

Religious Conditions in S. E. Rajasthan from Early Inscriptions (C. 400 B. C. to 300 A.D.)

The real religion of man originated out of two needs. A desire to live a moral, ethical and a disciplined life. The second was fear. Fear and admiration of the violent or peaceful forces of nature : its destructive or the preserving factors. A desire to ally himself with some supernatural power which caused all the unexplained phenomena and would overcome his enemies. Science had not come to his aid to explain the causes of day and night, eclipses and storms. No *philosophy* had informed the primitive man that there was no interrelation between female fertility and that of the earth. They wanted a tangible form for the intangible, a form for the formless. Therefore, there has always been a feature in archaeological discipline to trace the evolution of society, religious beliefs and customs from the evidence of material culture left by early man. As far as man's primitive beliefs have survived with tangible trace, they are amenable to archaeological studies, Most helpful in this respect are the graphic arts.

Religion is an important trait of human culture, irrespective of caste, race and region and hence the need of study. Our knowledge about the different aspects of religion of S. E. Rajasthan from the very dawn of history is indeed very vague and scanty. Only few pioneers have taken active interest in the reconstruction of the social, economic and religious lives of ancient Mewar, since time immemorial. But their object was to interpret the data on an all India basis ; and not the light they throw on the religious life of Rajasthan. But, epigraphy, one of the sources of Indology furnishes interesting data. The earliest of these is the Ghosundi Inscription. Ghosundi is a village, 4 miles from Nagari which itself is 10 miles from Chittorgarh, the head quarters of the district of the same name. Nagari, it would be recalled was ancient Mādhyaṃika, mentioned by Patañjali. It records the erection of a stone railing (Puja-Sila prakāra) in the enclosed compound (Vāta) or Nārāyaṇa, dedicated to gods Saṃkarshaṇa and Vāsudeva. In the Nānāghat inscription, the twin gods are ascribed to the lunar family. K. P. Jayaswal,¹ therefore, thought that they were deified heroes, whom the *Jātakas*, *Purāṇas* and *Pāṇini* knew as historical personages and as belonging to the Vrishni clan.

1. *Ep. Indica*, Vol. XVI (pp. 26-27).

The next inscription, which on palaeographic grounds is ascribed to C, 4th Century A. D., by D. R. Bhandarkar, records the performance of sacrifice called Vajapeya.² Since Bhandarkar, wrote his *memoir* on Nàgarì, as a subaltern of the Archaeological Survey, the secretive bosom of Rajasthan has yielded many other records of the instances of *Srauta* sacrifices.

YUPAS

The earliest record is the Nandsà yupa dated in (Krita) Málava-Vikrama year 282 (C. 225-26 A. D.). Nandsa is now 36 miles to the east of Bhilwàrà and 4 miles to the south of Gaṅgàpur railway station, in the Western railway, next to Sàwai Madhopur. The pillar containing the inscriptions, because there are actually two, is approximately 12' in height and $5\frac{1}{2}$ ' in circumference and is located within a tank. It was set up by (Śrì) Soma, leader of the Sogi clan, son of Jayasoma and grandson of Prabbhàgra (?) Varddhana, born in Malava Stock, as famous as the royal race of the Ikshvākus.³ Next comes the first Barnalā yupa inscription, dedicated in (Krita) *Malava-Vikrama* year 284 (C 227-228 A.D.). That is, two years later than that of Nandsà. Barnalā is in Jaipur district, a part of ancient *Matsya* country. The name of the person who put up the pillar and performed the sacrifice is lost, But he has the epithet Rajno and his surname ends with *Varddhana*. His father was also a king. It recors the erection of seven yūpas, indicating that seven sacrifices were performed. The late Dr. A. S. Altekar was inclined to take them as Saptà-some-samsthā mentioned in *Katyāyana Srauta Sutra* (X, 9. 27). But Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra differs from this view.⁴ It is 21' 5" in height.

