडुक्क and मोदक, क्षीर preparations, मण्डक, पोलिका, अङ्गारकर्करी, वेढिका or वेटिका, varieties of लप्सिका (such as शुद्ध, भैमी, चन्द्रहासा and ललिता), and of घेवर, मधुशीषिक, different types of वटिका and पूरिका, घारापूपक, कुण्डलिनी, बर्बरम् (?), खण्डखजुर (Guj. खजुरी), अमृतरसा, कर्पूरनालिका, अमृतनालिका, कसार (Guj. कंसार), and सेविका.

The above texts describe several varieties of वटक. The GPM. refers to माषवटक, मुद्रवटक and चणकवटक and includes them amongst *bhakṣyas*. The GVM. (text p. 25) refers to शुद्धमाषवटक, दधिवटक and द्राक्षवटक.²⁹⁰ It also refers to वटिका (Guj. Hindi वडी) called मेथीवटिका, तिलवटिका, कूष्माण्डवटिका, अम्बष्टवटिका, कूष्माण्डवीजवटिका and चीरवटिका. The preparation of चीरवटिका could not be traced. The GVM. includes this last variety amongst *bhakṣyas* along with घृतपाचिततुपकमाषवटका and वटपूरिका. The वटपूरिका must have been cakes of वटक.

The Varṇakasamuccaya, I. p. 6 refers to a number of varieties of वटक which, according to a verse quoted on p. 174, were described as under—

हिंसवाजीरैमिरीवैर्लवणदलयुतैराईकैः पूर्णगर्भैः

स्निग्धः स्वादु (दुः)सुवृत्तः परिमलबहुलः कोमलः कुङ्कुमाभः ।

लम्बो दन्तान्तराले मरुमरुमस्तस्पष्टविस्पष्टशब्दै—

धन्यानां कः कपोले प्रविशति वटकः प्रेयसीप्रेमदत्तः ॥

The above verse is known with some variants to Suṣeṇa's *Annāpānavidhi*, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

²⁹⁰ For preparations of वटका and वडी, see *Kṣemakutūhala*, 9. pp. 77-81, *Bhojanakutūhala*, I. pp. 37-40.

The Varṇakasamuccaya, p. 6, refers to several varieties of वटिका (called वडी in Gujarati) such as मुंग वडी, उडद वडी, छमका वडी, पलेहवडी and सउंतलीवडी.

The GVM. also refers to a special variety of वटिका described as शुद्धचणकदालिनिमित्तदधिसर्पिपोपस्कृतलाटुवटिका. After this it refers to a special preparation called मेथीकूर. This मेथीकूर is not included in *bhaksyas* by the GVM. It is really a flavouring powder. As its name would suggest it might have been prepared from मेथी or मेथिका, Fenugreek, Trigonella Foenum Graecum. This is a preparation known to Karnāṭaka, Konkaṇa and Mahārāṣṭra. In Mahārāṣṭra it is known as मेतकूर, but now-a-days, the people of Mahārāṣṭra often do not include methikā in it.

In Karnāṭaka, *Methi-kūṭa* is prepared by frying, with a little oil, pulses of gram (half-a-seer) separately. Then *dhānyakam* (*dhānā*, coriander seed), *jīrakam* (cumin seed) and *methi* are fried separately till they are light red or golden red. Then these are mixed together and powdered. A little *hingu* (asafoetida) is added. This powder is stored and used with rice with addition of necessary quantity of salt and ghee. Some people add a few drops of fresh lemon-juice while eating cooked rice with ghee, salt and *methi-kūṭa*.²⁹¹

People of Māhārāṣṭra, as stated above, do not add methikā. The usual formula for preparation of this powder is as under:—2 lbs. of Gram (*caṇaka*), ¼ lb. Wheat, ¼ lb. Rice, ½ lb. of Black Gram (*māṣa*, *uḍada*). These are first roasted a little and then powdered. Then necessary quantity of powder of salt, chillies or black pepper, asafoetida, cloves, cardamoms, dry ginger, cumin seeds and coriander seeds are added. The powder is then stored for future use either with rice, as in Karnāṭaka, or to be served separately in the dish, in which latter case, the powder is often mixed with chopped onions and curds.²⁹²

The GVM. has referred to *vyañjanas*. According to Rājanighaṇṭu:²⁹³ — व्यञ्जनं सूपशाकादि मिष्टान्नं तेमनं रसृतम् । उपदंशो विदंशः स्यात्संधानो रोचकश्च सः । Hemacandra in his Abhi. Cin. says व्यञ्जनं तु घृतादिकम् ।²⁹⁴ Monier-Williams Dictionary (p. 1029) explains *vyañjana* as anything used in cooking or preparing food, seasoning, sauce, condiment.

