

CHAPTER – I

BRIEF SURVEY OF THE UPANIṢADIC LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION :

In this chapter I have tried to incorporate vast *Vedic* literature in brief and have covered the topics like the classification of *Upaniṣads*, their number and the chronological order.

The word *Upaniṣad* is in feminine gender derived from the root \sqrt{sad} = to sit to which 'Upa' and 'ni' prefixes have been added. It means to approach respectfully or sit near or to worship. The term *Upaniṣad* occurs in several major *Upaniṣads* like *Kena* (I.4.32); *Muṇḍaka* (II.2.3); *Taittirīya* (I.3.1; II.9.1; III.10.6); *Chāndogya* (I.1.10; I.13.4; III.5.1; VIII.8.4,5); *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (II.1.20; II.4.10; IV.1.2; IV.2.1; IV.5.11; V.5.3,4); *Śvetāśvatara* (I.16; V.6); *Maitrī* (VI.32) and *Kauṣītaki* (II.1), while we find it mentioned in the minor *Upaniṣads* like *Mahānārāyaṇa* (VII.5; XII.3; XXI.2; XXIV.1; XV.1) *Nṛsiṃhapūrvatāpini* (II.4; III.1); *Gopī* (II); *Āruṇeya* (2,5); *Nārāyaṇa* (3); *Kālāgnirudra* (2); *Kṛṣṇa* (15); *Ātmaprabhoda* (1); *Brahma* (3); *Skanda* (XVI); *Rāmottaratāpini* (III) and *Muktikā* (I.1,10,11,14; II.78). The word *Upaniṣad* has different connotations : (1) Truthful treatises – *Bṛhad* (II.1.20), *Maitrī* (VI.32); (2) Sprung from Great Entity – *Bṛhad* (II.4.10; IV.1.2; IV.5.11); *Maitrī* (VI.32)¹; (3) Comprising of Upāsana or worship of Supreme Reality – *Bṛhad* (V.5.3,4); *Muṇḍ* – II.2.3; (4) Secret doctrine / text – *Ch.* III.5.1; *Kena* I.4.32; *Tait.* I.3.1; (5) *Ātma-vidyā* – *Ch.* VIII.8.4,5; *Tait.* II.9.1; *Śvet.* I.16; *Muktikā* I; *Brahma*; *Mahānār.* XII.3; XIV.1; XV.1; *Skanda* XVI; *Rāmottara* III; (6) *Brahma-vidyā* – *Tait.* III.10.6; *Mahānār.* XXI.2; *Nṛsiṃhapūrvatāpini* II.4; III.1; *Gopī* II.

Upaniṣads are also known as *Vedānta* as chronologically they are the concluding portions of *Veda*. According to V. Raghavan² "The word *Vedānta* indicates not only its textual position at the end of the *Vedas*, but its Supreme importance as the acme and crown of the Vedic knowledge". According to Ghate³, "The word *Vedānta* signifies literally in Sanskrit 'end of the *Veda*', in common use, however, the word is used with reference to the concluding portions of the Vedic literature, known also as *Upaniṣads*. As a part of *Veda*, the *Vedānta* is *Śruti* or scripture, therefore

¹ अस्य महतो भूतस्य निश्चसितेमतद्यहवेदो उपनिषदः श्लोका . . . ।

² Raghavan V. — The Indian Heritage, An Anthology of Sanskrit Literature, Introduction, Pages 35-36.

³ Ghate V. S. — The *Vedānta*, page 38.

the *Vedānta* is identical with the *Upaniṣads*. The use of the term “*Vedānta*” in this sense will be found in the *Upaniṣads* themselves, for instance, in the *Muṇḍakopaniṣad* III.2.6 and the *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad* VI.22. Another way of interpreting the term *Vedānta* is where the word ‘*anta*’ implies ‘the final or ultimate teaching’ of the *Veda* i.e. *Uttaramīmāṃsā*. The third way of understanding the term *Vedānta* is where ‘*Veda*’ signifies ‘Knowledge’ and *Anta* – ‘the final aim or purpose’. *Vedānta* thus denotes the highest knowledge.

Upaniṣads, the perennial sources of wisdom, impart us the knowledge, which not only help us to live morally and ethically sound life but also leads us towards immortality. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan¹ rightly opines : “The *Upaniṣads* represent a great chapter in the history of the human spirit and have dominated Indian Philosophy, religion and life for three thousand years. They have survived many changes, religious and secular and helped many generations of men to formulate their views on the chief problems of life and existence.” It is still a matter of curiosity as to who might be the authors of these mines of knowledge. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar and R. D. Ranade² state : “We find at the beginning or the end of several of these texts the traditional succession of teachers and pupils, who probably were mainly responsible for the preservation and transmission of these holy words of wisdom to succeeding generations.” As far as the minor *Upaniṣads* are concerned, some are related by the teacher to his disciple like Ṛbhu and Nidāgha respectively in the *Annapūrṇopaniṣad* or some by a Brāhmaṇa philosopher to a *Kṣatriya* king and vice-versa like Yājñavalkya and Janaka. Some are of the nature of discussion on the philosophical concepts like five sheaths, four states etc.

Śaṅkarācārya has commented upon the 11 Major *Upaniṣads* which include *Śvetāśvatara*. Belvalkar and Ranade consider 13 *Upaniṣads* as the older ones, adding *Kauṣītaki*, *Śvetāśvatara* and *Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣads* to the list of ten *Upaniṣads* quoted above. R. E. Hume³ has translated these 13 *Upaniṣads* in English. Radhakrishnan⁴ treats 18 *Upaniṣads* as the Major ones and adds *Subāla*, *Jābāla*, *Paiṅgala*, *Kaivalya* and *Vajrasūcikā* to the above list of 13 *Upaniṣads*. Vadekar and Limaye also agree to the number of major *Upaniṣads* as 18 and adds *Śvetāśvatara*, *Kauṣītaki*, *Maitrāyaṇī*, *Bāṣkalamantra*, *Chāgaleya*, *Śaunaka* and *Jaiminīya Upaniṣads* to the list of 10 Major *Upaniṣads*.

¹ S. Radhakrishnan — The Principal *Upaniṣads*

² Belvalkar S. K. and Ranade R. D. — History of Indian Philosophy, vol. II, page 36

³ Hume R. E. — Thirteen Principal *Upaniṣads*

⁴ op. cit.

Śaṅkarācārya in his *Bhāṣya* on the *Brahmasūtras* also quotes from *Kauṣītaki*, *Jābāla*, *Mahānārāyaṇa* and *Paingala Upaniṣads* along with quotations from major *Upaniṣads*. Rāmānujācārya in his *ŚrīBhāṣya* also quotes from these minor *Upaniṣads* viz. *Jābāla*, (AV) *Cūlikā*, (AV) *Garbha* (AV) etc. apart from the major *Upaniṣads*. Vidyāraṇya muni includes *Nṛsimhottaratāpinī Upaniṣad* in his *Sarvopaniṣad- arthānubhūti-prakāśa*.¹

According to Vācaspati Gairola² : “The number of principal *Upaniṣads* is not yet sure. During the times of the chief commentators on *Vedānta* - Śaṅkara (8th century A.D.), Vācaspati Mishra (9th century A.D.), Rāmānuja (12th century A.D.), the number of *Upaniṣads* were almost 30, which belonged to the famous Vedic recessions. Till the time of commentators Śaṅkarnānda and *Nārāyaṇa* (12-14th cen. A.D.), this number of the *Upaniṣads* were almost doubled. Other than the principal *Upaniṣads* of three *Vedas*. 52 *Atharvaṇa-Upaniṣads* were also compiled or collected together.”

Dr. Surendranath Shastri³ states : “In spite of the great variety of philosophical thought on this and similar subjects that was to be found in the *Upaniṣads*, the want of new *Upaniṣads* was felt by the sects which sprang up in every part of India.”