Bāḍvā is a small village, 5 miles S. W. of Antah railway station on the Kotā-Binā section of the Western Railway, in the present Kotā district. In 1936, only three of these yupas were found. The characters belong to C, 3rd Century A. D., not much different, naturally, from those of the Nandsà record. Each record commemorates the performance of Tri-rātra sacrifice; description of which is to be found in the *Taittiriya Samhitā* (VII.15) and *Purva-mimāṃsā*⁵. The performers of the sacrifices were three brothers named Balavardhana, Somadeva and Balasimha, sons of Maukhari *Mahāsenā-pati* Bala⁶ They are dated in 295th year of (Krita) Malava-Vikrama era (c. 238-39 A.D.). Another yupa was found by Dr. Māthurālāl Sharma in another part of the same village, later on⁷ It is undated but palaeographically belongs to 3rd Century A.D. Its

2. *Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 4, p. 120; G. S. Gai Madhayamika in *Journal of Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. X, p. 180.

3. *Indi, Ant.*, Vol. LVIII, p. 53; *EI*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 252. ff.

4. *EI*, Vol. XXVI, p. 120 ff. They are now in Sarasvati Bhandara and museum at Garh Palace, Tipta Kota city.

5. I am indebted for this information to Mm. P. V. Kane thorough L. G. Parab.

6. *EI* Vol. XXIII, p. 46.

7. *Ibid*, Vol. XXVI, p. 118 ff.

purpose was to record the erection of *yûpa* for *Aptoryàma* sacrifice, performed by Dhanatràta, son of Hastin-the Maukhari. It is a variety of one day *soma* sacrifice, but occupied like the *Atiràtrà*, a whole day, extending through next day. It is one of the *sapta-soma-samsthà*.

The second Barnala *yûpa* was dedicated on the 15th day of bright fortnight of Jyeshtha of 325 V. S. (=298-99 A. D.), in connection with the performance of Gargàtiràtra sacrifice, performed by Bhatta in Trita forest. 90 Cows, accompanied by their calves were given as *dakhshinà*. Sacrificial *yûpàs* have also been found in the peripheral regions of Rājasthān and even in Antervedi and Vatsa countries. There is an ancient fort called Bijayagarh in the neighbourhood of Bāyāna, in Bharatpur district. There is a red sandstone pillar standing near the south wall of the fortress. It is inscribed and records that in the (Krita *Mālava Vikrama* year 428 (=371-372 A.D.) expired, Vārlika Rājā Vishṇuwardahaṇa, son of Yasovaraddhana, grandson of Vyāghrārātas erected the *yûpa* in commemoration of *Pundarika* sacrifice in *Purvami-mamsa Sutra* (Chap. X Pada 6, *Sutras* 62 etc.) The next two *yûpas* were found at Isapur in the bed of river *Yamuna*, each of them measures 19' 19". They were dedicated in the 24th regnal year of Emperor Vasheshka. Allahbad Museum has a *yûpa* collected from the neighbourhood of Kosām, commemorating the performance of *sapta-soma-samsthā*, by one Sivadatta.

An evaluation of the various find spots enable us to appreciate, that it was a very close knit area, in which those sacrifices were being performed, at an age, when northern India had suffered repeatedly from alien invasions. Bijayagarh, in Bharatpur district, is about 5 miles south east of Isapur, in Mathura district, Bādvā is 146 miles south-south-east of Bijayagarh, in Kota district. Nāgarī, in Chittorgadh district, is 90 miles east of Bādvā. Nandsā, in Sawai Madhopur district, is 40 miles north-east of Nāgarī, ancient Madhyamikā.

Yûpa is a sacrificial post, a principal element in any sacrifice. They were invariably made of wood. The following classes of trees were permitted to be utilised *Palāsa*, *Khadīra*, *Bilva*, *Rauhitakī*. Only in some sacrifices *yûpa* must be of *Khadīra* wood. The trees to be cut must not be half dried but full of foliage, must be straight and growing on a level spot, branches turned upwards and if bent, not in the southern direction. They must be cut in such a way that they did not fall on the south side. The *yûpa* could be of any length from one *aratni* to 33 *aratnis*. The portion which remained embedded and was not chiselled was called *upara*. It would be recalled that portions of Mauryan pillars, which remained underground were also

8. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 252.

9. *AR.*, *ASI.*, 1910-11, pp. 40ff. plate XXIII.

left undressed or roughly dressed. The upper portion was octagonal, with the remaining portion of the tree, after the *yūpa* was made, a top piece was carved with a mortice hole to fill as a finial, and was known as *chāshalā*. The tenon of the *yūpa* on which *chāshalā* was fixed, was expected to protrude 2 or 3 *angulas* beyond the *chāshalā*.