V. S. Agrawal, writing on Pāṇini, says: “Whereas *miśra* articles are mixed at the option of the eater, the use of *vyañjanas* is obligatory to make the

²⁹¹ I am thankful to Pandit B. L. Shanbhogue of the Oriental Institute for this information.

²⁹² I am thankful to Mrs. N. S. Samarth for the information.

²⁹³ *Dhanvantariya-Nighaṇṭu and Rāja-Nighaṇṭu* (Ānandāśrama Sk. series, no. 33. Poona, 1925), p. 412.

²⁹⁴ *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi* (Bhavanagar ed.), 3. 61, p. 164. Hemacandra commenting writes—व्यञ्जन्ते रसविशेषा अत्र व्यञ्जनम् ॥

food tasteful. Pāṇini takes *vyāñjana* in the sense of *upasecana* (i.e. ingredients of seasoning to improve the taste, IV. 4.26, *Vyāñjanair-upasikṭe*), as an example of which Patañjali mentions *dadhi* (curds) (*annena vyāñjanam*, II. 1.34) and Kāśikā on Pāṇini II. 4.12 mentions both curds and butter (*dadhi-ghṛtam*). The nature of any dish determines whether a particular article bears to it the relation of a *vyāñjana* or *miśriharaṇa*, i.e., an indispensable or optional ingredient of mixing. For example, the Kāśikā takes *ghṛta* as an article both for mixing and for seasoning the food (*Kāśikā* on VI. 2.128 and 154).²⁹⁵

In the GVM. (p. 31), it is said that excellent varieties of Pṛthukas were available in Gauḍadeśa.²⁹⁶ The Pṛthukas when mixed with sugar and milk, and brought by the delicate hands of the fair sex, attracted everybody. *Cipiṭakas* were also prepared in Gauḍedeśa, according to the GVM. (p. 32). In fact this was and still is common to almost all the parts of India. *Cipiṭaka* is modern *Cevaḍā* or *Civaḍā* in Hindi and Gujarati. The Bhāvaprakāśa says:—

शालयः सतुषा आर्द्रा मृष्टा अरफुटितारततः ।
कुट्टिताश्चिपिटाः प्रोक्तास्ते स्मृताः पृथुका अपि ॥ १७६ ॥
पृथुका गुरवो वातनाशनाः श्रेष्मला अपि ।
सक्षीरा वृहणा वृष्या बल्या मिन्नमलाश्च ते ॥ १७७ ॥²⁹⁷

We have referred to several preparations from works like the Bhojanakutūhala, Kṣemakutūhala, Bhāvaprakāśa which supply information for the same age as the GPM. GVM., and all these works may be regarded as giving us the data for a period roughly between 15th and 17th centuries A.D. Similar and sometimes earlier data is available, for a study of food and drinks in ancient India, in the Varṇakasamuccaya, Vol. I, and in the Varṇaratnākara of Jyotirīśvara. A further investigation into works in different regional languages of India would give us much more evidence, not only for food and drinks, but for other objects such as textiles and costumes, weapons of war etc. To cite only one instance, Mukteśvara, the famous Marathi poet who lived in c. 17th century A.D., has referred to several articles of food in his Marathi Mahābhārata. Mukteśvara lived in Paiṭhaṇa (Pratiṣṭhānapur). It is interesting to note that while the Bhojanakutūhala and the Kṣemakutūhala do not refer to *metakūṭa* Mukteśvara refers to the nice flavour of spicy *metakūṭa* in his Virāṭaparva, 8.88. Mukteśvara's description of the dinner party at the time of Abhimanyu's marriage, given below, may be compared with similar Varṇakas in the Varṇakasamuccaya, Vol. I.—

‘ हृद्वदि उटणें येरे दिवसि । अमंत्रणे सोयीरियासी । सर्वेचि ऋषि आणि राजयासि । याचकासी बहुमान
॥ ५६ ॥ कनकतायें येक पंत्ती । रलवाटिया वोप देति । हेमटाणवयांवरि दीसी । रलदीप लाविले ॥ ५७ ॥ सूक्ष्म ओदन

²⁹⁵ *India As Known To Pāṇini*, p. 102.