“The *Upaniṣads* continued to multiply and at one stage they were enumerated as 108 in number, but this put no stop to the growth of later texts calling themselves *Upaniṣads*; some of them amplify the further details of the path of renunciation, knowledge and *Yoga*, contemplation of *Praṇava* and the practices of asceticism; the main feature of the rest are that while the more important among them are theistic and glorify one or the other of the personal aspects of divinity like Nṛsimha, Rāma and other incarnations of Viṣṇu, Sūrya or Devi, others concern themselves with : (1) Popular Divinities (e.g. Gaṇeśa) and Divine teachers (e.g. Dattātreyā) and (2) accessories of worship and religious and spiritual practices, e.g. the rosary (*Akṣamāla*, *Rudrākṣa*) and the holy ash (*Bhasma*)”, opines Dr. V. Raghavan.⁴ Today, the number of such *Upaniṣads* available are more than two hundred.

These *Upaniṣads* are termed as minor because 1) They belong to a later period as we find the influence of *Smṛti*, *Purāṇa* and *Tantra* literature on them. For eg. *Upaniṣads* like *Jābāla*, *Kṛṣṇā* etc. are influenced by Purāṇic

¹ Quoted by S. Radhakrishnan - The principal *Upaniṣads*, pg-21.

² Gairola Vachaspati — Sanskrit Sahitya ka Sankshipt Itihaas, pages 69-70,

³ Surendranath Śastri — A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature by F. Maxmiiller, Pg. 291.,

⁴ Dr. V. Raghavan — op. cit.

literature; Sītā and Dattātreyā have Tantrik influence and *Upaniṣads* like *Śāṇḍilya* and *Āruṇeyī* are influenced by *Dharmaśāstra* literature; while the *Śāṇḍilya* Upa. also follow the Haṭha-yogic practices to obtain Final Beatitude. 2). They make less use of metaphysical concepts like *Brahman*, *Jīvatmā*, *Mokṣa* etc. compared to the major *Upaniṣads*. 3). Unlike the major *Upaniṣads*, they borrow citations, or quote from earlier texts like the Vedic *Samhitās*, major *Upaniṣads*, Epics, *Yoga-Sūtras*, *Yoga-Yājñavalkya* etc. 4). Moreover we find references to various sciences like Education, Psychology, Physiology or Anatomy Ethics and Morality, *Haṭhayoga* etc. in these minor *Upaniṣads*. 5). The linguistic style of the minor upaniṣads like *Āruṇeyī*, *Jābāla*, *Atharvaśīras*, *Atharvaśikhā*, *Śāṇḍilya*, *Parabrahma*, *Kaivalya* etc. is catechismal like that of the *Kaṭha* and *Praśnopaniṣads*. *Kṛṣṇopaniṣad* is based on *Harivaṁśa* and *Bhāg. Purāṇa*. 6). The *Upaniṣads* like *Atharvaśīras*, *Atharvaśikhā*, *Sūrya*, *Kaivalya*, *Mahāvākya*, *Annapūrṇā*, *Dattātreyā* mention phalaśruti i.e. rewards of worshipping a deity which is a later feature hardly found in the earlier *Upaniṣads*. 7). Some of these minor *Upaniṣads* are like *stotras* eg. *Dattātreyā*, *Kṛṣṇa* etc.

Thus it is clear that there is hardly any genuine contribution of the minor *Upaniṣads*. They only elaborate the concepts already present in the earlier texts; but they have helped to preserve the vast treasure of knowledge with the changing times.

Dr. N. J. Shende¹ remarks : "The Bhrgvāṅgirases felt the necessity of supplementing the tenets of the new religion by means of the Atharvaṇic *Upaniṣads*. This seems to be the genesis of these *Upaniṣads*.... The Atharvaṇic tradition was greatly respected as it had saved the orthodox religion from its utter destruction and had helped to the establishment of the new religion on the sound basis. We can thus appreciate the growth of the Atharvaṇic *Upaniṣads* in this light. It does not appear that these *Upaniṣads* were assigned to the safe custody of the AV, but seems to be a definite and deliberate activity of the Atharvaṇic teachers in the defence of 'the *smārta* religion'.

¹ Shende N. J. — The Religion and Philosophy of AV, page 228

CHART - I

MINOR UPANISADS OF ATHARVAVEDA ACCORDING TO DIFFERENT SCHOLARS

SR. NO.	TEXT, AUTHOR'S NAME, PUBLISHER & DATE OF PUBLICATION	MINOR UPANISADS OF ATHARVAVEDA INCLUDED
1	Īśādi-aṣṭottaraśatopaniṣad : by Nārāyaṇa Rāmācārya, Pub. Nirṇayasāgara Press, 1948	भावना, ब्रह्मबिन्दु, प्राणाग्निहोत्र, जाबाल, हंस, नृसिंहपूर्वतापिनी, नृसिंहोत्तरतापिनी, गोपालपूर्वतापिनी, महानारायण, आरुणिका, कैवल्य, बृहज्जाबाल, क्षुरिका, त्रिपादविभूतिमहानारायण, श्रीरामोत्तरतापिनी, गोपालोत्तरतापिनी, संन्यास, सर्वसार, सीता, अथर्वशिर, अथर्वशिखा, गणेशपूर्वतापिनी, गणेशोत्तरतापिनी, गोपीचन्दन, पिण्ड, महा, आश्रम, योगशिखा = २८
2	The Religion and Philosophy of Atharvaveda : by N. J. Shende, Pub. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune, (40+17+11=68), 1952	कृष्ण, कालाग्रिरुद्र, वासुदेव, गोपीचन्दन, नारायण, आत्मबोध, गरुड, महा, वरदतापिनी, आश्रम, स्कन्द, गर्भ, पिण्ड, ब्रह्मविद्या, चूलिका, नादबिन्दु, प्राणाग्निहोत्र, आत्म, सर्वोपनिषत्सार, सीता, अमृतबिन्दु, ध्यानबिन्दु, योगशिखा, योगतत्त्व, संन्यास, परमहंस, अथर्वशिरस्, क्षुरिका, ब्रह्मबिन्दु, तेजोबिन्दु, ब्रह्म, आरुण्य, अथर्वशिखा, नीलरुद्र, नृसिंहपूर्वतापिनी, नृसिंहोत्तरतापिनी, रामपूर्वतापिनी, जाबाल, कैवल्य, बृहज्जाबाल, भावना, रामोत्तरतापिनी, नारदपरिव्राजक, त्रिपादविभूतिमहानारायण, रामरहस्य, शाण्डिल्य, हंसपरिव्राजक, अन्नपूर्णा, सूर्य, पाशुपतब्रह्म, परब्रह्म, त्रिपुरातापिनी, देवी, दत्तात्रेय, गोपालोत्तर, भस्मजाबाल, गणपति, महावाक्य, गोपालतापिनी, हयग्रीव, अमृतनाद = ६१
3	Upaniṣad : Swami Darśanānanda Sarasvatī, 1963	रामरहस्य, शरभ, शाण्डिल्य, जाबाल, बृहज्जाबाल, सीता, भावना, अथर्वशिखा, अथर्वशिर, कृष्ण, गणपति, गरुड, देवी, गोपालपूर्वतापिनी, गोपालोत्तरतापिनी, दत्तात्रेय, नारदपरिव्राजक, नृसिंहपूर्वतापिनी, नृसिंहोत्तरतापिनी, परब्रह्म, परिव्राजकात्रपूरण, परम, पाशुपत, सूर्यात्म, भस्म, महावाक्य, रामपूर्वतापिनी, रामोत्तरतापिनी = २८