After the *yūpa* was made along with the finial, a hole was dug east of the *ahayaniya*, proportionate to the unchiselled portion of the *yūpa* and excavated earth was thrown to the east. The ritual of setting up the *yūpas* is elaborately described in the *Srauta Sutras*.¹⁰ The final noteworthy feature is a girdle which was hung around it called *aṅga*. It is clear, therefore, that sacrificial posts were made of wood only. Paradoxically, all the existing specimens are lithic. What is the explanation of this contradiction in theory and practice? My personal opinion is that they were commemorative and were erected after the sacrifices were over. *Yūpas* being wooden they were perishable. But the persons who performed them possibly wanted to leave tangible evidences of their piety for posterity, and set up stone *yūpas*, after the rituals were over. It is a pity, that none of the sites have been excavated, otherwise, like Jagatgram, they might have yielded valuable data.

Were these sacrifices Vedic, *Grihya* or *Srauta* sacrifices? The available evidence goes to show that they were *srauta* sacrifices. Keith was of opinion that the conception of a *Yajna* goes back to Indo-European antiquity. But the *Śrutis* contain very detailed and vivid accounts of these sacrifices. In fact they were the manuals on which the officiating priests depended. Therefore, any sacrifice that was performed according to them was a *srauta* sacrifice. It is a common error to suppose, that no sacrifices were held in historical times except *Asvamedha*. A Pallava grant, refers to the performance of *Agnishtoma*,¹¹ *Vājapeya* and *Rājasuya*. This is as it should be; since, it was enjoined that those who performed *Vājapeya* should also perform *Rajasuya*. In the Chammak Plates of Pravarasena II, the Vakataka emperor is credited with having performed many sacrifices.¹² The *srauta* sacrifices are generally divisible in two classes (1) *haviryanas* and (2) seven *somasamsthās*. *Paśubandha* or *Nirudha-paśubandhas*, that is animal sacrifices were also practised. The *sapta soma samasthās* are *Agnishtoma*, *Ukthya*, *Shodasin*, *Vajapeya*, *Atiratra* and *Aptyoryama*.¹³ The *yūpa records* of Rājasthān mention some of these. The first of these is *Vājapeya* mentioned in the second inscription found by D. R. Bhandarkar at Nāgarī.¹⁴ For this particular sacrifice one may refer to *Taittīriya Brāhmaṇa* (1.342) and *Sāṅkhayana Śrauta Sutra*, (XV I. 4-6). It is a form of *Yotishtoma*. According to Keith, it preserves

10. A. B. Keithi—*Religion and Philosophy of the Veds and Upanishads*. Vols. I & II. ; P. V. Kane—*History of the Dharmasastra*, Vol. II. pt. II.

11. *Ibid*, Vol. I. pp. 257 ff., Vol. II. pp. 625 ff.

12. *E. I.* Vol. I, pp. 2 and 5.

13. *Ch.* Vol. III. p. 236.

14. For details, of P. V. Kane—*History of the Dharma Sastra*, Vol. II. Pt. II 1941.

15. *MAI*, No. 4, p. 120.

many traces of very popular origin, possibly an autumnal festival. The numeral 17 is very significant. There are 17 *stotras*, 17 *Śāstras*, 17 animal sacrifices for Prajapati, 17 objects were distributed, there were 17 *yupas* of 17 *aratnis* in height. At the time of enveloping the *yupa* with a girdle 17 pieces of cloth were employed (Apastambha. XVIII. 1-12). It lasted for 17 days and has 17 dikshas. There were 17 horses which were yoked to chariots and ran, 17 drums placed on the northern *sroni* were beaten. 17 cups of *Sura* and 17 cups of *soma*. It was performed by those who were desirous of temporal power (*adhipatyā*) or prosperity or *Svarājya*. Only brahmīns and *kshattriya*s could perform it and not a *Vaiśya*. Besides, the three animals for Agni and Indra (Rams), a barren cow for Maruts, an ewe for Sarasvatī, 17 hornless young goats of one colour for Prajapati, were offered in this sacrifice. Asvalayana (IX 9. 19) says, that after performing Vajapeya, a king should perform Rajasuya and a brahmīn should perform *Brihaspatīśya*.