²⁹⁶ For *Pṛthukas*, see p. 17 above.

²⁹⁷ *Bhāvaprakāśa*, (Banaras ed., *Op.cit.*), 6.12.176-177, p. 578.

श्वेतवर्णं । पाहातां जिह्वां निषति नवर्णि । चंद्रमा आणि वसंत दोन्ही । वर्णवासा वेधले ॥ ५८ ॥ जया रुचि रें आवडे । तेणें तेचि सेविजे कोडें । यालागि पंचवरात्रें गोडें । ओदनानिकटि वाढिलीं ॥ ५९ ॥ सेंवया सरळी मालतिया । गऱ्हेले वोटवे कुमुमकळिया । विजाकृति आळलिया (v. 1. वळलीया) । क्षीरसाखरि सुस्वादें ॥ ६० ॥ कोरवडे कथिकावडे । दधीवडे मधुवडे । चिंचवडे द्राक्षवडे । रायावडे अरवार ॥ ६१ ॥ घृतीं पत्रलीया घृतपुरिया । सुरस श्वेताहुनि गुळवरिया । साखरमांडे मांडे (v. 1. पूर्ण) पुरिया । क्षीरघारिया (v. 1. सारोळ्या) अरवार ॥ ६२ ॥ तिळवे लाडु सेवयांचे । भीतरि चार वीजाचे । खसखस खवुंजी विजाचे । शुभ्र सोजीचे अरवार (v. e. फणसवीजांचे साजिरे) ॥ ६३ ॥ अक्रोट वादाम फळवीजाचे । सुरस पक्विगी कंदाचे । अर्त पुरवावया जिऱ्हेचें । गणेश जाहाला वर्हाडि ॥ ६४ ॥ चणकपिष्ट वुंजियाचे । स्वादा वेधुनि जिऱ्हा नाचे । नारेळ सारख खजुंरीचे । फणसवीजाचे साजिरे ॥ ६५ ॥ खाज्या करंजा अनारिसें । फेणिया घृतपुरिया सुरसें । लुचया रेवडिया वतारें । शुद्ध शर्करा निर्मळी ॥ ६६ ॥ मुगवडिया मुगधीरडी । भुंजी सुकुमारतां गाडि । वेंढण्या (वेढगिया v. 1.) भक्षितां आवडि । मुखपालटा कारणे ॥ ६७ ॥ वाळा कर्पूर सुवासीं । उदक वोपिती हेमकळसां । भोजनि भागले तयासि । वाळविजणें विजति ॥ ६८ ॥ सर्व कर्मां ब्रह्मभावना । पुर्ण प्रतिति उपजवि मना । तेवि वाढितां वरि लवणा । अपूर्णता असेना ॥ ६९ ॥ धारगे खांडविं अमृतफळें । अतिरस अपाल सह केळें । अधिक मासीं महिमागळे । ते अपुप वाढिले ॥ ७० ॥ अरवार सोजीच्या पोळीया । नावतचूर्ण कोंदलीया । सपीट कानवले टोळियां । कर्दळीगर्भासारखे ॥ ७१ ॥ वांगीं तोंडलि पडवळें । दोडके कारलीं भोपळे । कुहांळि कांकडिया कोमळें । गोड वाळकें परिपाकीं ॥ ७२ ॥ पत्रशाखांत चक्रवर्ति । चाखवत अबुशाकिनि मेथी । कडोत्रि कोमळें तळिली घृति । अती अरवार काचरिया ॥ ७३ ॥ वेले नेपति आवळे । कांकडे कखंदे सालफळें । भोकरि माथिणि सेंवगे मूळे । वांस कोमळ वंशाचे ॥ ७४ ॥ आवे आले निंवे सुरस । हळदि कचूरिया सवास । सुरण मीरे पिंपळी वांस । कुहिरिया आणि खरसिणें ॥ ७५ ॥ ऐसीं लोणनि चाखतां वोटिं । अरुची पळे वारा वाटीं । जैसें पन्वन्तरियाचे वृष्टी । रोग पळति दशदिशा ॥ ७६ ॥ तिळवे लाडु सेवयालाडु । चारोळिया गोडवियाचे लाडु । खसखस फणस वीजाचे लाडु । अक्रोट खवुंजी वीजाचें ॥ ७७ ॥ चणकपिष्ट वुंजियाचें (v. 1. वडियाचे) अरवारपणें जिहा नाचे । धारगे पोळिया खांडवियाचे । ग्रास वेति पालटें ॥ ७८ ॥ नवनीत साजूक सद्यस्तें । वाटिया उचंचळति घृतीं । येंकें शोषिलि नवनीतें । येकें थिजलि सुवासें ॥ ७९ ॥ दधिसारें दुग्धसारें । पयें आटीली तवक्षीरें । परम भाग्याचे जेवणारे । जे जेविति ते पक्ति ॥ ८० ॥ गाडूनि चंद्रकळाचा रस । माजि मेळविल्या सुवाय् । ते कथिकेचा घेतां वायु । परते म्हणति आमृता ॥ ८१ ॥ समुद्रमयनिचें अमृत । गोडि देऊनि अमर करित । तेथिच्या उदका न घालवे हात । खारवणि म्हणुनि ॥ ८२ ॥ तेवि कामवेनुच्यां तक्रें । कथिका शेवितां देवशक्रें । अमृतातें म्हणें वक्षें । कळकटलें बहुकाञ्चिचें ॥ ८३ ॥ तक्रतिथगी अमळकि । वोदनसारि जविरनिकि । अडकिमुद्दलि कुलथकी । उपचार केले सुस्वादें ॥ ८४ ॥ वदरि अन्न कपित्थ चुणें । अंबुतोल अंबुस रसतें । मरिचसारें पित्तशमनें । दक्षिण देसीजन सेविति ॥ ८५ ॥ ऐसीया नानाविधा कथिका । भिन्न जाल्या ज्या पांका । अश्वादित्तां मूखा । मोदन चाले द्विगुणी ॥ ८६ ॥ नाना शाकरसाञ्चि सारें । वोदनसंगि अत्यंत मधुरें । जे सेवितां कुपीथ्यवारे । कदाकळीं वाधीना ॥ ८७ ॥ सांड्यां कुरवड्या पापडवडे । आळणे सांबारि स्वाद्रिष्ट गोडें । कोशिभिरि रायीती मिरगुंडे । मिथ्याकुटें (v. 1. मेथकुटें) मयमपती ॥ ८८ ॥ कृष्ण भोक्ता जिणे पंक्ती । भोजन करि परम अति । तया पंक्तिकाराचे किति भाग्य मुखें वर्णावें ॥ ८९ ॥ अन्नरस रायकेंळें । पिकोनि उलली गंगाफळें । पेंडाळु रताळु गुळगुळे । कपित्थ सारें सुवासें ॥ ९० ॥ ऐसिया फळाचीया सीऱ्हरणी । जेविल्या जाहाली चंद्रधणी । शाखाचेनि सुवासें गगनि । वेधु उपजवी नीर्जर ॥ ९१ ॥ फळमुळशाखा पत्रशाखा । खंदशाखा पुष्पशाखा । त्याच्या स्वादु सेवितां मुखा । शाकंभरि स्वयें जागें ॥ ९२ ॥ लवणशाखात्रिया श्रेणि । दधोदनाच्या सांवातिणि । दधितकाञ्चिये मिळणि ब्रह्मानंदु भोक्त्यां ॥ ९३ ॥ X X X तेरागुणाचि तांबुळें । वर्हाडी वरिलें परीमळें । कळाभरणीं मछपाळें । मेदिनिपाळ पुजिले ॥ ९६ ॥ X X X²⁹⁸