4	Studies in the Sectarian <i>Upaniṣads</i> : by T. R. Sarma, Pub. Indological Book House, New Delhi, 1972	बृहज्जाबाल, सीता, भावना, अथर्वशिर, अथर्वशिखा, गणपति, भस्मजाबाल, शरभ, कृष्ण, गरुड, गोपालपूर्वतापिनी, गोपालोत्तरतापिनी, दत्तात्रेय, त्रिपादविभूतिमहानारायण, नृसिंहपूर्वतापिनी, नृसिंहोत्तरतापिनी, रामपूर्वतापिनी, रामोत्तरतापिनी, रामरहस्य, हयग्रीव, त्रिपुरा, त्रिपुरातापिनी, देवी = २३
5	Encyclopaedia of <i>Upaniṣads</i> : by N. S. Subrahmanian, Pub. Sterling Publishers, Delhi, 1985	अन्नपूर्णा, सूर्य, अथर्वशिखा, गणपति, अथर्वशिर, भस्मजाबाल, परमहंसपरिव्राजक, नारदपरिव्राजक, आत्मा, भावना, बृहज्जाबाल, सीता, सरभ, त्रिपुरातापिनी, देवी, कृष्ण, दत्तात्रेय, हयग्रीव, गरुड, गोपालतापिनी, त्रिपादविभूतिमहानारायण, रामरहस्य, रामतापिनी, नृसिंहतापिनी, महावाक्य, पाशुपतब्रह्म, शाण्डिल्य, परब्रह्म = २८
6	One Hundred and Twelve <i>Upaniṣads</i> : by Dr. A. N. Bhattācārya, Pub. Parimal Publications, Delhi, First Edition, : 1988	ब्रह्मबिन्दु, आरुणिका, कैवल्य, जाबाल, बृहज्जाबाल, भावना, सीता, क्षुरिका, प्राणाग्निहोत्र = ९
7	Sanskrit Vāṅmāyā Kośa : by Dr. S. B. Varnekar, Bhāratiya Bhāṣā Paṇiṣad, Kolkata, 1988	परमहंसपरिव्राजक, पिण्ड, बटुक, भस्मजाबाल, कैवल्य, जाबाल, भावना, गोपालपूर्वतापिनी, रामोत्तरतापिनी, योगशिखा, त्रिपादविभूतिमहानारायण, त्रिपुरातापिनी, दत्तात्रेय, देवी, नारदपरिव्राजक, नारायणपूर्वतापिनी, नारायणोत्तरतापिनी, रामतापिनी, रामपूर्वतापिनी, नृसिंहपूर्वतापिनी, नृसिंहोत्तरतापिनी, नृसिंहषट्चक्र = २२
8	<i>Upaniṣad Vicāraṇā</i> : by N. D. Mehta, Pub. Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad, First Edition, 1988	गर्भ, पिण्ड, गरुड, ब्रह्मविद्या, चुलिका, नादबिन्दु, अमृतबिन्दु, प्राणाग्निहोत्र, आत्मा, सर्वोपनिषत्सार, हंस, ध्यानबिन्दु, योगशिखा, योगतत्त्व, संन्यास, कठश्रुति, परमहंस, क्षुरिका, ब्रह्मबिन्दु, तेजोबिन्दु, ब्रह्म, आश्रम, अथर्वशिरस्, अथर्वशिखा, नीलरुद्र, कालाग्रिरुद्र, महानारायण, आरुणेय, जाबाल, कैवल्य, आत्मबोध, नृसिंहपूर्वतापिनी, नृसिंहोत्तरतापिनी, रामपूर्वतापिनी, रामोत्तरतापिनी = ३५
9	Minor <i>Upaniṣads</i> : by Swami Mādhavānanda, Advaita Āśrama – 7 th Edition, 1992	आत्मा, सर्वसार, तेजोबिन्दु, अमृतबिन्दु, ब्रह्म, कैवल्य, आरुणेयी = ७

CHART – II
CLASSIFICATION OF THE MINOR UPANISADS OF
ATHARVAVEDA ACCORDING TO DIFFERENT SCHOLARS

Sr. No.	Name of the Book and Author	Vedānta	Yoga	Samnyāsa
1.	Encyclopaedia of <i>Upaniṣads</i> N. S. Subramanian, Sterling Publishers, Delhi, 1985	आत्मा, अन्नपूर्णा, सूर्योपनिषद् = 3	महावाक्य, शाण्डिल्य, पाशुपतब्रह्म = 3	परमहंसपरिव्राजक, नारदपरिव्राजक, परब्रह्म = 3
2.	Upaniṣatsaṅgrahaḥ J. L. Shastri, Motilal Banarasidas, 1960	ब्रह्मबिन्दु, कैवल्य, जाबाल, हंस, आरुणिक, महानारायण, अथर्वशिर, अथर्वशिखा, बृहज्जाबाल, नृसिंहपूर्वतापिनी, नृसिंहोत्तरतापिनी, क्षुरिका, सर्वसार, सीता, भावना, महानारायण- त्रिपादविभूति, रामोत्तर- तापिनी, गोपीचन्दन, गोपालपूर्वतापिनी, गोपालोत्तरतापिनी, पिण्ड, महा, गणेशपूर्वतापिनी, गणेशोत्तरतापिनी, आश्रम, योगशिखा, संन्यास=27	सूर्यतापिनी = 1	-
3.	Thirty Minor <i>Upaniṣads</i> K. Narayanswami Aiyar, Primal Publishers, 1992	-	शाण्डिल्य = 1	नारदपरिव्राजक=1
4.	Sixty <i>Upaniṣads</i> of the Veda Paul Deussen, Motilal Banarasidas - 1980	गर्भ, प्राणाग्निहोत्र, पिण्ड, आत्मा, गरुड, सर्वोपनिषत्सार = 6	ब्रह्मविद्या, क्षुरिका, चूलिका, नादबिन्दु, ब्रह्मबिन्दु, अमृतबिन्दु, ध्यानबिन्दु, तेजोबिन्दु, योगशिखा, योगतत्त्व, हंस=11	ब्रह्म, संन्यास, आरुण्य, कण्वश्रुति, परमहंस, जाबाल, आश्रम = 7

5.	The History of Indian Literature Albrecht Weber, Chowkhamba, Varanasi, Translation by John Mann & Theodor Zachariac, 1961, 6 th Edition	गर्भ, ब्रह्म, आर्षिक, प्राणाग्निहोत्र, त्रिपुरी, आप्तवज्रसूचि, आत्मा, सर्वोपनिषत्सार, निरालम्ब = 9	जाबाल, कठश्रुति, आरुणिक, भाल्लवि, तारक, शाकल्य, हंस, संवर्तश्रुति, संन्यास, शौनक, परमहंस, आश्रम, प्रणव, श्रीमद्भक्तोपनिषद्, क्षुरिका, अथर्वशिखा, ब्रह्मविद्या, हंसनाद, नादबिन्दु, ब्रह्मबिन्दु, अमृतबिन्दु, ध्यानबिन्दु, तेजोबिन्दु, योगशिखा, योगतत्त्व, चूलिका = 26	-
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Sr. No.	Name of the Book and Author	Śaiva	Vaiṣṇava	Śākta
1.	Encyclopaedia of <i>Upaniṣads</i> N. S. Subramanian, Sterling Publishers, Delhi, 1985	अथर्वशिखा, अथर्वशिर, गणपति, बृहज्जाबाल, भस्मजाबाल, शरभ = 6	कृष्ण, दत्तात्रेय, गरुड, हयग्रीव, रायरहस्य, रामतापिनी, नृसिंहतापिनी, गोपालतापिनी, त्रिपादविभूतिमहा- नारायण = 9	त्रिपुरातापिनी, देवी, भावना, सीता = 4
2.	Upaniṣatsaṅgrahaḥ J. L. Shastri, Motilal Banarasidas, 1960	पारायण, बटुक = 2	गोपीचन्दन, राधा, लाङ्गूल, नृसिंहषट्चक्र, नारायणपूर्वतापिनी, नारायणोत्तरतापिनी=6	षोड, हंसषोड, सुमुखी, अद्वितीय, कालिका, वनदुगी, श्याम, श्रीचक्र, कामराजकीलितो- द्वारा, कालोमेधा- दीक्षित, गुह्यषोढा- न्यास=11