In a previous para, we had occasion to refer to the differences of opinion between late Dr. A. S. Altekar and Dr. B. Dh. Chhabra over the interpretation of the word *sattako* in the first *yupa* pillar found at Barnala, dated 384 V.S. (=227-28 A.D.)¹⁶ Dr. Altekar wanted to read the word as *saptakam* qualifying *yupa* and thus inferring the performance of seven *soma* sacrifices. Dr. Chhabra wanted to read *sattrako* correcting the reading as *yapa sattrikah*, meaning the pillar connected with the sacrifice. Since the language of these epigraphs is not always pure classical Sanskrit, I am in agreement with Dr. Chhabra in thinking that *sattako* stands for *sattrako*. In *Jaiminiya* (X. 6., 6-61) word *sattrako* has been explained along with *ahina* (i. e. sacrifices which last for more than 17 days). The *sattras* differ from other forms *soma* sacrifices. During *sattra* the presiding priests can not take part in any other rite. The ideal *sattra* was *dvadasaha*, which is both *ahinra* and *sattra*.¹⁷ The word also occurs in the Isapur *yupa* Inscription now in the Mathura Museum.

Isapur *yupas* commemorate a *dvadasaha* sacrifice.¹⁸ All rites of more than 12 days are *sattras*, while *ahina* sacrifices are those which last from 2 to 12 days and which always ended with *atiratra*. Generally they commenced on a *Purnima* day. There are groups of rites amongst them eg. *Garg-Triratra*, which lasted for three days; there are others which lasted for four or five days or more, like *pancha-ratras*. *Saradiya*, *Shadahas* etc., *Dvadasaha* itself has sub-varieties; such as *Bharata-dvadasaha*. According to Mm. P. V. Kane, the differences between *ahina* and *sattra* types of *dvadasaha* are that (1) the latter can only be performed by *brahmanas*: while an *ahina* can be performed by any one of the first three *varnas*. (2) A *sattra* may extend over a long period, but an *ahina* could not, (3) In an *ahina* only the last day is *atiratra*, but in a *sattra* both the first and last days are *atiratra*.

16. *EP. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 120 fn 10.

17. A. B. Keith *op. cit.*, pp. 349 ff., P. V. Kane—*Hist. of Dharmasastras* vol. II. Pt. II. pp. 1213 ff.

18. *AR.*, *Asl.* 1910-11, p. 41 ff.

Dhanuṣraṭa, son of Hasti, belonging to the Maukhari tribe set up the fourth *yupa* at Badva for *Aptroyama* sacrifice.¹⁹ According to Kane this rite is similar to *Atiratta*, of which it appears to have been an amplification.²⁰ It was performed for long life to cattle and for selecting cattle of good breed. Kosam (Now Allahabad Museum) *yupa* was made to commemorate the performance of the *sapta soma-samsthā*. The details of *Pundarika* sacrifices, one of the *ahina* sacrifices, to commemorate which, Bijayagarh *yupa*, in Bharatpur district was erected, required more than one day, but less than 12 days, are to be found in *Purva-mimamsa*. The amount of *dakshina* was 10,000 cows or 100 horses (*Purva-mimamsa*) (Chap. X Pada 6. sutras 62 etc.)²¹

The *yupa* inscriptions, commemorative in character, supply us with invaluable data about religious practices in S. E. Rajasthan or old Mewar. That is *śrauta* sacrifices were actually performed when the whole of northern India had been overrun by Greeks, Sakas, *Pahlavas* and Turki-Kusnans. Indeed, many of them were either Buddhists or patrons of Brahminical faith like Saka Usahavadata or Mahokshatrapa Rudradaman or Menander the Greek. Nevertheless, the cultured and the more responsible elements felt, that society and spiritual life was deteriorating, It is mentioned in the Puranas. The later Indian religion which the western scholars have designated Brahminism was broad based upon Vedic thought and speculations; but, possibly underwent gradual changes, not due to lack of any immutable factors, but due to geographical, historical and evolutionary laws. Vedic thought was a system by which a nomadic people, with an admittedly rural culture sought to obtain not the goods of the material world, but salvation of the soul. A numerically inferior people, seeking patronage of superantural powers by efficacy of words, increase in progeny, protection against natural cataclysms, disease and a powerful enemy. The mythology inherited from a Pre-Indian past was an accumulation dealing with cosmic forces.