²⁹⁸ Mukteśvara-kṛta Mahābhārata Virāṭparva, ed. by D. S. Pangu (Poona, 1953), pp. 128-134. Acc. to the editor (Intro. p. 39), Mukteśvara was born in c. Śaka 1496 = 1574 A.D.

Muktesvara has described the dinner party at the Rājasūya-sacrifice, in his Sabhāparvan, chp. 9.²⁰⁹ I am quoting below a few verses :—

शर्करेत्रिया वाळवंटी । घृतसरिता धांवती लोटी । दुग्धनदीच्या संगमवेटी । पायसान्नें निपजलीं ॥ ९८ ॥
 दधिमधूचें सरोवर । समुद्रातुल्य महाशोर । कोरुनि कनकाचे गिरिवर । हेमरांजणीं शिखरिणी ॥ ९९ ॥ ओदनाचे
 चन्द्रावळ । वरनाचे कनकाचळ । नवनीताचे हिमाचळ । द्रोणाचळ शाकांचे ॥ १०० ॥ × × × धारिया म्हणती,
 ‘अमृतभक्षा । व्यर्थ शालासी सहस्राक्षा । आमुचे रूप होवोनि मुक्षा । सेव्य श्रेष्ठा नोहेसी ॥ १०३ ॥ हृदय वोपोनि
 भगवंती । पारगे धारियांचें प्रीती । येऊनि धर्मयागाप्रती । प्रिय झाले पितरांतें ॥ १०४ ॥ × × पूर्णचंद्राचीं मंडळें ।
 कृथिकावटक अतिसोजवळें । प्रेमें द्रवतां अमृतफळें । रूप झालें कथिकेचें ॥ १०६ ॥ × × पूर्णचंद्राच्या रातीं । गगनी
 भरे शुभ्र दीप्ती । ते काढोती कुशल हातीं । रूप केलें मांडिया ॥ १०७ ॥ भरितें माजला क्षीरसिंधु । माजी पडुडला
 परमानंदु । तेवीं गुळवरियामाजील सुखादु । दे आनंद भोक्त्यां ॥ १०८ ॥ × × अंतरीं अनुभवाची गोडी । म्हणोनी
 लोकदृष्टी मुरडी । कानवले नव्हती हे विकडी । कानवले प्रपंचीं ॥ ११० ॥ बाह्य दिसती येरां ऐसे । परी ते अंतरीं
 अनाुरिसे । अनंत सदगुणी खसखसे । उभयभागीं उवरिले ॥ १११ ॥ खाज्या करंज्या अमृतफळें फेण्या घृतपुरिया हो
 सकळें । खर्जुरी द्राक्षें जंबूफळें गोधूमसारें निर्मिलीं ॥ ११२ ॥ × × लड्डुक देखुनि विनायक । नृत्य करीत प्रसन्नमुख ।
 × × × खसखस बदरीफळवीजाचे सुकुमारपद्मिणीकंदाचे । तिळवे निःशेष तिळगुळाचे । शर्करेचे वतासे ॥ ११५ ॥
 सूक्ष्म श्रेवयांचे पूर चणकपिष्टाचे अरुवार । लाडू भक्षितां जेवणार वेडाविती गणेशा ॥ ११६ ॥ सत्ववृत्ती पूर्णपोळिया...
 येळामिरी मधमघितीं ॥ ११७ ॥ वळवटें वळिलीं कुशलहस्तीं । एक सारंगशृंगारुती । एक पै गंगेआंतोती । विकासली
 शतपत्रें ॥ ११८ ॥ × × × अष्ट वटक अष्ट शिखरिणी । पंच भक्षें पंच वरानीं । दशप्रकार शाकाश्रेणी । जे कां पडूस
 बोलिजे ॥ ११३ ॥ अनेक परींच्या कोशिखिरी । लवणशाका सहस्रवरी । कुटें आणी सांवरी रायतीं तेथें विचित्रें
 ॥ १३४ ॥ पापड सांडगे सांड्या । तिलवणें कडकणें कुरवडिया । मिरगुंडी मुगवडिया । काचरिया सुतळीव
 ॥ १३५ ॥ × × ×

Another such description occurs in the Vanaparvan, ch. 11 of Muktesvara. In Sabhāparva, ch. 10, Muktesvara's Mahābhārata obtain some names of ornaments etc. Those Parvans of Mahābhārata which were composed by Muktesvara are full of cultural data for the age in which the GVM. was composed. Sabhāparvan ch. 12 for example refers to the different *upāyanas* sent by different chiefs from all quarters. In Sabhā., ch. 15, (D. S. Pangu's ed., pp. 202 ff.) we obtain a big list of several kinds of garments which are removed by Duhśāsana from the person of Draupadī, and which were miraculously supplied by the grace of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. They include names like अंशुक, क्षीरोदक, जासवन, पाटाळ, तगटीवस्त्र, पट्टकूळ with forms of ten avatāras, साउलीं, चुनडिया, etc., which deserve a special study.