3.	Studies in the Sectarian <i>Upaniṣads</i> T. R. Sarma, Indological Book House, New Delhi, 1952, 1972	अथर्वशिर, अथर्वशिखा, गणपति, बृहज्जाबाल, भस्मजाबाल, शरभ = 6	कृष्ण, गरुड, दत्तात्रेय, गोपालपूर्व-तापिनी, गोपालोत्तर-तापिनी, त्रिपादविभूतिमहा- नारायण, नृसिंहपूर्व- तापिनी, नृसिंहोत्तर- तापिनी, रामपूर्व- तापिनी, रामोत्तर- तापिनी, राम-रहस्य, हयग्रीव=12	त्रिपुर, त्रिपुरतापिनी, देवी, भावना, सीता = 5
4.	Sixty <i>Upaniṣads</i> of the Veda Paul Deussen, Motilal Banarasidas - 1980	अथर्वशिर, अथर्वशिखा, नीलरुद्र, कैवल्य, कालाग्रिरुद्र = 5	महा, नारायण, आत्मबोध, नृसिंहपूर्वतापिनी, नृसिंहोत्तरतापिनी, रामपूर्वतापिनी, रामोत्तरतापिनी = 7	-
5.	The History of Indian Literature Albrecht Weber, Chowkhamba, Varanasi, Translation by John Mann & Theodor Zachariac, 1961, 6 th Edition	शतरुद्रीय, कैवल्य, अथर्वशिरस्, त्रिपुरा, मृत्युलाङ्घन, स्कन्द, कालाग्रिरुद्र, कौल, सुन्दरीतापनीय = 9	महा, नारायण, आत्मप्रबोध, नृसिंहपूर्वतापिनी, नृसिंहोत्तरतापिनी, रामपूर्वतापिनी, रामोत्तरतापिनी, गोपालपूर्वतापनीय, गोपालोत्तरतापनीय, गोपीचन्दन = 10	-

ŚĀNTI-PĀṬHA OF UPANIṢADS

There is a tradition of *Maṅgalā* verse among the Sanskrit scholars for the obstacle-less completion of the text. So also there is a tradition of reading the *Śāntipāṭha* of the respective *Veda* in the beginning and at the end of the *Upaniṣad*. There are five *Śānti-pāṭhas* of different *Vedas* as stated in the *Muktikopaniṣad*.

The *Śāntipāṭha* of RV is : “वाङ्मे मनसि प्रतिष्ठिता”. The *Upaniṣads* of *Śukla YV* have the *śānti-pāṭha* : “ॐ पूर्णमदः पूर्णमिदं”. The *Upaniṣads* of *Kṛṣṇa YV* have the *śānti-pāṭha* : “ॐ सहना वक्तु । सह नौ भुनक्तु ।”. The *Upaniṣads* of *SV* have the *Śāntipāṭha* : “ॐ आप्यायन्तु ममाङ्गानि”. The *Upaniṣads* of *AV* like *Praśna*, *Muṇḍaka*, *Māṇḍukya*, *Atharvaśira*, *Atharvaśikha*, *Sītā*, *Śarabha*, *Mahānārāyaṇa*, *Rāmarahasya*, *Śāṇḍilya*,

Paramahansa-parivrājaka, *Annapūrṇā*, *Sūrya*, *Ātmā*, *Pāśupata*, *Parabrahma*, *Mahāvākya*, *Kṛṣṇa*, *Dattātreyā* etc. have the *Śāntipāṭha* : “ॐ भद्रं कर्णेभिः शृणुयाम देवाः भद्रं पश्ये माक्षभिर्यजत्राः । स्थिरैरङ्गैस्तुष्टुवांसस्तनूभिः व्यशेम देवहितं यदायुः ॥ ॐ शान्तिः शान्तिः शान्तिः ॥५॥” “भद्रं कर्णेभिः” *Muktikopaniṣad* thus, enumerates total 108 *Upaniṣads* : *Rgveda*-10; *Śukla Yajurveda*-19; *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda*-32; *Sāmaveda*-16 and *Atharvaveda*-31.

This classification, however, can scarcely be based on an ancient tradition.¹ “All these *Upaniṣads*, which are non-Vedic, i.e. not of an earlier date, are generally called *Upaniṣads* of the AV. They were associated with the AV, because the authority of this *Veda* as sacred tradition was always dubious and it was therefore no difficult matter to associate all kinds of apocryphal texts with the literature belonging to the AV.” states Winternitz². Some *Upaniṣads* teach *Brahmavidyā* by means of *Yoga*, and might be classified as well with the *Vedānta* as with the *yoga Upaniṣad*; and some *Yoga Upaniṣads* might as well be classified as *Vaiṣṇava* etc. like *Mahāvākya*, *Sūrya*, *Parabrahma* etc.

According to R. C. Majumdar³ : “The remaining *Upaniṣads* which have come down to us either independently or in larger collections have very little connection with the *Veda*. Some of them contain very little that may be called Philosophical, and some are more akin to the *Purāṇas* and the *Tantras* than to the *Veda*.”

These *Upaniṣads* are known as minor *Upaniṣads* because they do not prominently discuss the metaphysical topics like the Supreme Reality, Individual Soul, Final Beatitude etc. But they discuss and elaborate the topics mainly dealt in the *Smṛtis*, *Purāṇas* and *Tantra* literature. For eg. the *Dattatreyā Upa.* contain only *mantras* which show the influence of *Tantra* literature. The *Sitopaniṣad* glorifies *Sītā* as a *Śaktī*, which is a later concept i.e. developed more around 8th cen. A.D. According to P. V. Kane⁴, “.....The concept of *Śaktī* was in prevalence long before 8th cen. A.D.” The *Kṛṣṇopaniṣad* describes the external paraphernalia of God *Kṛṣṇa* and personifies it. The *Annapūrṇopaniṣad* describes the characteristics of a *Jīvanmukta* and a *Videhamukta*, and the seven stages of knowledge leading to Final Beatitude, which are discussed in detail in

¹ Rāmānuja quotes the *Garbha Upaniṣad* and the *Mantrika*.(=Culika) *Upaniṣad* as AV *Upaniṣad*, although the history in the *Muktika Upaniṣad* counts the one as belonging to the black and other to the white YV.

² Winternitz M. — A History of Vedic Literature, page-209, fn-5.

³ Majumdar R. C. — The History and Culture of Indian People — The Vedic Age, page 472..

⁴ Kane P. V. — History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. V, Page 1041.

the *Yoga-Vāsiṣṭha - Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki. (c. 11th cen. A.D.). While the *Sūryopaniṣad* briefly discusses the physical traits and iconographical details of God Sūrya, who is identified with Brahma. In all these theistic *Upaniṣads* we find the fusion of *Vedic* as well as *Purāṇic* impact.

As regards the non-theistic *Upaniṣads*, the *Mahāvākya Upaniṣad* is a short *Upaniṣad* and Unlike Īśa and *Māṇḍūkya* it does not deal with the prominent metaphysical concepts like the Supreme Reality, Individual Soul, Four states, *Omkāra* etc.

Some of the minor *Upaniṣads* of AV are like *Prakarāṇa* - treatises viz. *Kaivalya*, *Āruṇeyī*, *Kṣurikā*, *Ātmā*, *Parabrahma*, *Amṛtabindu*, *Tejabindu Upa.* etc. Thus, the minor *Upaniṣads* discuss the topics already dealt in the major *Upaniṣads*. So there is hardly any original contribution of these *Upaniṣads* to Indian philosophy in general.

N.S. Subrahmanian¹ divides these minor *Upaniṣads* in seven categories : (1) *Prasiddha-tatvajñāna* -10, (2) *Sāmānya-Vedānta* - 25, (3) *Śaiva* - 14, (4) *Śākta* - 8, (5) *Vaiṣṇava* - 14, (6) *Yoga* - 20 and (7) *Samnyāsa* - 17.

According to F. MaxMüller², “Not only the *Vedānta* philosopher, who, by his very name, professes his faith in the end and objects of the *Veda*³, but the *Sāṅkhya*, the *Vaiśeṣika*, the *Nyāya* and the *Yoga* philosophers, all pretend to find in the *Upaniṣads* some warranty for their tenets, however antagonistic in their bearing. The same applies to the numerous sects that have existed and still exists in India. Their founders, if they have any pretensions to orthodoxy, invariably appeal to some passage in the *Upaniṣads* in order to substitute their own reasoning. Now it is true that in the *Upaniṣads* themselves there is so much freedom and breath of thought that it is not difficult to find in them same authority for almost any shade of philosophical opinion. The old *Upaniṣads* did not pretend to give more than “guesses at truth”, and when, in case of time, they became invested with an inspired character, they allowed great attitude to those who professed to believe in them as revelation. Yet this was not sufficient for the rank growth of philosophical doctrines during the latter ages of Indian history; and when none of the ancient *Upaniṣads* could be found to suit the purpose, the founders of new sects had no scruple and no difficulty in

¹ Subrahmanian N. S. — Encyclopaedia of the *Upaniṣads* — page-5

² F. MaxMüller — A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature by Dr. Surendranath Shastri.

³ *Vedānta* is used, but not yet in its technical sense, *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*-X.12; a verse frequently repeated elsewhere : वेदान्तविज्ञानसुनिश्चितार्थाः संन्यासयोगाद्यतयः शुद्धसत्त्वाः । ते ब्रह्मलोकेषु परान्तकाले परामृताः परिमुच्यन्ति सर्वे ॥

composing new *Upaniṣads* of their own. This accounts for the large and ever growing number of these treatises. Every new collection of Ms.; every new list of *Upaniṣad* - given by native writers, adds to the number of those which were known before; and the most modern compilations seen now to enjoy the same authority as the really genuine treatises."

DATE OF UPANIṢADS

It is very difficult to determine the exact date of the major as well as minor *Upaniṣads*. Different scholars have tried to limit them upto a certain period on the basis of internal as well as external evidences found by them.

Major *Upaniṣads*

Sr. No.	Name of the Author	Approximate Date of the Major <i>Upaniṣads</i>
1.	Lokmanya Tilak	1600 BC
2.	MaxMüller	Before 600 BC
3.	Paul Deussen	1000-500 BC
4.	Ranade R. D.	1200-600 BC
5.	Belvalkar S. K.	950-550 BC
6.	Hume R. E.	600 BC
7.	S. Radhakrishnan	800-300 BC
8.	Diwakar R. R.	1550-500 BC

Thus, it is observed that the ancient *Upaniṣads*, being a part of Vedic literature, were considered to have been composed before the rise of Buddhism i.e. before 600 BC.

Regarding the minor *Upaniṣads*, Weber¹ remarks "The *Atharvaṇa Upaniṣad* come down as far as the time of *Purāṇas*, and in their phases they distinctly enter the lists in behalf of sectarian views." Belvalkar² states : "The earlier of some of the more important minor (i.e. excluding the 12-13 so-called principal *Upaniṣads*) *Upaniṣads* appear to have been produced (or there does not seem to have been extent at present) any strictly "Vedāntic" work outside the older *Purāṇas*."

¹ Weber Alfrecht — History of Vedic Literature, page 154.

² Belvalkar S. K. — Basumallick Lectures on *Vedānta*, page 132.

Winternitz¹ opines : “There are 200 texts which have come down to us either independently as *Upaniṣads* or in larger collections, and they are also attributed by tradition to one or other of the *Vedic* schools, only a few of them have any real connection with the *Veda*. Most of them are religious rather than philosophical works, and contain the doctrines and views of school of philosophers and religious sects of a much later period. Many of them are much more nearly related to the *Purāṇas* and *Tantra* chronologically as well as in content, than to the *Veda*. The latest *Upaniṣadic* literature may be classified as follows, according to its purpose and contents: (1) Those works which present *Vedānta*-doctrines; (2) Those which teach *Yoga*; (3) Those which extol the ascetic life (*samnyāsa*); (4) Those which glorify Viṣṇu; (5) Those which glorify Śiva as the highest divinity and (6) *Upaniṣads* of the *Śāktas* and of other more insignificant sects. These minor *Upaniṣads* are written partly in prose, partly in a mixture of prose and verse, and partly in *Ślokas* (verses). There are some works among the former which may be of greater antiquity, and which might consequently still be associated with the *Veda* : The *Jābāla Upaniṣad*² which closes with a beautiful description of the ascetic named *Paramahansa*, is quoted by Śaṅkarācārya in his *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya*. The Śaivite *Atharvaśiras Upaniṣad*³ is already mentioned in the *Dharmasūtras*⁴ as a sacred text by virtue of which sins can be washed away. According to P. V. Kane⁵, the dates of *Baudhāyana*, *Gautama* and *Vaśiṣṭha Dharmasūtras* are between 600-300 BC and the date of *Viṣṇu Smṛti* is between 100-300 AD. So *Atharvaśirasopaniṣad* is before 600 BC-300 AD.

“Thus, all these chronological arrangements are provisional. Yet it seems that the major creative activity of the *Ātharvaṇic* teachers of the *Upaniṣads* must have fallen between 500 BC to 500 AD. The compositions like the *MBh*, *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Manusmṛti* may easily fall in the central part of this period”, states Dr. N. J. Shende⁶. This view is corroborated by M. C. Patel⁷, who opines that *Sarvopaniṣad* might have been written during the *Mahābhārata* times (i.e. between 250-150 BC).

There are different criteria to determine the date of these minor *Upaniṣads*. For e.g.: (1) Thematic discussion found therein i.e. discussion

¹ Winternitz M. — A History of Indian Literature, page 208-209

² F. O. Schrader - I — Minor *Upaniṣads*, page 57, ff. Deussen; Sachzig *Upaniṣads*, page 706 ff.

³ Dussen loc. cit. page 716ff. See also Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism etc. page 111 ff.

⁴ Gautama — XIX-12; Baudhāyana-III.10.10; Vaśiṣṭha-XXII-9, XXVIII.14; Viṣṇu-56.22

⁵ Kane P. V. — History of *Dharmaśāstra*

⁶ Shende N. J. — The Religion and Philosophy of the Atharvaveda

⁷ Patel M. C. — *Upaniṣad Jyoti* (1929)

on various topics which may lead to suppose their date; (2) Style of writing i.e. use of metres etc.; (3) Use of Tantric terms like *Bīja*, *Kīlaka* etc.; (4) Mention of *Phalaśruti* i.e. reward of worshipping a particular deity; (5) Use of *Mantras* in minor *Upaniṣads* (not found in earlier *Upaniṣads*); (6) Quotations found in these minor *Upaniṣads*; (7) Historical figures mentioned in the texts of Minor *Upaniṣads*; (8) Use of the proper names of Geographical places; (9) Comparative study of the concepts found in the earlier major *Upaniṣads* and the Minor *Upaniṣads*; (10) Mention of their names in other texts and (11) Commentaries found on these *Upaniṣads*.

Śaṅkarācārya (788-820 AD) quotes from *Jābāla Upaniṣad* (*Khanda-4*) in his *Bhāṣya* (commentary) on the *Brahmasūtra* (III.4.20) : ब्रह्मचर्यं परिसमाप्य गृही भवेत् . . . etc. This proves that *Jābāla Upaniṣad* was composed even before Śaṅkarācārya i.e. before eighth century AD. Rāmānujācārya, an exponent of *Viśiṣṭādvaita* Philosophy (c. 11th century AD) quotes from *Ātmā*, *Kaivalya* and *Jābāla Upaniṣads* (pages 21, 92 and 30 respectively) which proves that these *Upaniṣads* were there before Rāmānuja.

If we look into the contents of *Śāṇḍilyopaniṣad*, we find verses verbatim from *Yoga-Yājñavalkya* (c. 300-400 AD). This shows that it must be written after *Yoga Yājñavalkya*. Even Śaṅkarācārya in his *Bhāṣya* on *Śvet. Upaniṣad* has quoted 4½ verses from *Yoga-Yājñavalkya*. *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* (c. 14th century AD) of Svātmārāma Yogīndra also contain verses verbatim from *Śāṇḍilya Upaniṣad*. Hence the lower limit and upper limit for the date of this *Upaniṣad* can be 300-1400 AD.

Sītopaniṣad refers to the *Aṣṭāṅga Yoga* i.e. eight limbs of *Yoga* (*Yama* etc.) as mentioned by Patañjali (150 BC-100 AD) in his *Yogasūtras*. This shows or proves that *Sītopaniṣad* is of a later period than Patañjali i.e. after 100 AD. The date of *Rāmāyaṇa*, according to C. V. Vaidya¹ is 100 BC. A. D. Pusalker² states that *Rāmāyaṇa* was composed by Vālmīki in 300 BC. It is conjectured that the work reached its present extent and contents only towards the close of the second century AD, opines Krishna Chaitanya³. F-Kamil Bulke considers the period of *Rāmāyaṇa* as 81 BC. Hence we can state the upper and lower limit of *Rāmāyaṇa* as 300 BC-200 AD. Moreover, *Śakti* as a deity is a later concept, hence it belongs to the later strata, i.e. after 200 AD.

¹ Vaidya C. V. — History of Sanskrit Literature vol. IV, page 2

² Pusalker A. D. — Studies in the Epics and Purāṇas of India, pp XLI-XLII,

³ Krishna Chaitanya — A New History of Sanskrit Literature, page 171

According to Mahadev Shastri Joshi¹, "In the *Adbhūta Rāmāyaṇa* (c. 14th century), we find the terrible form of Sītā. During this time *Śākta* cult had its influence all over India. Sītā is the *Ādi-Śakti*, this belief is prevailing since 10th-11th century AD." Gopinātha Kavirāja divides the history of *Śākta* culture attentively into three periods: Ancient or pre-Buddhist, rather post-Christian upto 12th century; Medieval or post- Buddhist, rather post-Christian upto 12th century; Modern, from 13th century onwards.²

No independent work on the *Śakti* cult in the ancient period is available while the medieval was the most creative period in the history of the *Śākta* literature. Most of the standard works, including the major *Purāṇas*, *Upaniṣads* and the original *Āgamas* were written in this period. The modern period too has been productive, but with a few brilliant exceptions most of the works produced in this period are of the secondary character.³

According to Pushpendra Kumar⁴, "A critical study of the *Śākta Upaniṣads* reveals that they follow closely the *Purāṇic* basis of Śaktism, which demonstrates the profound influence of the *Purāṇa* literature on the ideas and speculations of the age of these *Upaniṣads* . . . Śaktism has been evidently prevalent in all the ages of our history, but became remarkably popular in the epico-purāṇic period, i.e. 1st to 12th century AD and it is still enjoying a wide respect in all the sections of the society, throughout the length and breath of the country.

J. N. Sinha⁵ opines : "There are *Śākta Upaniṣads* which can be undoubtedly said to belong to the later epochs in Indian History, which contain references and glorify the *Śakti* cult." These *Upaniṣads* contain the philosophical basis of Śaktism and centre round *Śakti*, regarded as Brahman or *Īśvara*. Dr. A. G. Krishnawarrier⁶ states : "A close examination of the *Śākta Upaniṣads* may disclose the fact that most of them came to be composed after the composition of *Saundaryalaharī*, nay, after even that of its commentary by Lakṣmīdhara.⁷ A very late date of the *Śākta Upaniṣads* is suggested by the fact that the erudite commentator,

¹ Joshi Mahadevshastri — *Bhāratīya Sanskruti Kośa*, page 206

² Article on Śākta Philosophy in the *History of Philosophy, Eastern and Western*, ed. S. Radhakrishnan, vol. I, page 402.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Pushpendra Kumar — *Śakti cult in Ancient india*, page 26,278

⁵ Sinha J. N. — *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, page 87

⁶ Krishnawarrier A. G. — *The Śākta Upaniṣads*, page ix, Introduction

⁷ Lakṣmīdhara has been assigned to the end of the 13th cen. by Farquhar (op-cit., page 265). P. K. Gode assign him the first half of the 16th cen. (vide *Saundaryalaharī*, ed. By W. N. Brown, Introduction, page 26).

Lakṣmīdhara does not quote any text from them in the course of his elaborate commentary on the *Saundaryalaharī*. It is incredible that in case they were known to him, he should have so scrupulously avoided only reference to the *Śākta Upaniṣads*.”

Similarly the reference to the *Aṣṭāṅga Yoga* is also found in *Śāṇḍilyopaniṣad* in the beginning. Hence it can be said that even *Śāṇḍilyopaniṣad* belongs to a later period than 100 AD.

Kṛṣṇopaniṣad consists of the depiction of God Kṛṣṇa as it is found in the *Harivaṁśa* (c. 150 BC) and *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (c. 300 AD). Furthermore, we also find allegorical description of the characters related to Kṛṣṇa like Yaśodā, Devakī, Nanda etc. According to Usha Aggarwal¹, “In Sanskrit drama, the Buddhist dramatist Aśvaghoṣa (end of 1st century BC) is the first to bring out allegorical figures.” And Keith² opines, “It was only in the 11th century when Kṛṣṇa-Miśra’s *Prabodhacandrodaya* was written for the first time as a complete allegorical drama.” This proves that Allegory is as early as end of 1st century BC and as late as 11th century. Hence *Kṛṣṇopaniṣad* might fall in the time period between 300 AD-1100 AD.

If attempt is made to evaluate the dates of the 18 minor *Upaniṣads* from the literary point of view then we cannot form a common conclusion as the style of these *Upaniṣads* along with different terminologies used therein, differ from each other. For e.g. some *Upaniṣads* like *Sūrya*, *Dattātreya*, *Sītā* etc. contain the terms like *Bīja*, *Kīlaka* etc. which pertain to the concepts of *Tantra*. Moreover, the thematic patterns as well as size of these *Upaniṣads* vary. Use of such later terms like *Bīja*, *Kīlaka*, help us to determine their probable date. They resemble more to the *Stotras* i.e. the *Stotra* literature than to the earlier *Upaniṣads*. For e.g. (a) Use of the terminologies like *Bīja*, *Kīlaka* found mostly in the *Stotras*; (b) Pattern or style of presentation of contents, viz. the whole of *Dattātreya Upaniṣad* comprises of various *mantras* of different syllables; (c) *Mahāvākya Upaniṣad* is small without any mention to the four *Mahāvākyas*; (d) Use of the original concepts found in major *Upaniṣads* like five sheaths (viz. *Annamaya*, *Prāṇamaya*, *Manomaya*, *Vijñānamaya* and *Ānandamaya*), four states (viz. *Jāgrat*, *Svapna*, *Suṣupti* and *Turīya*) etc. are described in detail in the minor *Upaniṣads*; (e) Mention of *Phalaśruti* at the end of some minor *Upaniṣads* undertaken for study like *Atharvaśīras*, *Atharvaśikhā*, *Śāṇḍilya*, *Sūrya* etc.; (f) Quotes from *Vedic* and earlier texts proclaim

¹ Aggarwal Usha — Philosophical Approach to Sanskrit Allegorical Dramas, Introduction, page xi.

² Keith A. B. — The Sanskrit Drama, page 25

their later date; (g) The five theistic *Upaniṣads* like *Sūrya*, *Sītā*, *Annapūrṇā*, *Dattātreya* and *Kṛṣṇa* eulogize their respective deities as the highest authorities i.e. henotheism (just like a *Stotra* of any deity).

Sūryopaniṣad portrays the Sun-god as having lotus in his hands. According to L. P. Pandey¹ "The Sun-god with lotus in his hands seem to be the later concept, because it was not found till the *Suṅga* period. This is an evidence that *Sūrya Upaniṣad* is a later *Upaniṣad* than 3rd century A.D." Regarding the concept of "पद्मद्वयाभयवरदहस्त", the exact description of Sun-god given here in this *Upaniṣad*, such an iconographical evidence is found in the Sun-image of South-Indian tradition of the period of the *Pallavas* (C. 900 AD), preserved in the natural museum, New Delhi, where the god is standing with two lotus flowers held in his two hands, raised upto the shoulders.

We do not find any reference to the date of *Mahāvākya Upaniṣad* as well. This *Upaniṣad* consists of the glorification of Āditya as Brahman and in addition it forms a part of *Atharvaśira* category as mentioned in the text itself – य एतदथर्वशिरोऽधीते । According to N. J. Shende², there are a number of *Atharvaśiras Upaniṣads* viz. *Atharvaśiras*, *Nārāyaṇa*, *Cūlikā*, *Devī*, *Gaṇapati* etc. The *Mahāvākya Upaniṣad* instructs into the experience of the Brahman by means of *Yoga*. This constitutes the *Atharvaśiras*. Shende states the date of *Atharvaśiras Upaniṣad* as 200 AD. Hence we can also assign the same date to *Mahāvākya Upaniṣad*.

As far as the date of *Annapūrṇā Upaniṣad* is concerned, we do not find any reference to *Annapūrṇā* earlier than the works of Śaṅkarācārya (788-820 AD) and this deity is not mentioned in *Durgā-saptasatī*, *Lalitāsahasranāma* as well as *Devī Purāṇa*. It means that the Goddess was worshipped before Śaṅkarācārya. Hence the *Upaniṣad* must have been written before Śaṅkarācārya, i.e. before 800 AD. But as we do not find its reference in the earlier texts (i.e. before 600 AD) dealing with female deity, it can be stated that *Annapūrṇopaniṣad* must have been written after 600 AD. Moreover we find verses in verbatim in the *Annapūrṇopaniṣad* and *Laghu Yoga Vāsiṣṭha* of Gauḍa Abhinanda (9th century AD). Hence *Annapūrṇopaniṣad* might have been written in between 600-900 AD.

The *Parabrahma Upaniṣad* is of *Samnyāsa* category. This concept of *Samnyāsa* is not earlier than *Baud. Dh. Sūtra* (200 AD) or *Manusmṛti* (c. 200 BC-200 AD) or *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* (c. 100 AD-400 AD). Hence

¹ Pāṇḍeya L. P. — Sun Worship in Ancient India, page 95

² Shende N. J. — The Religion and Philosophy of the AV, page 234-35

this *Upaniṣad* might belong to a period later than 400 AD.

Regarding the date of *Dattātreyā Upaniṣad*, no such evidences are found as the whole *Upaniṣad* comprises of different syllabled *mantras* of Dattātreyā. We find reference to Dattātreyā as the son of Atri and Anasūyā in *Bhāg. Purāṇa* (300-600 A.D.) It means Dattātreyā as an incarnation is worshipped before Bhāgavata. Moreover it contains *Bīja*, *Kilaka*, *Ṛsi*, *Devatā*, *Chanda* etc. for the *mantras* therein. This is a later feature found in *Tantra* worship. According to P.V. Kane, “the *Purāṇas* began to incorporate the special ceremonial characteristics of the *Śāktas* and *Tāntrikas*.” Moreover from the description found in the works of Bāṇa, especially Harṣacarita, it is clear that long before the 7th century A.D. the worship of Caṇḍī with flesh and the *Śākta* or *Tāntrik* paraphernalia of *mantras* etc. had gripped the minds of all Indian people. From these sources, we may assume that *Dattātreyā Upa.* must have been written when these *Tāntrik mantra* patterns were in vogue i.e. between 300 A.D. - 900 A.D.

Moreover, minor *Upaniṣads* like *Jābāla*, *Atharvaśīras*, *Mahāvākya*, *Sūrya* etc. contain quotes from various earlier as well as later texts like *ṚV*, *YV*, *SV*, *VS*, *AV*, *TS*, *TA*, *Śv. Upa.*, *Ch. Upa.*, *Taitt. Upa.*, *Muṇ. Upa.*, *Mait. Upa.*, *Gaudapādakārikā*, *Baud. Dh. Sūtra*, *BG* and several other minor *Upaniṣads*. The list of quotes is as follows :

Quotations found in Minor *Upaniṣads* of AV

Sr. No.	Quotes	<i>Upaniṣad</i> in which Quote is found
१	तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि । धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् ॥ ऋग्वेद-३.६२.१०, यजुर्वेद-३६.३, सामवेद-३.६, ३.१०	सूर्योपनिषद्
२	तद्विष्णोः परमं पदं सदा पश्यन्ति सूरयः । ऋग्वेद-१.२७, १.२२*२०, वा.स.६.५	आरुणेयी उप. शाण्डिल्य-१.५४
३	यज्ञेन यज्ञमयजन्त देवाः । तानि धर्माणि प्रथमान्यासन् ते ह नाकं महिमानः सचन्ते । यत्र पूर्वे साध्याः सन्ति देवाः ॥ ऋग्वेद-१.१६४.५०, ८.४.१९, अथर्ववेद-८.५.१	महावाक्योपनिषद्
४	अग्नि त्वा शूर नोनुमा दुग्धा इव धेनवः । ऋग्वेद-७.३२.२२, वा.सं.-२७.३५, तै.सं.-२.४.१४.२, सामवेद-१.२.२३, २.३०, अथर्ववेद-२०.१२१.१	अथर्वशिर-४

५	अपान सोमममृता अभूमागन्म ज्योतिरविदाम देवान् । ऋग्वेद- ८.४८.३, तै.सं.-३.२.५.४	अथर्वशिर-३
६	अयं ते योनिर्ऋत्वियो यतो जातो अरोचथाः ॥ तं जानन्नग्र आरोहाथा नो वर्धय रयिम् । वा.स.-३.१४, अथर्ववेद-३.२०.१	जाबालोपनिषद्
७	नान्यः पन्था अयनाय विद्यते । वा.सं.-३१.१८, तै.सं.-३.१२.७, ३१.१, तै.आ.३.१२.७, श्वेताश्व.उप.-३.८, ६.१५, चित्ती.उप.- १२.७, १३.११, लक्ष्मी.उप.-७.७, नारा.परि.उप.-९.१, त्रिपाद महा.-४.३	महावाक्योपनिषद्
८	सत्यं विज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्म । तै.आ.-८.१.१, तै.उप.-२.१.१	शाण्डिल्य-२
९	तत्त्वमसि । छां.उप.६.८.७, ६.९.४, ६.१४.३	सूर्योपनिषद्-२
१०	यतो वाचो निवर्तन्ते । अप्राप्य मनसा सह । तै.उप.-२.४.५	सूर्योपनिषद्-२.३
११	द्वा सुपर्णा शरीरेऽस्मिञ्जीवेशाख्यौ सह स्थितौ । तयोर्जीव फलं भुङ्क्ते कर्मणो न महेश्वरः ॥ मुण्डकोपनिषद्-३.१.७	अन्नपूर्णोपनिषद्-४.३२
१२	भिद्यते ह्यदग्रन्थिष्ठिद्यन्ते सर्वसंशयाः । क्षीयन्ते चास्य कर्माणि तस्मिन्दृष्टे परावरे ॥ मुण्डकोपनिषद्-२.२.८	अन्नपूर्णोपनिषद्-४.३४
१३	वेदान्ते परमं गुह्यं पुराकल्प प्रचोदितम् । नाप्रशान्ताय दातव्यं न चाशिष्याय वै पुनः ॥ श्वेताश्वतरोपनिषद्-४.६	अन्नपूर्णोपनिषद्- ४.११९
१४	द्वे विद्ये वेदितव्ये तु शब्दब्रह्म परं च यत् । शब्दब्रह्माणि निष्णातः परं ब्रह्माधिगच्छति ॥ मैत्रायणी-६.२२	अमृतबिन्दूपनिषद्-१७
१५	मनो हि द्विविधं प्रोक्तं शुद्धं चाशुद्धमेव च । अशुद्धं कामसंकल्पं शुद्धं कामविवर्जितम् ॥ मैत्रायणी-६.३४, त्रिपादतापनीय-५.२	अमृतबिन्दूपनिषद्-१
१६	मन एव मनुष्याणां कारणं बन्धमोक्षयोः । मैत्रायणी उप.६.३४.११	अमृतबिन्दूपनिषद्-२
१७	तावदेव निरोद्धव्यं यावद्भूदि गतं क्षयम् । एतज्ज्ञानं च ध्यानं च शेषो न्यायश्च विस्तरः ॥ मैत्रायणी-६.३४, त्रिपादतापनीय-५.५	अमृतबिन्दूपनिषद्-५
१८	न निरोधो न चोत्पत्तिर्न बद्धो न च साधकः । न मुमुक्षुर्न वै मुक्त इत्येषा परमार्थता ॥ गौडपादकारिका-२.३२	अमृतबिन्दूपनिषद्-१०
१९	सखा मा गोपायौजः सखायोसीन्द्रस्य वज्रोऽशि वार्त्रघ्नः शर्म मे भव यत्पापं तन्निवारयेति ॥ बौधायन धर्मसूत्र-२.१०.१७, ३.२.७	आरुणेयी उप. शाण्डिल्य-१.५४
२०	अथातो ब्रह्म जिज्ञासा । ब्रह्मसूत्र-१.१.१	सीतोपनिषद्

२१	निरस्तविषयासङ्गं सनिरुद्धं मनो हृदि । यदाऽऽयात्यात्मनो भावं तदा तत्परमं पदम् ॥ त्रिपादतापनीय-५.४	अमृतबिन्दूपनिषद्-४
२२	ॐ इति एकाक्षरं ब्रह्म । महानारायण-११.५, श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता-८.१३	अथर्वशिखोपनिषद्-१, सूर्योपनिषद् अमृतबिन्दूपनिषद्-२०
२३	ॐ घृणि सूर्य आदित्य ।त्रिपादमहा.७.११	सूर्योपनिषद्
२४	आदित्यवर्णं तमसस्तु पारे । पारमात्मिका उप.७.५, चित्ति.उप.१२.७	महावाक्य

From the chart of the quotations listed out in these eighteen minor *Upaniṣads* of AV, it is found that :

1. The *Ātmopaniṣad* of *Vedānta* category quotes from *Gauḍapāḍakārikā* (300-500 AD)
2. The *Atharvaśikhā* and *Amṛtabindu Upaniṣads* (both about 200 AD) of *Yoga* category have quoted from *Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad*. *Amṛtabindu* also quotes *Gauḍapāḍakārikā* (300-500 AD) and *Maitrāyaṇi Upaniṣad*. While *Mahāvākyaopaniṣad* of this category and the Śaivite *Upaniṣad* quotes from *RV*, *YV* and *AV* (4000-1000 BC). *Śāṇḍilya Upaniṣad* has also quoted from *RV* and *YV*, *Taitt. Āraṇyaka* and *Chāñ.* and *Taitt. Upaniṣads*.
3. One of the ancient among the minor *Upaniṣads* viz. *Jābālopaniṣad* (about 200 AD) of *Saṁnyāsa* category quotes from *YV* and *AV* (4000-1000 BC). While *Āruṇeyī Upaniṣad* (about 200 AD) of the same category quotes from *RV*, *YV* (4000-1000 BC) and *Baud. Dharma-Sūtra* (600-300 BC).
4. Among the five theistic *Upaniṣads* taken up for study viz. *Sūrya*, *Annapūrṇā*, *Kṛṣṇa*, *Sītā* and *Dattātreya* we find quotes only in *Annapūrṇā* and *Sūrya Upaniṣads*. *Annapūrṇopaniṣad* quotes from *Muṇḍaka* and *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣads*, while *Sūrya Upaniṣad* quotes from *RV* and *Mahānārāyaṇa* as well as *Tripāda Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣads*.

Thus, it is observed that Vedic texts like *RV*, *YV*, *SV* and *AV* are quoted by *Jābāla*, *Śāṇḍilya*, *Mahāvākya*, *Atharvaśiras*, *Āruṇī* and *Sūrya Upaniṣads*. Different *Upaniṣadic* texts are quoted by *Atharvaśikhā*, *Amṛtabindu*, *Śāṇḍilya*, *Annapūrṇā*, and *Sūryopaniṣad*. While

Gauḍapāḍakārikā is quoted by *Ātmā* and *Amṛtabindu Upaniṣads*. We also find *Āruṇeyī Upaniṣad* quoting from *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra*. It is observed that these 18 minor *Upaniṣads* of AV undertaken for study quote more from the literature of Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda than of other *Vedas*.

Approximate dates of minor *Upaniṣads* undertaken for study

Sr. No.	Name of the <i>Upaniṣad</i>	Approximate Date	Author
1	<i>Ātmā</i>	Before Rāmānuja i.e. 11 th cen. AD	R. D. Karmarkar ¹
		After 500 AD	quotes from Gauḍapāda
2	Sarva	250-150 BC	M. C. Patel ²
3	Sūrya	Later than 300 AD or c. 900 AD	L. P. Pandeya ³
4	Annapūrṇā	600-900 AD	
5	<i>Amṛtabindu</i> (Brahmabindu)	200 BC	N. J. Shende ⁴
		200 AD	S. G. Desai ⁵
		After 500 AD	Quotes from Gauḍapāda; Maitrāyaṇī-500 BC
6	<i>Tejabindu</i>	200 AD	S. G. Desai
7	<i>Kṣurikā</i>	200 AD	S. G. Desai
8	Mahāvākya	200 AD	
9	Śāṇḍilya	500-1400 AD	
10	Jābāla	200 AD	Paul Deussen ⁶
11	<i>Āruṇeyī</i>	200 AD	Paul Deussen
12	<i>Parabrahma</i>	After 400 AD	
13	Atharvaśiras	200 AD	N. J. Shende
		600 BC-300 AD	
14	Atharvaśikhā	200 AD	Dr. Farquhar
15	<i>Kaivalya</i>	200 AD	Dr. Farquhar
16	Kṛṣṇa	300 AD-1100 AD	
17	Dattātreyā	300-900 AD	
18	Sītā	After 100 AD	

¹ Karmarkar R. D. — Śrībhāṣya of Rāmāyaṇa (Catuḥ-sūtrī), page 21

² Patel M. C. — *Upaniṣad Jyoti*, 1929

³ Pandeya L. P. — *Sūrya Worship in Ancient India*, page 95

⁴ Shende N. J. — *Religion and Philosophy of AV*, page 246

⁵ Desai S. G. — *A Critical Study of Later Upaniṣads*

⁶ Deussen Paul — *The Philosophy of the Upaniṣads*