In India, these ideas apart from gradual changes that natural laws brought about, came into contact with, ideas and ideal, philosophies and beliefs, political and social organizations, which they tried to avoid but incurse of time many aspects of which they assimilated, absorbed and adopted. The new spirit made meditation.²² more efficacious than the rite itself. The logical result was, that divorced from its background, but claiming its sanction, it became a veritable manual of dogmas, cults, rituals and magic. By 5th Century A.D., this transformation had taken place. The *Brahmanas* (the manual for sacrifices) *Aranyakas* (or Forest books-for hermits living in the forests) leading to the philosophy of the *Upanishads* were compiled. They were followed

19. *EI*, vol. XXIU. p, 253.

20. *Kane-op. cit*, p. 206,

21. I am indebted for this reference to Mr. P. V. Kane through. L. G. Perb,

22. Origins of Jaina Practice—*Journal of Oriental Institutes, Baroda* Vol. I., No. 4.

by *Vedangas*, *Srutis* etc., containing rules for sacrifices and *Grihya sutra* governing the sacraments had also received final redaction. With these two, we are concerned in this paper. The *Dharmas Sastras* were the corpus of conduct, morals, religious and social manners. A syncretic type was developed by incorporation of alien dogmas, cults and philosophies. The best proof of this syncreticism are the great encyclopaediae the *Mahabharata* and the new message of the *Upanishads*. The contradiction to the theory that sacrifice became less and less important in the *Upanishads* is furnished by the *yupa* inscriptions of Rājasthān. The asceticism of *Yoga* known to *Patanjali* and his predecessors and traces of which are found on Harappa and Mohenjodaro seals and sealings, claimed that the knowledge of the absolute could be obtained by following its discipline; and it was this dogma that created ultimately the gods: Siva, Brahmā and Viṣṇu, and finally the ten *avatars* of the latter and and triune aspects: *sattva*, *tamas* and *rajas* of the first named, in the conception of Mahesamurti.

The Ghosundi stone inscription with its revised reading²³ the text of the Hathivada inscription (being three inscriptions but copies of one and the same text) testify to a different type of religious practices in ancient Rājasthān. Ghosundi text now informs us that it commemorates the erection of a *puja-sila-prakara* for the (temple of) Samkarshana-Vasudeva at Narayanavata (in Madhyamika) by King Sarvatrata, a performer of Asvamedha who belonged to Gajayāna *gotra*, and a son of Parāśara. According to the *Matsya Purana* the Gajāyana *gotra* belonged to the Kānva *sakha*. The cult of Vasudeva-Samkarshana is of great antiquity, not merely that, but heralds the dawn of later Vaishnavism. It is called *Bhagavatism*. Many scholars feel rightly or wrongly, that Bhāgavata cult was then natural reaction of Vedic practices. But the evidence of *yupa* inscriptions are not in favour of this hypothesis. Secondly, the Ghosundi inscription clearly shows that in C. 3rd Century B.C.,²⁴ Vāsudevaism had not then merged with Bhāgavatism or to be more correct Samkarshana worship, under the influence of *vyuha* doctrine. Panini, who lived about C. 5th Century B. C., states that along with *bhakti* (IV. 3. 95), the affix *vun* is used in the sense of "this is the object of *bhakti*" after the words Vāsudeva and Arjuna (XIX. 3. 98). Therefore, cults of Vāsudeva and Arjuna originated somewhere before C. 5th Century B. C., whose deeds were to be celebrated in the *Mahabharata*.

Dr. H. C. Ray Chandhury, concluded that in C. 4th Century B. C., Mathurā was a stronghold of Vāsudeva worship. The conclusion is based upon the evidence of Megasthenes.²⁵ But the Ghosundi and Besnagar pillar inscriptions prove that this cult had gained a firm foothold in Mewar and Central India (i. e. Malwa).

23. EI., Vol. XXII, pp. 204-05

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Materials for the Study of Early History of Vaishnava Sect.* 1920. pp. 55-56

What is more, the Besnagar Pillar inscription supplies objective evidence, that the cult had influenced the imagination of Greeks to such an extent, that Heliodrus, a member of the diplomatic corps, had embraced it at the expense of Hellenic paganism. This is but one instance, which has survived. Whether there were other instances like the evidence about Buddhism, furnished by the western Indian caves cannot be proved now. The present writer feels that the Ghosundi and Besnagar inscriptions do not merely prove the existence of the Bhāgavata cult in 3rd or 2nd centuries B. C., but their possible existence in the preceding centuries too.

That the Bhāgavata religion was very old, is proved by reference to it by Pāṇini. Pāṇini does not treat the name Vāsudeva as that of a divinity but as a proper name. But the attachment of the term *bhakti* to his name shows that by his times he was already about to attain divine ranks. The founder's name was Krishna-Vāsudeva—it was monotheistic. Possibly he was a pupil of Ghora-Aṅgīrasa, mentioned in *Chhandogya Upanishad* (III. 17. 6). Grierson was of opinion that long afterwards, his proper name Krishna received the same honour. Other names given to the Supreme in later times were "Purusha," or the Male (probably borrowed from *Sāṃkhya Yoga* Narayana and so forth, but, the oldest and original name was, as has been said, "Bhagavat." In Pāṇini's time they were also called Vasudevakas and Arjunakas.²⁶ The supreme deity was infinite, eternal, *prasada* (full of grace). At a later date, we find that Kautilya was acquainted with the cult of Saṃkarshaṇa. In course of time, they absorbed the message of the 'Upanishads' loosely, never weaving it securely in their doctrine. This later form of Bhāgavata cult is best illustrated by the *Narayaniya* section of the *Santis Parvan* of the *Mahabharata*. It alludes to the doctrine as Bhāgavata or *Pancharatras*. The creed being *bhakti*, as illustrated by the story of Ambarisha and Vishnu. *Mahabharata* (Ś. Parva) states that Saṃkarshaṇa is Jiva, while Vasudeva is *paramatman*. The creed defined the one God, *Bhagavat*, *Nārāyana Purusha* or Vāsudeva, who was *Ananta achyuta* and *avinasin* according to *Sāṃkhya*, *prakriti*, *pradhana* and *avaykta*. He created *Brahmā*, *Śiva* etc. They believed in the immortality of the soul.

The principles of creation resemble that of *Samkhya* but the spiritual supreme is not brought in connexion with matter. The *Santi Parvan* of the *Mahabharata* is divided into several sections the later half of which is called *Mokshadharma Parvan* and portion of this is called *Nārāyaniya*, which gives, a graphic account of the development of *Pancharatra* and *Vyuha* doctrines while purporting to discuss *Samkhya-Yoga*. The joint mention of Vāsudeva and Saṃkarshana in Ghosundi inscription, proves that in C. 3rd Century B. C., during the formative period of the Bhagavata cult and *Vyuha* doctrine S. E, Rajasthan or Mewar played an important part. The late Sir George Grierson defined *Vyuha* doctrine as follows; Vāsudeva in the act of creation not only produced *prakriti* the indiscrete (*avayakta*) primal matter of *Samkhya*, but also a *vyuha* or phase of conditioned

26. Grierson—The *Narayaniya* and the *Bhagavatas*—*Ind. Antiq.* vol, XXVIII (0908) p. 253.

spirit, called Samkarshana. From the combination of Samkarshana with prakriti was born a second phase of conditioned spirit, called *manas*, or Prādyumna. From the association of Pradyumna with *manas* sprang, *Samkhya ahamkara* or consciousness, a phase of third conditioned spirit, known as Aniruddha. From the association of Aniruddha with ahamkara sprang Samkhya mahamānas or elements and also Bramha.²⁷

That *vyuha* doctrine influenced the religious life of Rajasthan even in Rajput period, is proved by the finds of images of Vaikuntha-Narayana at Bijholiya, Jhalarpatan, Ahar, Nagda (Sas-Bohu Temples) and Eklingaji.²⁸

These inscriptions throw, therefore, valuable sidelights on religious conditions of S. E. Rājasthān in the centuries before the birth of Christ, demonstrating that many streams met to create modern Brahminism in its formative period. The particular point to be borne in mind is that Rajasthan worshipped two *Kshattriya* heroes: Vāsudeva and Samkarshana, who by C. 150 B.C., when Patanjali compiled his *Mahadhashya*, were no longer human beings but divinities. This ultimately merged with Vishṇu-Narayan and Krishna cults.

27. *Ind. Anti*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 261.

28. Cf. my forthcoming paper 'Interesting Images from S. E. Rajasthan in *Lalit Kala* Nos. 11-12