In chp. 7 of the Sabhāparvan (*ibid.*, pp. 85 ff) is described the wrestling between Bhīma and Jarāsandha. The occurrence of the word वज्रमुष्टी in v. 25 in this context is interesting; cf.—भीमे भैरवाकार वृष्टी । हृदयीं वोपिली वज्रमुष्टी । सोडवुनि मगरभिठी । शिशाडोनि लोटिला ॥ २५ ॥ * * * दोन्हीं कोपर दोन्हीं मुष्टी । च्यारि आघात वोपिले वृष्टी । मागघ क्षोभोनि उफराटी । हुमणी हाणी मस्तकीं ॥ २७ ॥ * * * तळवे तळपणें चपेट शडपा । ताडितां दोघे दाटती धापा । उडिया टाकित्ती सकोपा । येरायेरां मस्तकीं ॥ ३४ ॥ * * * Similar descriptions of duels between Bhīma and Kirmira in Muktesvara's Vanaparva, ch. 2, vv. 54-60 or between Bhīma

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, Sabhāparvan, ed. by D. S. Pangu (Poona, 1949), vv. 73 ff, pp. 112ff.

and Kīcaka in Virāṭaparva, 3. 140-48 are noteworthy. A detailed cultural study from Mukteśvara's works is a desideratum.

Concluding Remarks

Passages of the character of Varṇakas, collected and studied, from works like the above, composed in different languages (e.g. Gujarātī, Marāṭhī, Tamil, Telugu, Malayālam, Kannaḍa, etc.) would help us to draw a very interesting picture of the material culture of the different parts of India, in different periods of Indian history.

In Gujarātī literature, for example, interesting data about food and drinks can be obtained from Uṣāharaṇa of Vīrasimha, Okhāharaṇas of Nākara, Bhālaṇa and Viṣṇudāsa, from Kṛṣṇalīlākāvya of Kāyastha poet Keśavarāma and so on. The different texts of the Mādhavānala-kāmkandalā-kathā edited in the G.O. Series (vol. 93) or the Pṛthvīcandra-caritra in the Prācīna-Gurjara-Kāvya-saṅgraha published in the G.O. Series (vol. 13), or works like the Kānhaḍade-prabandha are full of data of the type of varṇakas.

The GVM. and the GPM. indirectly serve the purpose of texts like the Varṇaratnākara of Jyotirīśvara. A study of the origin and development of different forms of literature of this type would be interesting. For example, works like the Buddhist Mahāvvyutpatti or Jaina Aṅgavijjā provide, under different sections, much more cultural data than any single Varṇaka texts known hitherto.

The word varṇaka (*varṇāo*) is used in Jaina canonical literature for a fixed form of description which is to be read at relevant places in different canonical works where only the beginning words or phrases of such descriptions are given in the texts. A similar tendency is also seen in Pāli texts, in what is known as *Peyyāla*.³⁰⁰

Works like the Varṇaratnākara of Jyotirīśvara are meant for writers and poets who desire to compose literary works. Works on *Kaviśikṣā*, like the *Kaviśikṣā* of Vinayachandra (13th century) or the *Kāvyaikalpalatā* of Amara-candrasūri (with his own comm.), include some such 'varṇakas' for those who aspire to write poems, etc. The GVM. and the GPM. are, on a very modest scale, works meant for those who wish to obtain proficiency in reading, writing and speaking in Sanskrit. But they have rendered much more service to our age in reconstructing a history of our material culture.

I am thankful to my friend and colleague Shri J. S. Pade-Shastri of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, for certain references in the above discussion of the cultural data available in the GVM and the GPM. Mrs. N. S. Samarth kindly helped me with references from Mukteśvara's Mahābhārata.

³⁰⁰ *Peyyāla* in Pāli, see, Childer's, *Pāli-English Dictionary*, p. 379; and Rhys Davids & Stede, *Pāli-English Dictionary*, p. 95.

INDIAN INSTITUTE OF ADVANCED STUDY

Acc. No. 7244.

Author: Imakant Premanand Shah Ed
Title: Girvanapadamanjari

Borrower	Issued	Returned

ur
: